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THE THEOLOGY OF ALEXANDER KNOX (1757-1831)

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

2012

David John William McCready

Summary

This thesis describes and analyses the theology of the Irish Anglican layman, Alexander Knox (1757-1831), which is here for the first time explored in depth. The method it uses is historical, focusing on Knox's published writings and unpublished papers. It examines what these primary sources say, and seeks to understand them in the light of their context, both synchronic and diachronic.

The major findings of this study are as follows. First, Knox appears as a Romantic theologian, whose thought is clearly marked by the age in which he lived. Second, however, he is also an exemplar of heart religion and, more especially of Christian Platonism, a tradition which he shared with John Wesley and the Anglican moderates of the seventeenth century, especially the Cambridge Platonists. Third, his theology is rooted in the patristic period, while at the same time, fourth, reflecting what he conceived to be the spirit and doctrine of what he termed the Church of England.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 1

1. The Importance of Alexander Knox 1

2. Previous Studies 3

3. Thesis: Object, Method, Plan, and Limitation 14

4. Sources 17

Chapter 1: The Life of Alexander Knox 19

1. Background, 1757-1831 19

1.1.1. The Political Background 20

1.1.2. The Ecclesiastical Background 20

1.1.3. Short Conclusion 23

2. Knox's Life 23

1.2.1. Knox's Early Life: The Role of Methodism and John Wesley 24

1.2.2. Knox's Public Life 28

1.2.3. Knox and Hannah More 38

1.2.4. 'A Religious Retirement' 51

1.2.5. Knox and John Jebb 57

1.2.6. Knox's Death and the Controversy Surrounding it 60

1.2.7. Short Conclusion 62

3. Knox and Religion 62

1.3.1. Knox's High Churchmanship 62

1.3.2. Knox's Relationship with Other High Churchmen 78

1.3.3. Knox's Relationship with Evangelicals 80

1.3.4. Knox and Methodism 86

1.3.5. Knox and Roman Catholicism 100

1.3.6. Short Conclusion 106

4. Knox's Influence 107

1.4.1. Knox's Influence in General 108

1.4.2. Examples of Knox's Influence 113

1.4.3. Knox's Influence on Gladstone 119

1.4.4. Short Conclusion 121

5. Conclusion 122

Chapter 2: The Intellectual and Spiritual Context of Knox's Theology 126

1. The Intellectual Context of Knox's Theology 127

2.1.1. Knox and the Enlightenment 127

2.1.2. Knox and Romanticism 135

2.1.3. Knox and Coleridge 143

2.1.4. Knox and Schleiermacher 149

2.1.5. Short Conclusion 154

2. The Spiritual Context of Knox's Theology 155

2.2.1. Knox and Heart Religion 155

2.2.2. Knox and the Christian Platonic Tradition 159

2.2.3. 'The Greek Fathers' 164

2.2.4. The Anglican Moderates 171

2.2.5. Wesley as a Theological Influence on Knox 177

2.2.6. Short Conclusion 186

3. Conclusion 187

Chapter 3. Knox's Theology: General Characteristics and Methodology 190

1. General Characteristcs of Knox's Theology 190

3.1.1. A Coherent Theology 190

3.1.2. A Practical Theology 193

3.1.3. A Consensual Theology 198

3.1.4. An Eclectic Theology 202

3.1.5. A 'Philosophic' Theology 203

3.1.6. A Consistent Theology 205

3.1.7. Short Conclusion 207

2. Knox's Theological Methodology 208

3.2.1. 'The Science of True Piety' 208

3.2.2. The Bible 210

3.2.3. Universal Consent 217

3.2.4. The *Consensus Patrum* 220

3.2.5. Experience 230

3.2.6. Intuition 238

3.2.7. Mysticism 243

3.2.8. Piety, Religion, and Spirituality 247

3.2.9. Short Conclusion 248

3. Conclusion 249

Chapter 4. 'Mr Knox's System' 252

1. God and Humanity 253

4.1.1. The Divine Attributes 253

4.1.2. The Doctrine of the Trinity 255

4.1.3. Sources 257

4.1.4. Anthropology 259

4.1.5. Sources 265

4.1.6. Short Conclusion 271

2. Christ and the Holy Spirit 272

4.2.1. Christology 272

4.2.2. Sources 281

4.2.3. Pneumatology 286

4.2.4. Sources 289

4.2.5. Short Conclusion 294

3. Justification and Perfection 294

4.3.1. Justification 295

4.3.2. Sources 306

4.3.3. Perfection 314

4.3.4. Sources 319

4.3.5. Short Conclusion 328

4. Baptism and the Eucharist 329

4.4.1. Baptism 329

4.4.2. Sources 336

4.4.3. The Eucharist (1): The Sacramental Presence 343

4.4.4. Sources 349

4.4.5. The Eucharist (2): Sacrifice and Priesthood 362

4.4.6. Sources 363

4.4.7. Short Conclusion 368

5. Ecclesiology 368

4.5.1. The Church 369

4.5.2. Sources 380

4.5.3. Short Conclusion 385

6. Providence and Predestination 385

4.6.1. Providence 386

4.6.2. Sources 391

4.6.3. Predestination 397

4.6.4. Sources 400

4.6.5. Short Conclusion 402

7. Conclusion 403

Conclusion 410

1. Summary 410

2. The Importance of Alexander Knox 412

Bibliography 421

1. Manuscript Sources 421

2. Published Works of Alexander Knox (in chronological order) 424

3. Secondary Works (1): Books 425

4. Secondary Works (2): Essays, Articles, and Unpublished Theses 461

5. Secondary Works (3): Electronic Resources 467

6. Newspapers and Journals 468

INTRODUCTION

1. The Importance of Alexander Knox

This thesis examines the theology of Alexander Knox (1757-1831). It is a subject that has, as John Gunstone says, 'never been fully investigated,'[1] but one which, nonetheless, deserves attention, for several reasons.

Claude Welch has written: 'If we look ... at the British theological scene at the beginning of the nineteenth century,' we see that 'the Church of England was marked by an absence of intellectual vitality or excitement.'[2] Knox shines out amidst this encircling gloom. He is, to quote William Lecky, 'one of the most earnest and profound religious writers of his time;'[3] one who, in Gunstone's words, 'says things of timeless value.'[4] In particular, we may point to eight specific areas in which Knox is important. First, although the Church of England of his day may, in general, have lacked intellectual excitement and vitality, the intellectual world more broadly was in a state of ferment and transition, and, standing 'between the Enlightenment and

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[1] John T. A.Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox, 1757-1831,' hereafter, 'Alexander Knox,' *Church Quarterly Review*, 157, (1956), 463-75, 463.

[2] Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Volume 1: 1799-1870*, hereafter, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972, 109. For the use of the designation 'Church of *England*,' with reference to Knox, see below, 63-4.

[3] William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,* five volumes, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909, (1892), 3, 359, note.

[4] Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox,' 474. For similar appreciations, see: Yngve Brilioth, *The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement,* hereafter, *Anglican Revival*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925, 47; William Dalrymple Maclagan, ed., 'Preface' to Alexander Knox, *The Grace of the Sacraments: Being Treatises on Baptism and the Eucharist by Alexander Knox*, hereafter, *The Grace of the Sacraments*, edited, with a preface, by William Dalrymple Maclagan, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905, v-xxxv, ix; Vernon F. Storr, *The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1800-1860*, hereafter, *Development of English Theology*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913, 85. See, also, the concluding remark of Peter Nockles in his article, 'Knox, Alexander (1757-1831),' in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, hereafter, *O.D.N.B.*, sixty volumes, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 32, 1-5, that Knox 'proved a seminal religious thinker for the period' (5).

Romanticism,'[5] Knox serves as a case-study of how an Anglican theologian interacted with the post-Enlightenment age. Second, the same period was also one of spiritual effervescence, strongly marked by the phenomenon of heart religion,[6] and Knox exemplifies this type of religion, significantly in a distinctive Christian Platonic form.[7] Third, Knox was close to John Wesley, and, as a result, the examination of Knox's life and thought can contribute to our understanding of Wesley, not least in regard to what Henry D. Rack calls the 'perennially arguable question' of Wesley's relationship to the Church of England.[8]

Knox is important, too, because of the appeal which he made to antiquity, and to the writings of the Fathers; and also because of the extent of his influence in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This influence is of particular interest in relation to the Oxford Movement, of which he was, to quote Vernon Storr, 'the direct precursor and prophet.'[9] He has, as Geoffrey Rowell expresses it, 'a special significance in the pre-history of Tractarianism;'[10] and the study of his thought contributes to our understanding of the origins of the Movement. It likewise contributes to a fuller appreciation of the often-neglected high church tradition within the Church of Ireland. These two topics, however, the relationship of Knox to the Oxford Movement, and his relationship to the high church movement in the Church of

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[5] I borrow the phrase from Richard Crouter, *Friedrich Schleiermacher: Between Enlightenment and Romanticism*, hereafter, *Schleiermacher*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
[6] For the meaning which I give this term, see below, 155.
[7] For the meaning which I give this term, see below, 159-60.
[8] Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, hereafter, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, London: The Epworth Press, 1989, 558. The title of Rack's book is inspired by a remark of Knox's, which Rack quotes as an epigraph (xii).
[9] Storr, *Development of English Theology*, 85.
[10] Geoffrey Rowell, 'Church Principles and Protestant Kempism: Some Theological Forerunners of the Tractarians,' hereafter, 'Theological Forerunners,' in Paul Vaiss, ed., *From Oxford to the People: Rediscovering Newman and the Oxford Movement,* hereafter, *From Oxford to the People*, Leominster: Gracewing, 1996, 17-59, 38.

Ireland, are both so large that I have excluded them from this thesis, as they cannot be given adequate attention within its parameters.

Ecumenically, Knox is significant as a pioneer of Christian unity, although his greatest importance relates to his Anglicanism. He was one of the first writers to use the term 'Anglican' regularly, and he offers a substantial contribution to the understanding of what Anglicanism means, and what distinguishes it from other forms of Christianity. At the same time, as Gunstone says, Knox sought 'to reconcile, to correct, to accommodate,'[11] uniting in his writings high church, evangelical and liberal emphases. As such, he has something practical to offer Anglicans today, namely a model for comprehension and tolerance, and a means of achieving it through a search for synthesis.

Finally, the study of Knox contributes to the study of Christian spirituality, the latter a word which he was also one of the first writers to use in this sense. A resolutely practical theologian, his constant care was with the relationship between God and the believer.

2. Previous Studies

Although no in-depth study of Knox has ever been undertaken, he has not gone wholly un-noticed. Whenever the background to the Oxford Movement is discussed he receives a mention; the same is true of surveys of nineteenth-century Anglicanism and Methodism.

[11] Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox,'469.

The first substantial examination of Knox's ideas consists of the introductions to his *Remains*, penned by his editor, J.J. Hornby (1777-1855).[12] The *Remains of Alexander Knox* came out in two instalments of two volumes each, the first in 1834, the second in 1837, with a second edition of the first two volumes appearing in 1836.[13] The first three volumes comprise forty-one pieces by Knox, mostly essays, several in letter-form, written between 1802 and 1828. They are arranged seemingly without order, and with virtually no editorial comment. Volume four contains mostly letters from Knox, dating from 1795 to 1831, arranged chronologically. The first twenty-one letters are from John Wesley's correspondence with Knox.[14] Hornby wrote introductions for the volumes as follows: 'Editor's Preface;' [15] 'Editor's Preface to the Second Edition;'[16] and 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes.'[17]

The *Remains* complimented the other main source of Knox's theological thought, the *Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb D.D., F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, and Alexander Knox, Esq., M.R.I.A.,* edited by Charles Forster (1789-1871),[18] and published in two volumes in London by James Duncan and John

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[12] James John Hornby (1777-1855) was, from 1812 until his death, Rector of Winwick in Lancashire, a living with which his family had close connections. See William Farrer and J. Brownbill, eds, *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 4*, London: Constable and Company, 1911, 129.
[13] Quotations in this thesis are taken, for the first two volumes, from the second edition: *Remains of Alexander Knox, Esq.*, [edited by J.J. Hornby], two volumes, London: James Duncan and John Cochran, 1836, and, for the second two volumes, from the first edition, *Remains of Alexander Knox, Esq.*, [edited by J.J. Hornby], two volumes, London: James Duncan, 1837. Hereafter, they will be cited as *Remains*.
[14] See below, 27.
[15] *Remains*, 1, vii-xxii.
[16] *Ibid.*, xxiii-xxxii.
[17] *Ibid.*, 3, vii-cxviii.
[18] Charles Forster (1789-1871), Jebb's chaplain and companion, as well as his biographer and editor. After Jebb's death, he served as perpetual curate of Ash, in Kent, then as Rector of Stisted in Essex. See Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography, containing many thousand concise memoirs of persons who have died since the year 1850, with an index of the most interesting matter*, hereafter, *Modern English Biography*, six volumes, Truro: Netherton and Worth, 1892-1921, 1, 1084. For John Jebb (1775-1833), Rector of Abington, and, subsequently, Bishop of Limerick, see Charles Forster, *The Life of John Jebb, D.D., F.R.S., Bishop Of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, with a selection from his letters*, hereafter, *Life of Jebb*, two volumes, London: James Duncan and John Cochran, 1836.

Cochran in1834.[19] This correspondence was typical of the time in which its authors lived, a period which produced, in the words of Peter Gay, 'untold millions of letters and diaries.'[20] Estimations of its value vary. Some may agree that it constitutes a 'treasure of Christian wisdom;'[21] others would regard it with the *Christian Examiner* as 'the hypochondriac complaints of two sickly valetudinarians.'[22] Whatever the case, the *Correspondence* helps to explain much of what appears in the *Remains*.

As an editor, Forster's principles of omission are clear. He excludes what is mundane and repetitious, as well as anything that might place the two correspondents in a bad light. Thus, while the published letters still contain much information on Knox and Jebb's ill-heath, Forster excludes anything that was too graphic in detail, such as Knox's account of 'a disagreeable attack of piles,'[23] or his description of his housekeeper Miss Ferguson's 'enflamed bowels.'[24] He likewise passes over anything that seems unduly harsh, for instance, the accusation that the Rector of Killeshandra, William Hales (1747-1831) [25] was guilty of 'countenancing Arianism,'[26] or the dismissal of Hannah More's *Cœlebs* (1808) as 'in every way a poor business.'[27] He

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[19] The quotations in this thesis are taken from the second edition, *Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb D.D., F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, and Alexander Knox, Esq., M.R.I.A.*, hereafter, *Correspondence*, edited by Charles Forster, two volumes, London: James Duncan and John Cochran, 1836. The original letters are housed in the British Library, hereafter B.L.: Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811); Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30); Add. Ms 41165, Correspondence between John Jebb and Alexander Knox (1800-12); Add. Ms 41166, Correspondence between John Jebb and Alexander Knox (1813-31).

[20] Peter Gay, *The Naked Heart*, London: HarperCollins, 1998, (1995), 311.

[21] Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 1, 61. Forster is quoting Jebb's appreciation of Knox's letters.

[22] *Christian Examiner*, 3, 35, (September 1834), 624.

[23] B.L., Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30), fol. 3, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 20th July 1812.

[24] *Ibid.*, fol. 44, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 20th May 1814. For Miss Ferguson, see below, 51.

[25] For William Hales (1747-1831), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101011918/William-Hales, accessed 17th June 2011.

[26] B.L., Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30), fol. 4, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 20th July 1812.

[27] B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 197, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 17th March 1809. Knox is referring to Hannah More's anonymously-

omits, too, anything that is unflattering to his protagonists, such as Knox's uncharacteristically peevish outburst: 'Have you deliberately and determinedly renounced me? I wrote two letters with an interval of two weeks between the letters ... in answer to which I have not yet been favoured with a single line.'[28] Omissions such as these are entirely comprehensible, but, at the same time, there are others which are difficult to understand. For no apparent reason some valuable material has been left out of the published *Correspondence*, which is one of the reasons why the originals need to be consulted. The other reason is that Forster does not always transpose the correct date of the letters, sometimes, one suspects, because of a problem of eyesight, for example, reading '5' for '8,' which appear similar in Knox's rather difficult hand.[29]

Both the *Remains* and the *Correspondence* were analysed in some depth by contemporary reviewers. These reviewers came from both the high church and evangelical camps. The most important of the high church reviews were contained in the *British Critic* and the *British Magazine.* The *British Critic* [30] reviewed the *Correspondence* [31] and the first and second editions of the *Remains*.[32] Its comments were in general positive, although, significantly, the reviewer found fault with Knox's

published novel *Cœlebs in Search of a Wife, comprehending observations on domestic habits and manners, religion and morals*, two volumes, London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1808. For Hannah More (1745-1833) and her relationship with Knox, see below, 38-51.

[28] B.L., Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30), fol. 39, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 19th March 1814.

[29] *Ibid.*, fol. 60, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 8th June 1815. In the published *Correspondence* the letter is dated 5th June 1815, *Correspondence*, 2, 226.

[30] For the *British Critic*, see Esther Rhoades Houghton and Josef L. Altholz, 'The *British Critic*, 1824-1843,' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 24, 3, (Fall 1991), 111-8; S. A. Skinner, 'Newman, the Tractarians and the *British Critic*,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50, 4, (1999), 716-59.

[31] *British Critic*, 17, 33, (January 1835), 157-82.

[32] *British Critic*, 17, 34, (April 1835), 257-95; 23, 45, (January 1838), 1-23.

view of justification,[33] as well as with his teaching on the providential nature of Non-Conformity.[34]

The British Magazine, founded in 1832 by the high churchman Hugh James Rose (1795-1838) to combat what he saw as the dangers facing the Church of England, [35] gave the *Correspondence* a brief but very favourable review when it first appeared.[36] The publication of the first two volumes of the *Remains* was noted, although Rose did not get round to reading them until June 1835, and then only in part.[37] The *Remains* nonetheless provoked a lively exchange of letters in the pages of the *Magazine*,[38] and, thus, when the second two volumes came out, they received a fuller analysis, albeit far less significant than that accorded to them elsewhere.[39]

The main evangelical [40] reviews of Knox's thought were also carried in two journals. One was *The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine*, founded in 1825 by Caesar Otway (1780-1842) [41] and Joseph Singer (1786-1866).[42] 'Its principle aim,' to quote *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, 'was defence of the Church of Ireland, which entailed attacking popery's unscriptural deformity.'[43] Knox and Jebb's

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[33] See below, 304.
[34] See below, 374-5.
[35] For Hugh James Rose (1795-1838) and the *British Magazine*, see, *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101024094/Hugh-Rose, accessed, 17th June 2011. Rose was close to Jebb; see Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 1, 362-3.
[36] *British Magazine*, 6, (July 1834), 68.
[37] *Ibid.*, 7, (January 1835), 111; (June 1835), 670.
[38] *Ibid.*, (June 1835), 668-70; 8, (July 1835), 68-70; (August 1835), 173-6; (September 1835), 309-12; (November 1835), 536-41; (December 1835), 687-90.
[39] *Ibid.*, 12, (August 1837), 180-4.
[40] In this thesis 'evangelical' denotes Anglican evangelical, unless otherwise noted.
[41] Caesar Otway (1780-1842), religiously evangelical and politically conservative Church of Ireland clergyman and writer. See *Dublin University Magazine*, 14, 82, (October 1839), 396-7.
[42] Joseph Henderson Singer, D.D. (1786-1866), Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, from 1850; from 1852-66, Bishop of Meath. He was a leading member of the evangelical party in the Church of Ireland. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101025640/Joseph-Singer, accessed 17th June 2011.
[43] Robert Welch, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, 97.

Correspondence received a two-part notice in the *Christian Examiner*,[44] both critical of the two men's teaching on justification. It was a theme to which the *Examiner* returned thirty years later, while reviewing the second edition of James Thomas O'Brien's sermons on the subject.[45]

The Christian Observer, which ran from 1802-74, was closely associated with the 'Clapham Sect,' the small but highly-influential group of evangelicals, mainly based in Clapham, London, round the rector of the church there, John Venn (1759-1813).[46] It carried an extended review of the *Correspondence*, covering two issues,[47] which was highly critical of Knox's theology, which it saw as radically vitiated by a false view of justification.[48]

The journal which carried the most sustained analyses of Knox's thought was the Non-Conformist *Eclectic Review*, founded in 1805.[49] It subjected the *Correspondence* to a long dissection of what it saw as the deficiencies of Knox's theology, especially with regard to justification.[50] The *Remains* received similar treatment.[51] The author of

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[44] *Christian Examiner*, new series, 3, 35, (September 1834), 623-42; new series, 3, 36, (October 1834), 687-720. The author of the review, who betrays a personal acquaintance with Knox, was possibly Robert Daly (1783-1872); for Daly, see below, 110.

[45] *Christian Examiner*, new series, 47, (November 1862), 282-5. The sermons reviewed were: James Thomas O'Brien, *An Attempt To Explain And Establish The Doctrine Of Justification By Faith Only: In Ten Sermons Upon The Nature And The Effects Of Faith, Preached In The Chapel Of Trinity College, Dublin*, hereafter, *Justification*, second edition, London: Macmillan and Co., 1862, (1833). Quotations in this thesis are from the third edition, 1863. For O'Brien, see below, 9.

[46] See Michael Hennell, *John Venn and the Clapham Sect*, London: The Lutterworth Press, 1958.

[47] *Christian Observer*, 34, 11, (November 1834), 691-702; 34, 12, (December 1834), 765-72.

[48] 'The radical vice of the whole system is the omission of the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae* ['the doctrine on which the church stands or falls'], justification by faith in Christ crucified' (*Christian Observer*, 34, 11, November 1834, 699.)

[49] See Mary Ruth Hiller, '*The Eclectic Review*, 1805-1868,' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 27, 3, (Fall 1994), 179-283.

[50] *Eclectic Review*, third series, 12, (November 1834), 376-405.

[51] *Eclectic Review*, third series, 13, (February 1835), 61-88; third series, 13, (April 1835), 287-304; new series, 2, (December 1837), 559-79.

these reviews was perhaps the *Eclectic*'s editor from 1814-37, the Congregationalist Josiah Conder (1789-1855).[52]

Two important evangelical critics of Knox's theology were James Thomas O'Brien (1792-1874) [53] and George Stanley Faber (1773-1854).[54] O'Brien was the staunchly evangelical bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, whose sermons on justification, preached in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin had become a standard work on the subject after their publication in 1833.[55] It was in large part to combat what he saw as Knox's errors that he republished the sermons in 1862, with two extended notes directed specifically against Knox's teaching.[56] G.S. Faber was an evangelical writer whose treatment of the doctrine of election had so pleased Hornby, Knox's editor, that he somewhat imprudently invited Faber to deal with the topic of justification, believing that the result would be a vindication of Knox's views.[57] When it appeared in 1837, however, Faber's *Primitive Doctrine of Justification* proved highly critical of Knox's thought. [58]

A quarter-of-a century after the initial controversy over Knox's teaching had died down, a new and different debate was ignited in 1887, with the publication of an article by G.T. Stokes (1843-98) entitled 'Alexander Knox and the Oxford

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[52] For Josiah Conder (1789-1855), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101006059/Josiah-Conder, accessed 17th June 2011.
[53] For James Thomas O'Brien (1792-1874), see *O.D.N.B.*, online edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101020458/James-OBrien, accessed 17th June 2011.
[54] For George Stanley Faber (1773-1854), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101009051/George-Faber, accessed 17th June 2011.
[55] James Thomas O'Brien, *An Attempt To Explain And Establish The Doctrine Of Justification By Faith Only: In Ten Sermons Upon The Nature And The Effects Of Faith, Preached In The Chapel Of Trinity College, Dublin*, London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1833.
[56] O'Brien, *Justification*, third edition, 'Note X,' 436-64, and 'Note Z,' 469-96.
[57] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' cxii.
[58] George Stanley Faber, *The Primitive Doctrine of Justification Investigated: relatively to the several definitions of the Church of Rome and the Church of England; and with a special reference to the opinions of the late Mr. Knox, as published in his Remains*, hereafter, *Primitive Doctrine of Justification*, London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1837.

Movement.'[59] Stokes's thesis was that Knox was 'the mediator or channel connecting John Wesley and the Wesleyan movement … with the Tractarian movement,'[60] and that of this latter movement Knox was, in fact, 'the secret, the unacknowledged, but, none the less, the real fount and origin.'[61] The article met with a sharp rejoinder from the historian of the Oxford Movement, R.W. Church (1815-90).[62] Church declared that there was no evidence to support Stokes's view; what evidence there was, he contended, showed that the Tractarians entertained 'a distrust of [Knox's] manner of speculation, even when they were in general agreement with his conclusions.'[63] Church furthermore pointed out that Knox could not have influenced the Oxford Movement, because his writings were only published after it had begun.

Stokes replied that Knox had, in fact, published several articles during his lifetime, and that, even apart from this, his views had been widely disseminated, both by himself and by others, including such influential figures as Hannah More, Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822),[64] and, above all, Bishop Jebb. Stokes further implied that, in the particular case of John Henry Newman (1801-90),[65] knowledge of Knox's theology had been mediated to him by his brother, Francis Newman (1805-97),[66] who

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[59] George T. Stokes, 'Alexander Knox and the Oxford Movement,' *Contemporary Review*, 52, (August 1887), 184-205. George Thomas Stokes (1843-1898) was, at the time the article was written, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Trinity College, Dublin. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101026555/George-Stokes, accessed 17th June 2011.

[60] Stokes, 'Alexander Knox and the Oxford Movement,' 185.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Richard William Church (1815-90) was, at the time of the controversy with Stokes, Dean of St Paul's. A disciple of Newman at Oxford, his influential history *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years: 1833-1845,* appeared posthumously, London: Macmillan and Co., 1891. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101005389/Richard-Church, accessed 17th June 2011.

[63] *Guardian*, 7th September 1887, 1337-8.

[64] For Castlereagh, see below, 30.

[65] John Henry Newman (1801-90) is the subject of a vast bibliography; see 'Newman Bibliography,' on-line at http://www.newmanfriendsinternational.org, accessed 18th May 2011.

[66] For Francis Newman (1805-97), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101020019/Francis-Newman, accessed 17th June 2011. Francis Newman later remarked: 'Puseyism did not *begin* with my brother, but with old Alexander Knox, a pious admirer of Wesley, who condescended to give me several private talks in Ireland' (*Contributions*

had met with Knox while visiting Ireland in 1827 and had engaged in several conversations with him on topics of theological interest.[67] Despite the defence he gave of his position, under Church's assault Stokes backtracked considerably from his original claims: rather than being the 'idol' of the Tractarians and the true author of their teaching, he now depicted Knox simply as someone who had helped create an 'atmosphere' which the Tractarians had 'imbibed.'[68]

John Hunt gave some space to Knox in his *Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century* (1896),[69] while in 1905 G.W. Taylor's *John Wesley and the Anglo-Catholic Revival* re-presented Stokes's thesis that Knox formed a link between Wesley and the Tractarians.[70] Vernon F. Storr's *Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (1913) devoted several pages to him.[71] The most important treatment of Knox in the earlier part of the twentieth century came, however, in Yngve Brilioth's *Anglican Revival* (1925). Believing that Knox had 'scarcely anywhere been estimated at his true value in the history of Anglican theology,'[72] Brilioth accorded Knox, together with Jebb, a whole chapter and a short appendix.[73]

Chiefly to the Early History of the Late Cardinal Newman, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trűbner and Co., 1891, 42, emphasis in the original). What Newman means, however, as the context shows, is not that Knox influenced his brother, but that Knox represents the start of a movement of 'warm [religious] enthusiasm' (*ibid.*) in which his brother shared.

[67] *Guardian*, 14th September 1887, 1381-2.

[68] *Ibid.*, 28th September 1887, 1449.

[69] John Hunt, *Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century*, London: Gibbings and Co., 1896, 44-6; 160-1; 379.

[70] G. W. Taylor, *John Wesley and the Anglo-Catholic Revival*, London: S.P.C.K., 1905.

[71] Storr, *Development of English Theology*, 80; 85-91.

[72] Brilioth, *Anglican Revival*, 47. The reason for Knox being neglected was, Brilioth suggests, that he was 'overshadowed by the great Anglican Renaissance' (*ibid.*).

[73] Brilioth, *Anglican Revival*, Chapter 4, 'The Forerunners of Neo-Anglicanism,' 45-55; Appendix 1, 'Note on the Question of the Dependence of the Oxford Movement on Knox and Jebb,' 331-3.

In 1933 J.R.H. Moorman's essay on the 'Forerunners of the Oxford Movement' appeared, although his treatment of Knox was somewhat cursory.[74] Lengthier, but less scholarly, was J. Baird Ewens's *Three Hermits: Short Studies in Christian Antiquity, Methodism and Tractarianism.*[75] Published in 1956, it sought to amplify Stokes's thesis that Wesley influenced Knox and Jebb, the first two hermits of the title; and that they in their turn influenced the leaders of the Oxford Movement, especially Newman, the third hermit. The first part of the book provides a useful introductory biography of Knox; the second part, however, which aims to confirm the thesis that Knox 'much impressed the Oxford apostles,'[76] contains little of substance. Nor is there any analysis of Knox's theology.

John Gunstone's 'Alexander Knox, 1757-1831' was also published in 1956.[77] This is a useful piece of research, based on an M.A. dissertation undertaken at Durham, but it is too short to provide anything more than an introduction to its subject. Also useful, but equally brief, is the treatment accorded to Knox by Bernard Reardon in his survey of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British theology, *From Coleridge to Gore: A Century of Religious Thought in Britain* (1971).[78] By contrast, in 1994, under the direction of Sheridan Gilley, Michael Thompson produced an M.A. dissertation on 'The High Church Tradition in Ireland, 1800-1870, with particular reference to John Jebb and Alexander Knox.' This is the most substantial piece of research previously carried out on Knox, despite which it does not fully develop the

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[74] J.R.H. Moorman, 'Forerunners of the Oxford Movement,' *Theology*, 26, 151, (January 1933), 2-15. For Moorman's treatment of Knox, see 10-14.
[75] J. Baird Ewens, *The Three Hermits: Short Studies in Christian Antiquity, Methodism and Tractarianism*, hereafter, *Three Hermits*, London: The Epworth Press, 1956.
[76] Ewens, *Three Hermits*, 3. See, also, 1.
[77] See above, 1, note 1.
[78] Bernard M.G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore: A Century of Religious Thought in Britain*, hereafter, *From Coleridge to Gore*, London: Longman, 1971. The main section on Knox is 37- 41.

subject. In 1996 Geoffrey Rowell published an article entitled 'Church Principles and Protestant Kempism: Some Theological Forerunners of the Tractarians,'[79] which included an examination of Knox and Jebb.[80] In 2000, Peter Barrett made a brief study of Knox's eucharistic theology in his essay 'Alexander Knox: Lay Theologian of the Church of Ireland.'[81] Barrett was also the author of an M. Phil. dissertation on 'The Ecclesiology of Bishop John Jebb,' which involves throughout a discussion of Knox, on whom Jebb was dependent for his theology.[82] Finally, in 2004, Peter Nockles furnished an article on Knox for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*[83]

With the exception of Nockles's article and Ewens's *Three Hermits*, the works to which I have referred are concerned more with Knox's teaching than with the details of his life. Before concluding this section, therefore, mention must be made of three biographical pieces. One is the 'Introduction' to Jebb's edition of Burnet's *Lives* (1833), much of which is taken up with a description of Knox.[84] The second comes from the September 1834 issue of *The Dublin University Magazine*,[85] which contains what is ostensibly a review of the *Correspondence*, although its author admits that his main object was 'to present ... as full a portraiture of Mr Knox as [he] could.'[86] Although unsigned, we know the article to be the work of Samuel O'Sullivan (1790-

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[79] See above, 2, note 10.
[80] Rowell, 'Theological Forerunners,' 38-54.
[81] Peter Barrett, 'Alexander Knox: Lay Theologian of the Church of Ireland,' *Search*, 23, 1, (Spring 2000), 40-50.
[82] Peter Barrett, 'The Ecclesiology of John Jebb,' unpublished M. Phil. dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, hereafter, T.C.D., 1985. For the dependence of Jebb's theology on Knox, see below, 58.
[83] See above, 1, note 4.
[84] John Jebb, 'Introduction' to *Lives, Characters, and an Address to Posterity, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sarum, with the two prefaces to the Dublin edition*, hereafter, Burnet's *Lives*, edited, with an introduction and notes, by John Jebb, London: James Duncan and John Cochran, 1833, i-xli. For Jebb's treatment of Knox, see xxix-xli.
[85] *Dublin University Magazine*, 4, 21, (September 1834), 241-61.
[86] *Ibid.*, 250.

1851),[87] in whose *Remains* (1853) it was subsequently reprinted.[88] Third, is Knox's obituary, penned by his friend Charles Dickinson (1792-1842), which appeared in the July 1831 issue of *The Christian Examiner*.[89]

3. Thesis: Object, Method, Plan, and Limitation

All the articles cited above, while being of the highest quality, nonetheless remain at an introductory level. Thus, what Gunstone wrote more that half a century ago remains true today: 'No one has ever given Knox the individual, detailed study which he undoubtedly deserves.'[90] It is the object of the present thesis to fill this *lacuna*, by providing an historical survey of Knox's teaching. The thesis is not, therefore, a theological dialogue with Knox; it is concerned not with critique, but with exposition. It has thus been constructed using an historical methodology, which focuses on the study of the primary sources; this is why there is such an emphasis on quotation. The method, which seeks to be as objective as possible, first examines what the sources say, then analyses their meaning. This meaning is derived from the study of the context in which the sources are situated, both diachronic and synchronic.

The thesis comprises four chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter examines Knox's life. It is divided into four sections. There is a brief introduction to the later Hanoverian period, depicting the political and ecclesiastical background to the years

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[87] Samuel O'Sullivan (1790-1851) was chaplain to the Royal Hibernian Military School in Dublin; see James B. Leslie, *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough: Biographical Succession Lists*, hereafter, *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, edited by W.J.R. Wallace, Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2001, 945.

[88] *Remains of the Reverend Samuel O'Sullivan, D.D.*, edited by J. C. Martin and Mortimer O'Sullivan, three volumes, Dublin, James McGlashan, 1853, 3, 278.

[89] *Christian Examiner*, 11, 73, (July 1831), 562-4. For Charles Dickinson (1792-1842) and his relationship with Knox, see below, 114-6.

[90] Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox,' 463.

1757-1831. This is followed by a biographical section, which explores Knox's family situation and his early association with John Wesley; his short time of public service, as assistant to Lord Castlereagh; his friendship with Hannah More; his years of religious retirement; his relationship with Jebb; and his death and the controversy which surrounded it. Since Knox's life was woven together inextricably with religion, the third section investigates Knox's Anglicanism, as well as his views on Methodism and Roman Catholicism, the other two denominations with which he was most involved. The final section asks the question, what was the impact of Knox's life and work, exploring the topic of his influence.

Michel Foucauld's dictum, 'The work is more than the work; the subject who writes is part of the work,'[91] is verified in Knox, and thus with its analysis of his life, the first chapter prepares the way for the study of his theology. This study begins in chapter two with the exploration of the intellectual and spiritual context of Knox's thought. The first aim of the chapter is to demonstrate that Knox is a Romantic theologian, something which meant that he was also marked by certain elements of the Enlightenment. Second, the chapter shows that as well as being a Romantic theologian, Knox exemplifies the phenomenon of heart religion; and, third, that the particular type of heart religion which he exemplifies is Christian Platonism. The chapter is divided into two sections and a conclusion. The first section looks at Knox in relation to the Enlightenment and to Romanticism, and includes a comparison between Knox's theology and that of the two major theologians of the epoch, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834). The second section examines Knox in relation to heart religion and Christian Platonism. The

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[91] Michel Foucault, *Dits et Ecrits*, four volumes, Paris: Gallimard, 1994, 4, 606, quoted Crouter, *Schleiermacher*, 35.

section analyses the meaning of these terms, then studies those whom Knox sees as being the great exemplars of the Christian Platonic tradition: the Fathers, Clement of Alexandria (c. 150- c.215), Pseudo-Macarius (fourth century), and John Chrysostom (c. 349-407); the Anglican moderates of the seventeenth century,[92] especially the Cambridge Platonists; and John Wesley, studied here as a theological influence, rather than a personal friend, as in the first chapter. The conclusion of the chapter is that Knox's thinking reflects both the Romantic period in which he lived, and the Christian Platonic tradition to which he belonged.

In chapter three, I examine the general characteristics of Knox's theology and his methodology, developing the theme of how Knox's thinking is related both to the early nineteenth-century *zeitgeist*, and to the Platonic tradition within the Church of England, represented by John Wesley and the moderates. I also aim to show the extent to which the roots of his teaching lie in the patristic era, while at the same time examining the 'Anglican' nature of his thought, by which I mean its correspondence to what he called the 'doctrines and genius of our Church.'[93]

Chapter four moves from the general to the particular, offering a systematic analysis of Knox's teaching on specific doctrines, thus realising a plan projected by Hornby but never put into effect: the exposition of the 'entire system of Mr Knox's published sentiments and profession of doctrinal belief.'[94] This is the main chapter of the book, with each section giving a detailed elucidation, topic by topic, of Knox's thought, paying special attention to the sources from which he drew. Once again, I examine the four points of how Knox's doctrine reflects the concerns of the post-Enlightenment

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[92] For the use of this term, see below, 173.
[93] *Remains*, 3, 190. Throughout this thesis 'Church' designates a particular denomination, most usually, in Knox's usage, the Church of England.
[94] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' cxvii.

period; how it relates to the Platonic tradition within the Church of England, represented by Wesley and the seventeenth-century moderates; how its origins lie in the early church; and how it corresponds to Knox's understanding of Anglicanism.

As I have already noted, the thesis is limited to an historical perspective on Knox's thought. Entering into a theological dialogue with him would certainly be fruitful, but it is not my intention to do so in these pages. Such a dialogue demands, however, an historical study, for one cannot begin to appreciate his thinking without first examining its context.

Even from the historical perspective two major topics have to be omitted from the thesis: Knox's relationship to the Tractarians, and his link to the high church tradition in Irish Anglicanism. As I have already indicated, these questions are too large to be dealt with adequately at the present time.[95]

4. Sources

The main source for this study is Knox's *oeuvre*. To quote Jebb: '[T]he most faithful portrait of his mind will undoubtedly be found in the writings which he has left behind him.'[96] These writings are more extensive than is usually acknowledged. Stanley Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, for example, in their *British Authors of the Nineteenth Century* (1936),[97] list Knox principal works as the *Remains*, the *Correspondence*, and the *Essays on the Political Circumstances of Ireland* (1798).[98]

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[95] See above, 2-3.
[96] Jebb, 'Introduction' to Burnet's *Lives*, xxx.
[97] Stanley Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, *British Authors of the Nineteenth Century*, New York: H.W. Wilson, 1936, 355.
[98] *Essays on the Political Circumstances of Ireland, written during the administration of Earl Camden. with an appendix, containing thoughts on the will of the people: and a postscript now first published. By a Gentleman of the North of Ireland*, hereafter, *Essays*, Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1798.

The reason for this is that Knox often wrote anonymously or pseudonymously, since, as he explained to Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810),[99] he had 'chosen retirement in preference to publicity.'[100] Despite this, one can discover a fuller list of Knox's publications from a careful scrutiny of the *Remains* and the *Correspondence*. This list appears in the bibliography, which also includes an inventory of Knox's unpublished papers.

Quotations in this thesis are taken from the second edition, published under Knox's own name, London: 'printed for the author by J. Plymsel and sold by C. Chapple,' 1799.

[99] Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810), Irish antiquarian, resident at Bray; see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101028504/Joseph-Walker, accessed 17th June 2011.

[100] T.C.D., Ms 1461, volume 5, Correspondence of Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810), fol. 117, Knox to Joseph Cooper Walker, letter, 8th June 1803.

CHAPTER 1
The Life of Alexander Knox

This thesis is a study of the theology of Alexander Knox, to whom this chapter serves as an introduction. It is divided into four main sections, followed by a conclusion. The first section is a brief examination of the political and ecclesiastical background of the period in which Knox lived. Sections two, three, and four are more substantial. Section two is biographical, covering Knox's early life and his association with John Wesley; his brief career as a public servant; his friendship with Hannah More; and his long years of 'religious retirement,'[1] including his relationship with John Jebb. The section closes with a discussion of Knox's death and the controversy surrounding it. Since Knox's life was so closely bound up with religion, it is to this topic that section three turns. It analyses Knox's Anglicanism, and explores his relationship to Methodism and Roman Catholicism, the other two denominations with which he was most concerned. The final section explores his influence. Once we have considered Knox's life, we will be better able to examine his theology in the succeeding chapters.

1. Background, 1757-1831

Before looking in detail at Alexander Knox, it would be useful to describe the broader background against which his life and thought were set. This section, therefore, examines the political and ecclesiastical environment of the period 1757-1831.

[1] For this phrase, see below, 51.

1.1.1. The Political Background

When Knox was born in 1757 Britain was in the second year of the conflict which was to become the Seven Years War (1756-63). This war ended with Britain confirmed as the dominant imperial power, and, although, after six years of further conflict (1775-83), the American colonies were lost, the empire continued to expand, fuelled by and fuelling the Industrial Revolution at home. In 1789 came the seismic shock of the French Revolution, in the wake of which Britain entered into a twenty-three year period of almost unbroken combat against France: the French Revolutionary and the Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815).

During this time of turbulence, the British government was only too well aware of the potential danger to which it was exposed on its western flank, especially after the rebellion of the United Irishmen in1798, which was carried out with the help of the enemy French. The government's answer to this problem was the Act of Union of 1800, by which Great Britain and Ireland were joined together in a single united kingdom. This, at the time, was generally seen by the majority of Irish protestants as a blow to their aspirations: throughout the 1770s their main political concern had been for greater legislative independence, which had culminated in 1782 with 'Grattan's Parliament.' A second blow fell in 1829 with the Catholic Relief Act, which protestants saw as a further undermining of their position.[2]

1.1.2. The Ecclesiastical Background

When England and Ireland became a united kingdom, their Churches likewise became one.[3] Sean Connolly has described the Church of Ireland at the beginning of

[2] For Irish politics at this period, see, for example, J.C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923*, second edition London: Faber and Faber, 1981, (1966), chapters 12-15, 227-350.
[3] For the Church of Ireland at this period, see, especially, Nigel Yates, *The Religious Condition of Ireland, 1770-1850*, hereafter, *Religious Condition of Ireland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

the nineteenth century as 'a weak and ineffective organisation.'[4] Nonetheless, ecclesiastically, the period was one of what Donald Akenson calls 'graceful reform,'[5] with a movement for amelioration being led by the triumvirate of William Stuart (1755-1822), Archbishop of Armagh, 1800-22;[6] Charles Agar (1736-1809), Archbishop of Cashel, 1779-1801, then of Dublin, 1801-9;[7] and Charles Brodrick (1761-1822), Bishop of Kilmore, 1796-1801, and Archbishop of Cashel,1801-22.[8]

Reform of a different kind was coming at the same time from the evangelical movement. Although evangelicalism was only to achieve full dominance of the Church of Ireland in the middle of the nineteenth century, its strength grew significantly during the last two decades of the eighteenth, so that by the start of the 1800s it had become, in the words of David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, 'a force to be reckoned with.'[9] The movement created a certain tension within the Church, since the Irish high church tradition 'established ... in the seventeenth century, was,' to quote Nigel Yates, 'still active and well in the early years of the nineteenth century.'[10] In

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See, also: Donald Akenson, *The Church of Ireland : Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885*, hereafter, *Church of Ireland*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971; Desmond Bowen, *History and Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, hereafter, *Irish Protestantism*, New York: Peter Lang, 1995; and Sean Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1985.

[4] Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 7.

[5] Akenson entitles chapter two of his *Church of Ireland*, which covers the period 1800-1830, 'The Era of Graceful Reform,' 71-145.

6 For William Stuart (1755-1822), see O.D.N.B., on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101026727/William-Stuart, accessed 17th June 2011.

[7] For Charles Agar (1736-1809), see *O.D.N.B.*, 1, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101063652/Charles-Agar, accessed 17th June 2011.

[8] For Charles Brodrick (1761-1822), see James McGuire and James Quinn, eds., *Dictionary of Irish Biography, from the earliest times to the year 2002*, hereafter, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, nine volumes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 1, 856-7. Knox and Brodrick were close friends, who kept up a long and intimate correspondence, now housed in the National Library of Ireland, hereafter, N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers.

[9] David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, London: Routledge, 1992, 14. For the topic of evangelicalism in the Church of Ireland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see, besides Hempton and Hill: Alan Acheson, 'The Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland, 1784-1859,' Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1967; and Joseph Liechty, 'Irish Evangelicalism, Trinity College Dublin, and the Mission of the Church of Ireland at the end of the Eighteenth Century,' Ph.D. thesis, Maynooth, 1987.

[10] Yates, *Religious Condition of Ireland*, 279. The classic study of Irish high churchmanship is F.R. Bolton, *The Caroline Tradition of the Church of Ireland, with particular reference to Bishop Jeremy Taylor*, London: S.P.C.K., 1958. See, also, Peter Nockles, 'Church or Protestant Sect? The Church of

fact, as Alan Acheson has argued, '[i]n the early decades of the nineteenth century the old high church tradition of the Church of Ireland experienced a revival.'[11] Knox stood at the forefront of this revival, and, as such, was to clash with the evangelicals, against whose doctrinal imbalances, as he saw them, many of his writings were directed. For their part, the bulk of Irish evangelicals viewed Knox's ideas as anathema.[12] Both evangelical and high church revivals reflect a trend of growth in religious fervour observable throughout much of western Europe during the early- and mid-nineteenth century, partly in response to the insecurity caused by the Napoleonic wars, and partly as a reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment.[13]

Tension within the Church of Ireland was matched by a growing strain in its relationship with the Roman Catholic Church, to which the vast majority of Irish people belonged. From about 1770-84, a relative *détente* existed between the Roman Catholic [14] and protestant communities, but several factors contributed to reverse this situation. Of these, the most decisive were the 1798 rebellion and the Catholic Relief Act of 1829. The latter gave Catholics a greater confidence *vis-à-vis* their protestant neighbours, which in turn engendered fear and hostility among protestants, not simply those of the established church, but of all denominations. This, coupled with the fact that evangelicalism tended to blur denominational differences, led to the creation of a 'pan-protestant' identity, which downplayed the differences between Anglicans and other Reformed Christians.

Ireland, High Churchmanship and the Oxford Movement, 1822 -1869,' hereafter, 'Church or Sect,' *The Historical Journal*, 41, 2, (June 1998), 457-93.

[11] Alan Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland, 1691-1996*, Dublin: Columba Press, 1997, 153.

[12] This does not contradict Knox's eirenicism noted above (3). As will be demonstrated below, Knox did not reject evangelical positions, but sought to balance and complete them (200-1).

[13] On the European situation in general, with reference to the church, see Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe, 1789-1970*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

[14] Throughout this thesis 'Catholic' refers to the denomination 'Roman Catholic;' 'catholic' refers to the universal church.

Sectarian tensions were further exacerbated by the fact that, having gained relief for themselves, Catholics began agitating against the Church of Ireland, not least in relation to the issue of tithes. In so doing, they joined a wave of discontent which was simultaneously sweeping through England, where an alliance of Whigs, Radicals and Non-Conformists was seeking to undermine the privileged status of the Anglican Church.[15] As Knox lamented in 1826: 'The Church never more needed the protection of providence … God only can frustrate the united attack of its false friends and rancorous enemies.'[16] This 'united attack' made the Irish Church its primary target, as the most vulnerable part of the establishment, and the most open to criticism.[17]

1.1.3. Short Conclusion

This section has provided a short introduction to the political and ecclesiastical background against which Knox's life was set. We may now proceed to examine his life in detail.

2. Knox's Life

This section is biographical. It begins with an investigation of Knox's early life, focusing especially on his proximity to John Wesley, before turning to his brief career in politics; his relationship with Hannah More; the long period of his 'religious retirement;' and his friendship with John Jebb. The section closes with Knox's death and a discussion of the controversy surrounding it.

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[15] For a summary of the situation, see: Sheridan Gilley, 'Introduction' to John Keble, *The Christian Year and Other Poems*, London: Church Literature Association, 1977, vi-xvii; and, for a fuller treatment, Stewart Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland and Scotland, 1801-1846*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

[16] B.L., Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30), fols 202-3, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 6th October 1826.

[17] See, on this point, Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 1, 249-51.

1.2.1. Knox's Early Life: The Role of Methodism and John Wesley

In his *Lives of Twelve Good Men* (1888), Dean Burgon asks: '[W]hy is no memoir of Knox extant?'[18] The question remains pertinent, and an answer to it is provided by Moorman in his 'Forerunners of the Oxford Movement.' '[T]o write a biography of Knox would be impossible,' Moorman comments, 'because nothing ever happened to him.'[19] Even Hornby, Knox's much-admiring editor, declared: 'His life had very little of interest.'[20] Such sentiments provide a stimulus for research.

Knox was born on 17th March 1757 [21] in Londonderry. He was the oldest of four children. His siblings were George,[22] Sally,[23] and a second sister, whose name is not recorded.[24] His father, also called Alexander, was, in Nockles's words, 'a man of independent property and a leading member of the corporation.'[25] He was deeply religious: his son described him as 'my pious father,'[26] to whose 'fervent supplications' he believed that he stood spiritually indebted.[27] Knox's mother, too, played a vital role in his religious formation. As Knox wrote:

> Whatever I have gained of true peace, originated in the teaching ... of my own mother ... She it was, who, when she saw affliction come upon me, urged me to pray, and induced me to read the *Pilgrim's Progress*.[28]

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[18] John William Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, two volumes, London: John Murray, 1888, 2, 248, note 3.
[19] Moorman, 'Forerunners of the Oxford Movement,' 10.
[20] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' x.
[21] *Remains*, 4, 417; *Correspondence*, 1, 541, note; 2, 56.
[22] Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History, hereafter, O.C.M.C.H., B/Wes/J 19, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 16th August 1778; B/Wes/J 51, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 26th July 1790.
[23] O.C.M.C.H., B/Wes/ J/30, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 2nd December 1782; B/Wes/J 44, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 8th June 1785. See, also, *Remains*, 3, 478-9.
[24] O.C.M.C.H., B/Wes/J 30, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 2nd December 1782.
[25] Nockles, 'Knox, Alexander (1757-1831), *O.D.N.B.*, 32, 1.
[26] *Remains*, 4, 107.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*, 1, 78. It is interesting to note that, despite this early introduction to *Pilgrim's Progress* and that work's status as a classic of 'practical divinity,' Bunyan does not figure in Knox's writings. For John Bunyan (1628-88) and *The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come*, London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1678, see, for example, Michael A. Mullet, *John Bunyan in Context*, Keele: Keele University Press, 1996.

The 'affliction' mentioned in this passage was both physical and mental. To quote Forster:

> From his earliest years [Knox] had been afflicted with attacks of epilepsy, attended by depression of spirits, amounting, frequently, to mental distress of the most painful character.[29]

The piety of Knox's parents led them to become followers of John Wesley. The historian of Irish Methodism, C.H. Crookshank, describes Knox senior as the 'most generous and influential' member [30] of the Methodist 'society'[31] in Derry, as well as one of the most exemplary. As Crookshank puts it:

> [F]rom the time of his conversion, he pressed onward, ripening for a better world. Especially in his latter years he was a bright example of scripture holiness.[32]

Knox senior died suddenly in 1774, when his son was seventeen, but his wife continued her connection with the society until her own demise in 1796, 'unremitting,' as Crookshank records, 'in her kindness and attention to the preachers.'[33] The conjoint example of his parents cannot but have had an effect on the young Knox, as must the Methodist services which he frequented with them. To quote again from Crookshank:

> Although [Knox] did not consider himself a Methodist, except for a brief time, yet he received his earliest religious impressions through the agency of Methodism [and] his religious views were moulded by its theological teaching.[34]

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[29] *Correspondence*, 2, 25, note.
[30] C.H. Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*: *Volume 1: Wesley and His Times*, hereafter, *History*, 1, Belfast: R.S. Allen, 1885, 234.
[31] For Wesley's 'societies,' see *The Works of John Wesley: Volume 9: The Methodist Societies: History, Nature and Design*, edited by Rupert E. Davies, Bicentennial Edition, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989.
[32] Crookshank, *History*, 1, 234.
[33] *Ibid.*, 235.
[34] *Ibid.*

As Knox wrote to Jebb, in an unpublished portion of their correspondence: 'What would have been my career through life if I had not known the Methodists? ... God was pleased to teach me through them the nature of inward religion.'[35]

It was not simply Methodism that made an impression on Knox: there was also the towering figure of John Wesley (1703-91).[36] 'Never man possessed greater personal influence over the people connected with him,' Thomas Haweis declared of Wesley; [37] and one may well imagine that this influence was particularly strong on Knox, since it occurred during the formative years of the young, fatherless boy.[38] 'Mr Wesley seems to be your own idol,' John Walker (1769-1833) later jeered; [39] and, despite the unpleasant tone of the remark, it is clear from the evidence that, on the personal level, Knox retained a strong affection for the man whom he described as 'my-never-to-be-forgotten old friend.'[40] As Knox wrote:

> [H]is was a great mind, if any mind can be made great by disinterested benevolence, spotless purity, and simple devotedness to that one Supreme Good, in whom, with the united αἴσθησις of the philosopher and the saint, he saw and loved and adored all that was infinitely amiable, true, sublime and beatific.[41]

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[35] B.L., Add. Ms 44163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 91, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 7th November 1805.

[36] Knox almost never mentions Charles Wesley (1707-88). 'Wesley' in this thesis thus always denotes John. For Charles Wesley, see Gary Best, *Charles Wesley: A Biography*, London: The Epworth Press, 2006. For John Wesley (1703-91), the bibliography is immense. A useful tool is Ken Collins, 'Wesley Bibliography,' http://www.asburyseminary.edu/sites/www.asburyseminary.edu/files/WesleyBibliography, accessed 17th March 2011.

[37] Thomas Haweis, *An Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension, and Revival of the Church of Christ: from the birth of our saviour to the present time, with faithfull characters of the principal personages, ancient and modern,* three volumes, London: J. Mawman , 1800, 3, 275.

[38] As Knox later wrote, his friendship with Wesley spanned the time that he 'passed from childhood to youth and from youth to manhood' (*Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley*, hereafter, *Wesley*, appended to Robert Southey, *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, edited by Charles Cuthbert Southey, two volumes, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846, 409-504, 416).

[39] John Walker, *A Second Letter to Alexander Knox*, Dublin: H. Colbert, 1803, 12. For John Walker (1769-1833), see Grayson Carter, *Anglican Evangelicals: Protestant Secessions from the Via Media, c. 1800-1850*, hereafter, *Anglican Evangelicals*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 77-96. For the controversy between Walker and Knox, see below, 87-8.

[40] *Remains*, 1, 278. Knox's theological affinities with Wesley, as opposed to their personal friendship, will be discussed below, 177-86.

[41] *Correspondence*, 2, 460. For the meaning of αἴσθησις, see below, 239.

Similarly, Knox told Walker: 'Never shall I see in this lower world St Paul's sweet portraiture of charity more vividly realised than in that charming old man.'[42] While not blind to Wesley's imperfections, Knox still hailed him as one whose piety 'was much more than sincere: it was ardent, pure, and sublime.'[43] Little wonder, therefore, that Knox wrote: 'I never was so happy as while with him.'[44]

Knox's acquaintance with Wesley began in 1765, when Knox was eight. Wesley came to preach in Derry and stayed with the Knox family.[45] It was the first of ten visits by Wesley to the city,[46] and he came to show a remarkable interest in the young Knox. This can be seen from the fifty letters which he addressed to 'my dear Alleck' over a fifteen year period, beginning 6th June 1775, the year after Knox's father had died, and continuing until 26th July1790, the year before Wesley's death. Though brief, the letters show a real solicitude and affection for Knox, and it is little wonder that Knox later spoke of Wesley as 'my tender and constant comforter, writing the wisest and gentlest letters to me.'[47] 'Singularly tender,' is the description given to the letters by John Telford, in his edition of Wesley's correspondence.[48] As I will argue below, these letters not only demonstrate Wesley's personal kindness to Knox but also helped to shape Knox's theological thinking.[49]

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[42] *Remarks on an Expostulatory Address to Members of the Methodist Society by the Rev. J. Walker, B.D., F.T.C.D., in a letter to that gentleman*, hereafter, *Remarks*, Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1802, 10. For similar sentiments, see Knox's letter to the *Dublin Chronicle*, 27th - 30th June 1789, 206-7.

[43] *Remains*, 3, 467.

[44] *Dublin Chronicle*, 27th-30th June 1789, 207.

[45] Wesley recounts his first meeting with Knox senior in his *Journal* entry for Saturday 11th May 1765. See *The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley, A.M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, enlarged from original mss, with notes from unpublished diaries, annotations, maps, and illustrations*, hereafter, *Journal*, edited by Nehemiah Curnock, eight volumes, London: volume one, Robert Culley, volumes two to eight, Charles H. Kelly, [1909-16], 5, 114-5.

[46] Samuel J. Rogal, *John Wesley in Ireland, 1747-1789*, two volumes, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993, 2, 765-72.

[47] *Remarks*, 237.

[48] *The Letters of the Reverend John Wesley, A.M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*, hereafter, *Letters*, edited by John Telford, eight volumes, London: The Epworth Press, 1931, 7, 160. See, also, 6, 64: 'The care of Alexander Knox is … beautiful.'

[49] See below, 179-80; 395; 403.

1.2.2. Knox's Public Life

Due to his ill-health, Knox was unable to attend either school or university.[50] Nonetheless, he evidently spent his invalidity studying, for, as his writings testify, he had a wide and deep knowledge not only of theology but also of ancient and modern literature. 'From the conversation of such a man as Mr Knox much may be learned, as he is overflowing with information, as well as such an original genius,'[51] Hannah More told the leading high churchman C.A. Ogilvie (1793-1873).[52]

In 1795 Knox was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy,[53] and served three terms on its 'Polite Literature Committee,' 1796-97, 1799-1800, and 1805-06. For the term 1805-06, he also held the office of vice-president.[54]

In his personal papers, Knox confessed that his early religiosity was related to his ill-health, and that, as his constitution improved, his spiritual life declined:

> I was once strongly impregnated with evangelic religion, but it was from mere pressure of affliction; and, as that grew lighter, the other lessened apace ... Temptation after temptation drew me, by degrees, from my fear of God, and my early practice of private prayer; my taste for religion decreased; I began to love company, to love talking on worldly subjects, until I launched out into the world ... and became a politician.[55]

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[50] *Dublin University Magazine*, 4, 21, (September 1834), 241.
[51] Bodleian, Ms. Eng. Lett. d. 124,'Letters to C.A. Ogilvie,' fol. 102, Hannah More to C.A. Ogilvie, letter, 19th July [1815].
[52] For Charles Atmore Ogilvie (1793-1873), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101020584/Charles-Ogilvie, accessed 17th June 2011. A Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, Ogilvie was one of the leading high churchman in the university prior to the Tractarian Movement, from which he nonetheless held aloof. The son of a Methodist preacher, he was on friendly terms not only with More but also with Knox and Jebb, as well as the Tractarians. A subject for further research would be the extent to which, if any, Ogilvie acted as a personal conduit of ideas from Knox to the Tractarians.
[53] For the Academy, see T. O'Raifeartaigh, ed., *The Royal Irish Academy: A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985,* Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1985.
[54] I am grateful for this information to the Librarian of the Royal Irish Academy, Siobhan Fitzpatrick, in a letter to me, 26th March 2007. See, also, the *Treble Almanack* (1805), 135. There is no record of Knox having made any learned contribution to the Academy's proceedings.
[55] *Remains*, 4, 56-7. See, also, 74-7. For the term 'evangelic' here, see *Remains*, 4, 138.

'[There was no event, civil or political, involving the interests of his native city, in which Mr Knox did not take a zealous and efficient part,' Thomas Colby records.[56] Much light is shed on this stage of Knox's life by his *Essays on the Political Circumstances of Ireland*, written between 1795 and 1797, and published in a single volume in 1798.[57] These essays show that, *pace* Gunstone, Knox was never a member of the United Irishmen.[58] He admitted to 'a temporary intercourse with the Convention politicians,'[59] but asserted that he 'always had a just abhorrence of [their] principles and views,'[60] regarding them, from the beginning, or so he claimed, as nothing but 'systematic traitors.'[61] For his own part, he had started out 'a sincere and zealous advocate for a limited parliamentary reform,'[62] but quickly became convinced, not least by the behaviour of the United Irishmen, that any 'popular reform would infallibly lead ... to complete democracy,'[63] something which he equated with the excesses of the French Revolution.[64] Accordingly:

> he felt it his duty to abandon a pursuit which appeared to him as dangerous as it was visionary, and to become to the utmost of his power an unqualified supporter of the existing constitution.[65]

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[56] Thomas Colby, *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry: Volume 1*, hereafter, *Ordnance Survey*, Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1837, 96.
[57] See above, 17.
[58] Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox,'464. Gunstone is followed by Barrett, 'Knox,' 43. For the United Irishmen, see Nancy J. Curtin, *The United Irishmen: Popular Politics in Ulster and Dublin, 1791-1798,* hereafter, *United Irishmen*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
[59] *Essays*, viii. The term 'Convention' comes from the United Irishmen's intention of holding mass rallies to press for political reform. In the event only one such convention took place, that of Dungannon in 1793; see Curtin, *United Irishmen*, 57-8.
[60] *Essays*, vii.
[61] *Ibid.*, xi.
[62] *Ibid.*, vii.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.*, 34. Knox also had a theological objection to democracy. 'Political power,' he held, 'emanates not from the will of the people but from the will of God' ('A Layman of the Established Church,' *A Brief Confutation of the Rev. Mr. Daubeny's Strictures on Mr. Richard Baxter in the Appendix to his Guide to the Church: and also of his Animadversions on Mrs. Hannah More, in a letter to the editor of Sir James Stonehouse's Letters*, hereafter, *Brief Confutation*, Shrewsbury: J. and W. Eddowes, 1801, 6).
[65] *Essays*, vii.

This unqualified support for the *status quo* animated the *Essays*. They are striking by their reactionary nature, as well as by their limpid style. '[L]ively, readable and occasionally witty,' is the accolade afforded to them by J.C. Beckett,[66] while the contemporary *British Critic* declared in its review of what it described as this 'able and energetic' work:

> [N]o author that we have met with more clearly explains the views or more pointedly reprobates the measures of the traitors and Jacobins in Ireland.[67]

The *Essays* brought Knox to the attention of the authorities, and in 1798 Lord Castlereagh, the newly-appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland,[68] invited Knox to enter his employ. Usually, Knox is referred to as Castlereagh's secretary, although the more modest 'one of his secretaries,'[69] was the description he gave of his role, while Castlereagh's biographer Charles Vane speaks of Knox as his 'assistant private secretary.'[70] Knox was hesitant about taking up the position. Despite going into politics, he had never wholly lost his religious sensibilities,[71] and, following a 'nervous attack,'[72] coupled with insomnia, after which he had fallen into a 'black despair,'[73] he underwent what he described in terms of a spiritual experience. What exactly happened is difficult to discern. Knox gave two different versions: one in the

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[66] J.C. Beckett, 'Literature in English, 1691-1800,' in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan, eds, *A New History of Ireland: Volume 4: Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691-1800,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, 424-70, 466. In contrast to the praise bestowed on the *Essays*, views of Knox's style with regard to his theological writings were more mixed. See below, 58-9.

[67] *British Critic*, 14, (August 1799), 119.

[68] Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (1769-1822), Chief Secretary of Ireland, 1798-1801. He went on to become British Foreign Secretary, 1812-22. The most complete account of his life is Charles William Vane, ed., *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry*, hereafter, *Memoirs and Correspondence,* twelve volumes, London: Henry Colburn, 1848-53.

[69] *Remains*, 4, 58. Compare, 31, where in a letter to his friend George Schoales, Knox speaks of himself more grandly as 'the private secretary of a minister of state.' The Schoales were a prominent family in Derry; see Colby, *Ordnance Survey*, 106.

[70] Vane, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 2, 44, note 4.

[71] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 1), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 8th December 1803.

[72] *Remains*, 4, 57.

[73] *Ibid.*, 58.

fragments of a diary he kept in 1800; the other in a letter to his friend George Schoales, written in 1803. To Schoales, he wrote:

> Six years ago, in the house of your brother Adam, I underwent a revolution that emancipated me from the slavery of this world. To that wonderful time, therefore, I trace back every thoroughly good habit. I can look back to a point at which I awoke, as it were, from a dream, and found myself as if hanging over fathomless perdition; and I can mark another point, a few days after, when, in conversation with a Methodist preacher, a dawn sprung up that has been since often beclouded by disease, but which has never gone back.[74]

This version is the more dramatic: a 'revolution' occurs. In the 1800 version, matters progress more slowly. At first, Knox's depression led him to prayer, but:

> I found no relief for some days. I then, in my distress, went to the Methodist preacher, my pains having so far brought down my pride. His conversation brought me the first ease. I then began to pray with some hope ... But these feelings, in a few days, subsided also. Still, however, a seriousness remained, which I had not had for years, though not that uniform, practical seriousness which implies a real work of God.[75]

The second version, written nearer the time and for his eyes alone, has the merit of sounding truer to life: a slow struggle, rather than a sudden conversion experience. Whatever the exact nature of the case, it is clear that Knox's religiosity had been rekindled and, consequently, he was afraid that, if he accepted Castlereagh's offer, he 'should again be drawn into the world.'[76] Even so, pressed by the Chief Secretary, he eventually gave way and entered Castlereagh's employ.

In his biography of Castlereagh, Vane writes:

> The year 1798 was incontestably the most important of any in the modern annals of Ireland, both on account of the events which actually occurred in it, and for those

[74] *Ibid.*, 128-9.
[75] *Ibid.*, 58.
[76] *Ibid.*

> which immediately flowed from them as almost natural consequences.[77]

The 'events' to which Vane alludes were, first, those connected to the rebellion that year, which broke out in the night after Knox took up his appointment.[78] The rebellion was not something which perturbed him. At the time, describing the arrival of James Napper Tandy (c.1737-1803)[79] as 'having something funny about it,'[80] he confessed: 'I cannot help being amused;'[81] while, later on, he reminded Castlereagh of how 'I used to triumph in the repeated defeats of the rebels in the year '98.'[82]

If the rebellion did not cause Knox any disquiet, he was not so sanguine about the man dispatched from London to handle the situation, Lord Cornwallis (1738-1805).[83] To use his own word, Knox wrote 'bluntly'[84] about Cornwallis in a series of private letters to his friend, Sir George Hill (1763-1839).[85] Like many other 'loyalists and protestants of Ireland,'[86] amongst whom he numbered himself, Knox regarded Cornwallis as too lenient towards the rebels. Knox confided to Hill:

> Things do not go on to please me at all ... The fact is Lord Cornwallis is his own advisor. I believe he is consummately stubborn and reckless. He has taken up an idea, I fancy, that the rebellion was provoked by bad

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[77] Vane, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 1, 147.
[78] *Remains* 4, 59. The rebellion began in the night 23rd - 24th May. For a succinct account, see Curtin, *The United Irishmen*, chapter 10, 'Rebellion,' 254-81.
[79] For James Napper Tandy (c. 1737-1803), who led an abortive invasion of Ireland in September 1798, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101026958/James-Tandy, accessed 17th June 2011.
[80] Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, hereafter, P.R.O.N.I., Hill of Brook Hall Papers, D/642/A/10/19, Knox to Sir George Hill, letter, [1798].
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] Knox to Lord Castlereagh, letter, 23rd February 1802, in Vane, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 4, 219-23, 220.
[83] Lord Cornwallis (1738-1805), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Commander-in-Chief, 1798-1801. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101006339/Charles-Cornwallis, accessed 17th June 2011.
[84] P.R.O.N.I., Hill of Brook Hall Papers, D/642/A/10/19, Knox to Sir George Hill, letter, [1798].
[85] Sir George Fitzgerald Hill (1763-1839), politician from Londonderry, at this time clerk of the Irish Parliament. See McGuire and Quinn, eds, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 4, 699-700.
[86] P.R.O.N.I., Hill of Brook Hall Papers, D/642/A/10/26, Knox to Sir George Hill, letter, [1798].

> treatment and he resolves on that basis to charm it down by benign indulgence.[87]

But how could it be otherwise? Knox asked. 'I don't expect an Englishman to understand Irish politics by induction,' he wrote. 'And I do not expect a general who has fought in both hemispheres to be advisable.'[88]

In a letter addressed in July 1798 to his friend George Schoales, Knox gave an idyllic picture of his life in Dublin Castle, the centre of the administration. Although both the vagaries of his health and his spiritual development meant that he knew himself to be 'but *in transitu*,'[89] he could still describe his situation as 'for the time being ... not unpleasant ... I sit often at my ease, and look from my window at the ebbing and flowing of the tide of men coming in and out of the castle-yard.'[90] Not all was indolence, however; much of Knox's time was taken up with preparations for the Act of Union, [91] the most important of the 'consequences' of the rebellion to which Vane alludes in the passage cited above.

Hannah More calls Knox a 'grand instrument in accomplishing the great work of the Union,'[92] while Colby describes Knox as being a 'warm advocate for a legislative union with Great Britain ... [and] a powerful assistant in effecting that measure.'[93]

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[87] P.R.O.N.I., Hill of Brook Hall Papers, D/642/A/10/25, Knox to Sir George Hill, letter, 16th November 1798.
[88] P.R.O.N.I., Hill of Brook Hall Papers, D/642/A/10/19, Knox to Sir George Hill, letter, [1798]. Cornwallis had fought in the Seven Years War and the American War of Independence, as well as in India. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101006339/Charles-Cornwallis, accessed 17th June 2011.
[89] *Remains*, 4, 30.
[90] *Ibid.*, 31.
[91] On the Union, see, for example, Patrick M. Geoghegan, *The Irish Act of Union: A Study in High Politics, 1798-1801,* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1999; also, Dáire Keogh and Kevin Whelan, eds, *Acts of Union: The Causes, Contexts, and Consequences of the Act of Union*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001.
[92] Hannah More to William Wilberforce, letter, 24th September 1804, in *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce*, hereafter, *Correspondence*, edited by Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce, two volumes, London: John Murray, 1840, 1, 322-3, 323.
[93] Colby, *Ordnance Survey*, 97.

The majority of Irish protestants were unfavourably disposed towards the Union,[94] and Knox was among those charged with helping persuade them of its merits.[95]

Subsequently, Castlereagh could think of no one better qualified to write a history of the period. Not only was Knox close to the events, but also, Castlereagh argued, his continued acquaintance with the principal actors involved, his impartiality and eirenic disposition, as well as his felicity of style, all suited him to the task.[96] Later on, the former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl Camden (1759-1840) made a similar proposal.[97] In both cases, Knox declined the invitation.[98]

Knox supported the Union for practical reasons. He told Hill that since the idea was first broached, he had:

> endeavoured to think upon the subject with all the ... calmness I was capable of, and the result is a full conviction that it is a measure dictated by soundest policy, and contributing most especially to the welfare of the British empire, as to the safety and happiness of Ireland.[99]

No longer would protestants be a minority in Ireland, Knox maintained; they would be a majority in the United Kingdom.[100]

Knox spent about a year in Castlereagh's service.[101] Throughout 1798-99 his spiritual reformation had been continuing apace, and this eventually led to his

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[94] For protestant attitudes towards the Union, see Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin Civic Politics and Irish Protestant Patriotism, 1660-1840*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, chapter 10, 'The Constitution Defended: Opposition to Union, 1798-1814,' 257-82.

[95] See Knox to Lord Castlereagh, letter, [1798]; Nathaniel Alexander to Knox, letter, 17th January 1799, in Vane, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 2, 44-5; 123-4.

[96] *Remains*, 4, 539-41, note.

[97] Lord Camden, John Jeffreys Pratt (1759-1840) was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1795-98. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101022705/John-Pratt, accessed 17th June 2011.

[98] *Remains*, 4, 539-40.

[99] P.R.O.N.I., Hill of Brook Hall Papers, D642/A/10/26, Knox to Sir George Hill, letter, [1799].

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] Knox gives no actual date for the cessation of his employment, although in a letter to George Schoales dated 16th July 1799, he speaks of his intention of leaving Ireland for England 'in a very few days' (*Remains*, 4, 36).

resignation.[102] As Nockles says: ['I]t can be safely assumed that it was his overriding theological interests and craving for solitude that lay at the root of his decision to retire.'[103] As Knox told Brodrick, despite the loss of his early religiosity, 'never did I cease to pine after that which I had once felt,' the peace derived from his faith.[104] To this primary desire for a more religious life, one must add the fact that Knox was suffering from what he described as a 'severe nervous disorder.'[105] At the same time, his lack of physical health militated against his working; he was, as he later wrote, 'enfeebled and unfitted for active life by protracted and severe indispositions.'[106] To quote his obituary: 'His bodily structure was so infirm … as to preclude all professional pursuit.'[107]

Castlereagh was loath to let Knox go, and, such was the esteem in which he held him,[108] he tried to persuade him to stand as M.P. for Londonderry in the imperial parliament.[109] Knox, however, had, as Hannah More relates, firmly 'turned his back on politics and politicians.'[110] As he declared: 'I am sick of politics.'[111] Instead, he sought to devote himself to 'τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς.'[112]

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[102] *Remains* 4, 59-60. There is no evidence for Gunstone's contention that Knox resigned as a result of stress induced by having to deal with the events of 1798 ('Knox,' 464; compare Barrett, 'Knox,' 43). In fact, as noted above, the rebellion caused Knox no particular concern.
[103] Nockles, 'Knox, Alexander (1757-1831),' *O.D.N.B.* 32, 2.
[104] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 1), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 8th December 1803.
[105] *Remains*, 4, 59.
[106] 'The Author of Considerations on a Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church' [Alexander Knox], *Candid Animadversions on Mr Henry Moore's Reply*, hereafter, *Candid Animadversions*, Bristol: printed by Bulgin and Rosser, 1794, 1.
[107] *Christian Examiner*, 11, 73, (July 1831), 562.
[108] For Castlereagh's 'warmest and most sincere regard' for Knox, see his letter of 30th March 1811, in *Remains*, 4, 539-41, note. The admiration was mutual; see *Remains* 4, 31-2.
[109] *British Critic*, 17, 33, (January 1835), 159; *Christian Examiner*, 11, 73, (July 1831), 562; *Dublin University Magazine*, 4, 21 (September 1834), 245.
[110] Hannah More to William Wilberforce, letter, 24th September 1804, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 1, 322-23, 323.
[111] *Remains*, 4, 34.
[112] *Ibid.* Knox quotes the Greek of Philippians 3, 20, 'the commonwealth of heaven' (my translation).

Knox did not leave Dublin Castle wholly unrewarded in material terms. He accepted the position of Agent for Maynooth, which paid him an annual salary of £300.[113] The Agent's function was to liaise between Dublin Castle and the college,[114] although Knox told the Commission of Irish Education in 1826 that:

> I was never called upon to perform a duty but once ... I have always considered my situation as a sinecure, given to me by Lord Castlereagh from motives of personal friendship, and, perhaps, I ought to add, in consideration of some exertions which I was thought by the Irish government to have made in the service of the country.[115]

The one occasion on which Knox was called upon to act was in 1801. The government was worried about a lay school annexed to the seminary, and Knox was dispatched by Charles Abbot (1757-1829),[116] Castlereagh's successor as Chief Secretary, to convey this concern to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Troy (1739 -1823).[117] Knox seems to have mismanaged the business, because the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Hardwicke [118] made it clear to him, through Abbot, that if on any future occasion he delivered a message to Maynooth and an explanation of

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[113] *Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry*: *Roman Catholic College of Maynooth*, London: House of Commons, 1827, Appendix 63, 'Examination of Alexander Knox,' 7th November 1826, 444-45, 444. The Commission of Irish Education was established by the House of Commons in 1824 to investigate the state of education in Ireland. See John Coolahan, *Irish Education: History and Structure*, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981, 11-12.

[114] For the history of Maynooth, see, Patrick J. Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795-1995*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995.

[115] *Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry: Roman Catholic College of Maynooth*, 445.

[116] Charles Abbot (1757-1829), Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1801-02, thereafter Speaker of the House of Commons, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101000003/Charles-Abbot, accessed 17th June 2011.

[117] John Thomas Troy (1739-1823), Archbishop of Dublin, 1786-1823, see *O.D.N.B.,* on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101027770/John-Troy, accessed 17th June 2011.

[118] For Philip Yorke, third Earl of Hardwicke (1757-1834), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101030248/Philip-Yorke, accessed 17th June 2011. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1801-06.

what was meant was sought for, then the college was to ask for it directly from the Lord Lieutenant.[119]

Knox told the education commissioners that his only other activity in connection with Maynooth was to have written to Lord Castlereagh, seeking to secure a grant for the college from the estate of Lord Dunboyne, John Butler (1731-1800), for the education of professors.[120] 'The thing was done,' Knox reported, 'but I by no means take upon myself to say that it was done through my application.'[121]

There is no evidence to support the assertion first made by William Fitzpatrick (1830-95),[122] that Knox mutilated himself as a result of an unrequited passion for Julia Peel (1795-1859), the wife of Robert Peel (1788-1850).[123] As Nockles remarks: 'This story is discredited by the fact that Peel was ... unmarried when Knox is supposed to have fallen for his wife.'[124] More significantly, the allegation sits uneasily with what was happening in Knox's life at this time. For Knox, what was important in 1798 was not the rebellion and its consequences, but what he saw as his religious conversion. As a result of it, in contrast to the dissipation of his earlier life, 'the lusts of the flesh had dominion over me no longer.'[125] As he told Brodrick in 1803, for the past six

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[119] For this incident, see *The Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1802-1817*, edited by Charles, Lord Colchester, three volumes, London: John Murray, 1861, 1, 330-40.

[120] For Lord Dunboyne (1731-1800) and the dispute over his estate, see Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795-1995*, 54-5.

[121] *Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry*, 445.

[122] William John Fitzpatrick (1830-95), was a Dublin writer on historical subjects. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101009625/William-Fitzpatrick, accessed 17th June 2011.

[123] William Fitzpatrick, *The Sham Squire and the Informers of 1798, with a view of their contemporaries. To which are added, in the form of an appendix, jottings about Ireland seventy years ago,* third edition, Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1866, (1865), 225. The story is repeated by Ione Leigh, *Castlereagh*, London: Collins, 1951, 100. Fitzpatrick cited the testimony of two medical men who were supposed to have attended the bleeding Knox, but the evidence is severely weakened by the fact that he was writing some seventy years after the alleged event. Robert Peel (1788-1850), who eventually became Prime Minister (1834-35; 1841-46), started his political career in Ireland, as M.P. for Cashel. He subsequently became Chief Secretary for Ireland, from 1812-18. He did not marry his wife, Julia, until 1820. See Norman Gash, *Mr Secretary Peel: The Life of Sir Robert Peel to 1830*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1961, 260.

[124] Nockles, 'Knox, Alexander (1757-1831), *O.D.N.B.*, 32, 2.

[125] *Remains*, 4, 58.

years, 'I trust I have never willingly departed from [God].'[126] To quote an unfinished letter to Joseph Butterworth (1770-1826): 'My conduct varied much from [the age of eighteen] until I was thirty-nine,' that is, until 1797, the implication being that thereafter his life was beyond reproach.[127]

1.2.3. Knox and Hannah More

Renouncing what he called 'the din of politics,'[128] Knox set out for England, where he spent a year, mainly frequenting the spa towns of the West Country. During his sojourn he encountered a number of leading evangelicals, notably Hannah More (1745-1833).[129] More was one of the most remarkable figures of her age and her relationship with Knox is one which merits attention.

Initially a playwright More became a gradual convert to evangelicalism, turning her literary talents to the production of moral and religious literature. She and Knox perhaps became acquainted through the Association for the Discountenancing of Vice

[126] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 1), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 8th December 1803.
[127] *Remains*, 1, 184. Joseph Butterworth (1770-1826), a leading Methodist layman, was M.P. for Dover and founder of the legal publishing house, Butterworth's. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101004233/Joseph-Butterworth, accessed 1st August 2011.
[128] Bodleian, Ms. Wilberforce c. 52, fol. 80, Knox to Samuel Whitbread, copy of a letter, 1st December 1812.
[129] For Hannah More (1745-1833), see: M. G. Jones, *Hannah More*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952; Anne Stott, *Hannah More: The First Victorian*, hereafter, *Hannah More*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003; and William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*, hereafter, *Memoirs*, four volumes, London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1834. Besides this secondary material, there is an important collection of uncatalogued letters from More to Knox in the Clark Library, Los Angeles.

(A.D.V.),[130] which printed and distributed her tracts in Ireland.[131] One of these tracts was *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*,[132] in which Knox claimed to find:

> the substance of a conversation which took place one evening I was with her ... on the connection between the former and the latter part of the nineteenth psalm.[133]

The passage to which Knox alludes describes how one of the tract's protagonists, Mr Johnson, was journeying across Salisbury Plain, contemplating the beauty of nature:

> As this serene contemplation of the visible heavens insensibly lifted up his mind from the works of God in nature, to the same God as he is seen in revelation, it occurred to him that this very connection was clearly intimated by the royal prophet in the nineteenth psalm.[134]

A difficulty with Knox's claim is that *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* is usually dated to 1795, which would have been before Knox entered his phase of 'religious retirement.' Nonetheless, the dating of the tract to 1795 is only approximate, and it may well be that More composed it a few years later.

In 1799 More was attacked in print by the Reverend Charles Daubeny (1745-1827),[135] whom she later described to Knox as 'the high church dragon'[136] and 'the

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[130] Founded in 1792, and incorporated in 1800, the object of the Association was the distribution of Bibles and tracts. See Richard Nun, *Statutes Passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland, Volume Twelve*, Dublin: George Grierson, 1801, chapter lxvi, 'An Act for Incorporating the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion,' 234-7. Knox was a member of the Association's governing board and sat on its 'Tract Committee; see below, 77.

[131] Niall Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland: 1758-1850*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997, 138-9.

[132] Z, [Hannah More], *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*, two parts, no place or date of publication. Quotations in this thesis are taken from Hannah More, *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*, London: William P. Nimmo, 1874.

[133] *Remains*, 4, 89.

[134] More, *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*, 6.

[135] For Charles Daubeny (1745-1827), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101007186/Charles-Daubeny, accessed 17th June 2011. Daubeny's attack on More was *A Letter to Mrs Hannah More, on some part of her late publication entitled Strictures on Female Education*, London: J. Hatchard, 1799.

[136] Clark Library, Los Angeles, 'Box 2: Hannah More Letters,' Hannah More to Knox, letter, 6th January 1806.

Bath presbyter.'[137] 'A strange kind of clergyman at Bath,' was the description which Knox employed, as in a letter he told his housekeeper Miss Ferguson of how he was engaged in composing a response to Daubeny's assault on More, as well as to an earlier onslaught by Daubeny on the puritan writer Richard Baxter (1615- 91).[138] This work appeared in 1801 under the title *A Brief Confutation of the Rev. Mr Daubeny's Strictures.*[139]

During the year 1804, Knox visited More again, coming to stay at her home, Barley Wood, near Wrington in Somerset. Knox had already described More as 'one of the most truly evangelical divines of this whole age, perhaps almost of any not-apostolic age.'[140] Now, writing to Brodrick, he related that:

> I have been ... eight days with Hannah More and in very deed she rises in my estimation the more I converse with her ... I am emphatically at home with her.[141]

In part, this sense of familiarity arose from Knox's belief that More belonged to the same tradition as himself; that she was 'so perfectly of the best school in the Christian world, that of Leighton, Baxter, Hale and Boyle, the true Church of England.'[142] In this he was mistaken. More admired Knox, describing him to her fellow evangelical William Wilberforce (1759-1833)[143] as 'almost the most intellectual and spiritual man

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[137] Hannah More to Knox, letter, 1805, in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 228-30, 228. Emphasis in the original.
[138] *Remains*, 4, 80. For Richard Baxter (1615-91), see *O.D.N. B.*, on-line edition: http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101001734/Richard-Baxter, accessed 1st August 2011. For Knox's views of Baxter, see below, 82. For Miss Ferguson, see below, 51.
[139] See above, 29, note 64.
[140] 'Extract from a letter from Mr Knox,' in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 161-2, 161. Roberts dates this letter to 1802.
[141] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 2), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 11th April 1804.
[142] *Ibid.*
[143] William Wilberforce (1759-1833) was a leading evangelical M.P.; see William Hague, *William Wilberforce: The Life of the Great Anti-Slave Trade Campaigner*, hereafter, *William Wilberforce*, London: HarperPress, 2007.

I ever knew.' '[B]ut,' she continued, 'he is not in all points in our way.' [144] It was a difference which, over the passage of time, was to become more pronounced.

When Knox arrived at Barley Wood in April 1804, More was working on a book, *Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess*, which was to be published the following year.[145] Knox, Stott remarks, was 'to have much influence on the finished product.'[146] To quote Charles Forster, 'this work ... materially benefited by his strictures and [was] enriched by his suggestions.'[147] More mentions this collaboration in three letters which she addressed to Knox in 1805. The first, dated 21tst February, thanked him for his contribution, without going into further details;[148] the second, dated 19th April, complained of speculation 'that a literary work is coming out, concocted between Mr Knox and H. M.,' something which troubled More, because she wanted the *Hints* to be anonymous.[149] The third letter, of 3rd June, spoke of 'those admirable papers you read to me,' which, from the context, appear to be essays on theological topics,[150] the 'strictures' and 'suggestions' mentioned by Forster.

Studying the *Hints,* one soon discovers a number of similarities between Knox and More. First, is the insistence that Christianity is not about doctrine so much as practice; its aim is, More says, 'to make us *love* what is *right*, rather than to occupy

[144] Hannah More to William Wilberforce, letter, 24th September 1804, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 1, 322-3, 323.
[145] [Hannah More], *Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess*, hereafter, *Hints*, two volumes, London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1805. Quotations in this thesis are taken from the second edition (also 1805).
[146] Stott, *Hannah More*, 261. See, also, Jones: 'It was not without significance that Alexander Knox was a guest at Barley Wood when Hannah More was writing the *Hints*' (*Hannah More*, 189).
[147] *Correspondence*, 1, 191, note.
[148] Clark Library, Los Angeles, 'Box 2: Hannah More Letters,' Hannah More to Knox, letter, 21st February [1805]. The date of the letter is evident from the subject matter, which concerns the *Hints*.
[149] Clark Library, Los Angeles, 'Box 2: Hannah More Letters,' Hannah More to Knox, letter, 19th April 1805.
[150] Hannah More to Knox, letter, 3rd June 1805, in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 224-7, 227.

our understandings with its theory.'[151] In his assessment of the *Hints* for the *Eclectic Review*, Knox took up this point enthusiastically.[152] He summarised More's doctrine as 'efficacious Christianity:' not a set of rules for living, or truths for us to act upon, but rather a principle of life communicated to us.[153] This 'efficacious Christianity,' Knox wrote, was nothing other than 'the piety of the New Testament.'[154] It was not a kind of Christianity, he contended, but 'Christianity itself,' a position in defence of which he adduced a litany of moderates: Cudworth, Smith, Taylor, Hale and Boyle.[155]

Second, More describes Christianity as a 'faith which worketh by love,' a quotation from Galatians 5, 6.[156] Her treatment of the relationship between the two virtues is reminiscent of Knox's.[157] She began by saying that there was 'a want of attention' as to what St Paul meant by faith.[158] The definition which she gave was the 'effectual and impressive apprehension of God,'[159] whose self-manifestation in revelation aimed 'to bring back to himself the hearts and affections of fallen man.'[160] Persuaded by faith of the reality of this revelation, the Christian could not but love God. To quote More: '[F]aith, if real, must produce love.'[161]

Third, More speaks of Christ revealing God to human beings so that human beings might be drawn to God, again a teaching which is reminiscent of Knox's.[162] For More, the gospels painted 'the portraiture of him in whom dwells the fullness of the

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[151] More, *Hints*, 1, 215. Emphasis in the original.
[152] *Eclectic Review*, 2, 1, (January 1806), 14-21; (February 1806), 114-21. See, also, *Remains*, 3, 71-2 and 4, 206, where Knox speaks of this review.
[153] *Eclectic Review*, 2, 1, (February 1806), 118.
[154] *Ibid.*, 115.
[155] *Ibid.*, 118. See, also, *Remains*, 3, 71-2, where, discussing the review with More, Knox speaks of her 'vindicating efficient piety,' in the company of 'Smith, Cudworth, and Taylor.' One may note in passing that the date of the letter from which this passage comes is more likely to be 1806 than 1807, the year given in the *Remains*, since the review of the *Hints* under discussion came out at the start of 1806. For the authors mentioned in both passages, see below, 171-3.
[156] More, *Hints*, 1, 216.
[157] For Knox's doctrine on the relationship between faith and love, see below, 301-2.
[158] More, *Hints*, 1, 215.
[159] *Ibid.*, 217.
[160] *Ibid.*, 219.
[161] *Ibid.*, 218.
[162] For Knox's teaching, see below, 215; 278-9.

Godhead bodily.'[163] They '[describe] to us,' she wrote, '*God manifest in the flesh.*'[164] This manifestation was, More taught, 'for this one end ... that he might redeem us from all iniquity and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of *good works.*'[165]

Finally, More describes Christianity as that which alone can make human beings truly happy,[166] since it alone can satisfy all the exigencies of human nature,[167] thus making it superior even to the best human philosophies. To quote More, in the New Testament:

> the same view is taken of man's weaknesses and wants, of the nature of the human mind, and what is necessary to its ease and comfort, as is taken by the wisest heathen philosophers, with this most important difference, however: that the *chief good* of man, that *pure perennial mental happiness*, about which they so much discoursed, after which they so eagerly panted, but of which they so confessedly failed, is here spoken of substantially, in their notion of it, as a blessing actually *possessed.*[168]

These four similarities between Knox and More are striking. It is, nonetheless, difficult to determine the exact extent of Knox's influence on More in the conception and formulation of her ideas. The only topic on which she explicitly acknowledged his contribution concerned the doctrine of providence. Chapters thirty-eight and thirty-nine of the *Hints* give a providential reading of history,[169] and near the start of chapter thirty-eight More noted:

> The train of thought pursued in this and the following chapter, as well as some of the thoughts themselves, both here, and in one or two former passages, may, perhaps, be recognised by the Rev and learned Dr Miller, late Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, as akin to

[163] More, *Hints*, 2, 221. Emphasis in the original. More is quoting Colossians 2, 9.
[164] More, *Hints*, 2, 221. Emphasis in the original. More is quoting the Authorised Version's rendering of 1 Timothy 3, 16.
[165] More, *Hints*, 2, 223. Emphasis in the original. More quotes Titus 2, 14, a verse which Knox frequently employed: see below, 276.
[166] More., *Hints*, 1, 227.
[167] *Ibid.*, 245-9; 2, 206.
[168] *Ibid.*, 1, 231-2. Emphasis in the original. For Knox's teaching, see below, 260-1.
[169] More, *Hints*, 2, 322-80.

> those views of providential history which he has given in a course of lectures in that college. The author gladly acknowledges having received, through a friend, a few valuable hints from this source.[170]

Of particular importance in considering the relationship of Knox to More is the issue of ecclesiology. In the *Hints* More spoke of the Church of England using the then rare designation, 'the Anglican Church.'[171] She described it as being distinguished by 'liberal principles and charitable feelings,'[172] as well as by 'noble spirit of tolerance,'[173] which made it 'less polemical and more pious and practical' than other churches.[174] This moderation derived, she wrote, from a 'radical and truly Christian liberality,'[175] which was careful 'to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials,'[176] or, as she also put it, the 'essentials and circumstantials of religion.'[177] She staunchly defended establishment in general and that of the Church of England in particular.[178] Establishment was, she held, 'even under the most disadvantageous circumstances ...the source of invaluable benefits and blessings;'[179] an 'essential part of the divine plan,'[180] one which is 'intimated to us ... in several of [the parables].'[181] Among the parables which she quoted are 'those of the net cast into the sea as well as

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[170] *Ibid.*, 328-9, note. The 'friend' is Knox; for Knox's proximity to Miller, see below, 52. At a later date, More again acknowledged Knox's influence on her conception of providence, although in a different way. Writing of this topic with regard to her sisters' ill-health, More tells Knox: 'I am so far your disciple, that is, so much of an optimist, as to see a graciously providential hand in all these dealings' (Hannah More to Knox, letter, June 1816, in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 447-51, 449.) For this aspect of Knox's teaching, see below, 391.
[171] More, *Hints*, 2, 303; 313; 365. On Knox's use of the designation 'Anglican,' see below, 64-5.
[172] More, *Hints*, 2, 353.
[173] *Ibid.*, 311.
[174] *Ibid.*, 312-3.
[175] *Ibid.*, 311.
[176] *Ibid.*, 310.
[177] *Ibid.*, 353. For Knox's teaching on essentials and non-essentials, see below, 194-5.
[178] See especially chapter 38 of the *Hints*, 'Of the Established Church of England,' 2, 295-321.
[179] *Ibid.*, 301.
[180] *Ibid.*, 297.
[181] *Ibid.* For Knox's teaching on establishment, see below, 377-8.

... that of the wheat and tares,' which she used to demonstrate the mixed character of the visible church.[182]

More praised the 'invaluable liturgy'[183] of the Prayer Book for combining outward impressiveness with the inculcation of 'inward, vital Christianity.'[184] This was a result, she argued, of the caution of the English reformers, who, while they cleared away what was 'drossy,'[185] kept the 'precious remnants of ancient piety.'[186] Thus the prayers of the English liturgy were:

> devotional compositions not more venerable for their antiquity, than valuable for their intrinsic excellence, being, at once, simple and energetic, perspicacious and profound.[187]

Jones has remarked that More's teaching on the church sits awkwardly in the *Hints*, appearing 'near the end of the book,' almost as 'an after-thought.'[188] It is unparalleled in More's other writings,[189] and Jones therefore wonders if, rather than being an expression of More's own convictions, the ecclesiological teaching of the *Hints* was included simply because More realised that she was obliged to say something about the subject, 'some knowledge of the established Church [being] of importance to the defender of the faith,'[190] the princess of the book's title.[191]

More did not simply need to write about the church, however; she needed to do so in such a way that she would avoid orthodox criticism. We have already seen that she

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[182] More, *Hints*, 2, 297. For Knox's teaching on the mixed nature of the church, see below, 377. For his use of the parables in relation to the church, see *Remains*, 1, 447-67, the essay 'On the Parables Contained in the Thirteenth Chapter of St Matthew.'
[183] More, *Hints*, 2, 308.
[184] *Ibid.*, 303.
[185] *Ibid.*, 308.
[186] *Ibid.*
[187] *Ibid.* For Knox's view of the liturgy, see below, 74-5.
[188] Jones, *Hannah More*, 189.
[189] *Ibid.*
[190] *Ibid.*
[191] Princess Charlotte of Wales (1796-1817), only daughter of George IV. She would have succeeded him to the throne, had she not died in child-birth. See *O.D.N.B.*, 11, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101005160/Princess-Charlotte-Augusta, accessed 17th June 2011.

had been savaged by Daubeny, but also from 1799-1803 she had been subjected to a barrage of high church vituperation in the so-called 'Blagdon controversy.' This controversy may be summed up briefly. An active philanthropist, More had founded a Sunday-school in the Somerset village of Blagdon, where the teacher had started holding prayer-services. The high church curate of Blagdon attacked this as a schismatic act, and a nation-wide dispute had ensued, in which, to use Knox's words, More was 'racked by the trial of cruel mocking … traduced and vilified by every acrimonious bigot.'[192] As a result she had been left sick with stress.[193] One may therefore conjecture that, as Stott puts it, she wanted 'someone with impeccable orthodox credentials'[194] who would furnish her with a 'correct' ecclesiology, one which high churchmen would not be able to reproach. This is what Knox apparently did: he supplied More with the ecclesiological material which she used in the *Hints*, something which is strongly suggested by the similarity between the treatment of the church in the *Hints* and in Knox's writings. Both in terms of thought and language, the parallels are even more striking in this than in other areas.

Whatever influence Knox may have had on More, or whatever she may have borrowed from him, she did not simply reproduce his thinking, and although the *Hints* escaped censure from the orthodox more generally, the book failed to satisfy the demands of Knox's own high churchmanship. In his public review of the *Hints* for the *Eclectic*, he was muted in his criticism;[195] in private, he proved more candid. In a letter he sent to More, dated 30th May 1805, he wrote:

> Your omissions in what you had from me were quite what I wished you to do. But I should have endeavoured

[192] 'Extract from a letter from Mr Knox,' in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 161-2, 161. Knox alludes to Hebrews 11, 36.
[193] For this issue, see Stott, chapter 11, 'The Blagdon Controversy: 1799-1803,' *Hannah More*, 232-57.
[194] *Ibid.*, 262. More 'needed Knox,' Stott argues (*ibid.*, 263).
[195] For Knox's review of the *Hints*, see above, 42, note 152.

> to argue you out of some of the additions, they not being, as I conceive, in my order of theological architecture. But, on this subject, I have no disposition to tease you. I love my own views for many reasons, and for this among others, that they do not dispose me to be over-eager in urging them, or to be much pained when I am a little thwarted in them.[196]

The tone may appear subdued, but it is clear nonetheless that Knox felt 'thwarted.' Even so, he did not despair of winning More over to his way of thinking, and of the *Hints* undergoing 'a thorough revisal,' prior to any new edition.[197] His intention was to make her a conduit of his thinking to a wider audience, for, as Jebb noted:

> [W]ere H.M. [*sic*] decidedly of your way of thinking, with the high character she has acquired, and the weight which attaches to her sentiments among evangelical people, she might be an instrument of great good.[198]

Knox sought to indoctrinate More with his high churchmanship in a series of letters.[199] One wonders if More gave these virtual tracts [200] more than a cursory reading. For example, in one reply to Knox, she thanked him for his 'delightful long letters,'[201] full of 'intellectual riches'[202] and 'admirable discussions,'[203] with which she did not once engage. In another response, she offered 'cordial thanks for your valuable papers,' which, however, she regretted she has not had time to read.[204] It seems that Knox suspected her of not ever reading them, for she had to assure him of the pleasure and profit which she gained from his correspondence.[205] 'Never entertain

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[196] *Remains*, 4, 301.
[197] *Correspondence*, 1, 199. See, also, 197 where Knox says of the *Hints*: 'I hope it will do good, but it still needs revising.'
[198] *Correspondence*, 1, 258.
[199] *Remains*, 3, 71-102; 103-230; 4, 231-53; 257-63; 323-35. Jebb, too, joined in the letter-writing campaign; see Hannah More to Knox, letter, 1805, in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 228-30, 230.
[200] '*Theses* would be the more appropriate term [than letters],' Jones comments on Knox's correspondence with More (*Hannah More*, 213; emphasis in the original).
[201] Clark Library. Los Angeles, 'Box 2: Hannah More Letters,' Hannah More to Knox, letter, [1806?].
[202] *Ibid.*
[203] *Ibid.*
[204] Clark Library, Los Angeles, 'Box 2: Hannah More Letters,' Hannah More to Knox, letter, 6th January 1806.
[205] Hannah More to Knox, letter, 21st January 1806, in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 235-40, 236.

such unwarrantable distrusts any more,' she urged,' but take it for granted that your friend has not so defective a taste as to want a relish for your writings.'[206]

Whether More read Knox's letters or not, she showed no sign of accepting Knox's high church ideas; and it is little wonder that, gradually, one finds Knox growing impatient with her. Writing to Miss Ferguson at the end of 1807, about a reply which More had sent him in answer to a letter on the theology of the New Testament,[207] he complained: '[W]ith those parts of my letter about which I least cared, she seems much interested; but where I wished her to be attentive, she makes scarcely the shadow of an observation.'[208]

The problem was that, as Stott says, '[t]heologically ... [Knox] was at the opposite pole from More.'[209] As Jones puts it: 'She was, at bottom, a puritan ... He was not one whit puritanic.'[210] It was a point which, eventually, Knox came to concede. As he wrote to Jebb in 1817, concerning himself and More:

> We both value and wish for the same religious affections; the same, I mean, in substance: but we have quite different ideas of the best method of exciting them. And not only our views, but our habits of mind put (at least circumstantial) agreement wholly out of the question.[211]

The fundamental disagreement between Knox and More concerned the nature of the Church of England.[212] Jones has argued that it is impossible to read the *Hints* without being conscious of the fact that More had in mind Knox's doctrine of the *via media*.[213] In this, Jones is mistaken. Knox and More's views of the *via media* were radically distinct. For Knox, the Church of England stood mid-way between protestantism and

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[206] Hannah More to Knox, letter, 30th November 1809, in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 302-7, 302.
[207] *Remains*, 3, 71-102.
[208] *Ibid.*, 4, 227.
[209] Stott, *Hannah More*, 262. See, also, 284.
[210] Jones, *Hannah More*, 215. Jones is quoting *Remains*, 4, 207.
[211] *Correspondence*, 2, 341.
[212] Stott remarks: '[Knox] ... thought [More] had ignored the catholicity of the Church of England' (*Hannah More*, 266).
[213] Jones, *Hannah More*, 214. See, also, 189.

Roman Catholicism, and was fundamentally a catholic church; for More 'our Church' occupied 'a kind of middle place' between Lutheranism and Calvinism,[214] but essentially was no different from the 'other national churches of the Reformation.'[215]

Involved in this ecclesiological difference was a second issue, that of authority. Knox told More:

> Had [the Church of England] intended to have made her children either Lutherans or Calvinists, she would have harmonised her formularies in conformity with such an object. But, in retaining the ancient forms with such scrupulous care, she has taught us to go, for further satisfaction, to the same quarter. This steady retention was, of all the acts of our Church, the most radical and solemn, and, of course, the most characteristic ...This is what the Church of England took as its own leading principle, in subordination solely to the self-evident light of scripture; and this it, consequently, enjoins on all its individual members.[216]

In other words, for Knox Anglicans were to look not to scripture alone for guidance, nor to the principles of the continental reformation, but to scripture and catholic antiquity. As he exhorted More:

> [T]rust not to the uncertain sounds of scarcely three centuries, when you may listen to the concurrent voice of acknowledged wisdom and universal revered piety, through all the successive ages of the catholic church.[217]

It was an appeal to which More was deaf. For her, theological authority resided solely in 'the plain, unadulterated Bible.'[218] She thus eulogised Luther for his 'bold genius and adventurous spirit'[219] in restoring the doctrines of scripture, central to which she saw 'the doctrine of salvation by remission of sins through a mediator.'[220] This was a

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[214] More, *Hints*, 2, 302.
[215] *Ibid.* See, on this point, Stott, *Hannah More*, 266.
[216] *Remains*, 4, 240.
[217] *Ibid.*, 243.
[218] More, *Hints*, 2, 269.
[219] *Ibid.*, 277.
[220] *Ibid.* See, also, 1, 211, where More speaks of the importance of the doctrine of 'pardon of sin through faith in a redeemer.'

point of further disagreement. For More, 'the expiatory efficacy of Christ's *one oblation of himself once offered for the sins of the whole world*' ranked doctrinally on a par with the divinity of Christ and the Trinity.[221] In making this assertion, More directly contradicted Knox, who affirmed exactly the opposite: the doctrine of the atonement was *not* to be ranked among 'the catholic verities.'[222] More did not, however, simply contradict Knox: to make her argument, she used three authorities to which he habitually appealed. The first was catholic consent: 'Who ... [has] in any age of the church' questioned the doctrine of expiatory atonement, she demanded.[223] The second was the Prayer Book: in the quotation cited above, the phrase, 'the one oblation of himself once offered,' was taken from the communion service.[224] The third was the demands of human nature. The doctrine of the atonement served, More contended, to assuage 'one of the deepest of the natural feelings,' namely guilt.[225] She wrote:

> [A] system of religion which would have left this unprovided for, we may venture to pronounce, would have been utterly unsuitable to man and therefore utterly unworthy of the wisdom and goodness of God.[226]

Taken together, the evidence makes it difficult not to believe that More had Knox in mind when she concluded:

> Let those, therefore, who have never felt [the conflicts of an afflicted conscience] beware how they despise what they may yet be impelled to resort to as the only certain stay and prop of their sinking spirits.[227]

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[221] More, *Hints*, 1, 257. Emphasis in the original.
[222] *Remains*, 2, 317; 358; and, especially, 4, 259-60, where Knox raises the issue directly with More.
[223] More, *Hints*, 1, 257.
[224] *The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland*, hereafter, *B.C.P.*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1815, 191.
[225] More, *Hints*, 1, 257.
[226] *Ibid.*, 258-9.
[227] *Ibid.*, 259.

Although Knox may have failed in his attempts to win More over to his high church views, the letter-tracts in which he sought to do so provide an important resource for the study of his thought.

1.2.4. 'A Religious Retirement'

After his stay in England, Knox returned to Dublin in 1801 and settled down to what More described as 'a religious retirement,' [228] at 46, Dawson Street, a large end-of-terrace house near Trinity College. [229] There, to quote More again, he gave himself over to 'contemplation and inward religion.'[230] It was a life-style which he was able to afford due to rents he received from properties he owned in Antrim and Armagh, [231] as well as his pension as Agent for Maynooth.

Knox described himself as a hermit.[232] He did not, however, live alone: he was cared for by his devoted manservant Michael McFeely and his equally devoted housekeeper Miss Ferguson.[233] Nor did he forsake the wider world. To quote his own words: '[M]ost certainly I do not withdraw myself from society: on the contrary, I give myself very much to it.'[234] Although a parishioner at St Ann's, the church

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[228] Hannah More to William Wilberforce, letter, 24th September 1804, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 1, 322-3, 323.

[229] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' xix. Hornby describes the house as 'somewhat melancholy' (*ibid.*). See, too, Stokes, 'Alexander Knox and the Oxford Movement,' *Contemporary Review*, 52, (August 1887), 205. Ewens gives Knox's address as 56, Dawson Street (*Three Hermits*, 9).

[230] Hannah More to William Wilberforce, letter, 24th September 1804, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 1, 322-3, 323. This, More relates, was 'his chief delight' (*ibid.*).

[231] P.R.O.N.I., Prerogative Will Book, 1831, K-Z, T/810/373, certified copy of the will of Alexander Knox, 5th February 1831.

[232] *Remains*, 4, 384. See, also, 129-30, where Knox describes the pleasure he derived from solitude. One cannot help but see a parallel with the earlier figure of James Bonnell (1653-99), another pious protestant Dublin layman, although there is no substantial link between them. See William Hamilton, *The Exemplary Life and Character of James Bonnell, Esq., late Accomptant General of Ireland: to which is added the sermon preach'd at his funeral by Edward, Lord Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh*, London: J. Downing, 1703.

[233] For Michael McFeely, Knox's servant from at least 1796 until his master's death in 1831, see: *Remains*, 4, 81; 165-6; 407; 408. For Miss Ferguson, the recipient of a number of letters, see: *Remains*, 4, 37; 318; 590-1; *Correspondence*, 1, 606, note; 2, 582-3.

[234] *Remains*, 1, 70-1. See, also, 152, where Knox speaks of 'a man' who 'has separated himself from the pollutions of the world, without withdrawing from its common intercourse.' See, too, 4, 150.

opposite his home in Dawson Street, he would also frequent the chapel of near-by Trinity College,[235] as well as the College library.[236] He also attended lectures, at least those of George Miller (1764-1848),[237] who recorded that Knox took 'a very lively interest' in his course on church history;[238] and, of all the divines at Trinity, it was Miller who was to have the most impact on Knox theologically.[239] The influence was not reciprocal. Miller, who saw Knox as a progenitor of the Tractarianism which he loathed, was at pains to point out that he paid little attention to Knox's religious opinions:

> As my mind was, during our intercourse, engrossed by my *Philosophy of Modern History*, which constituted the bond of intimacy between us, and was, of course, the main subject of our conversations, I did not much attend to his religious peculiarities.[240]

Knox was also acquainted with Thomas Elrington (1760-1835), the Provost of Trinity from 1811-20,[241] although he and the anti-Catholic Elrington fell out over Knox's 1810 *Answer to Duigenan*, in which Knox argued the case for Catholic emancipation.[242] Nonetheless, through their joint work for the A.D.V. and the Royal

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[235] B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 197, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 17th March 1809.

[236] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 7), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 'Sunday morning,' undated.

[237] George Miller (1764-1848), taught history at Trinity from 1789-1811, before eventually becoming headmaster of the Royal School, Armagh. His lectures, which emphasised the role of providence, were subsequently published as *Lectures on the Philosophy of Modern History*, eight volumes, London: John Murray, 1816-28. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101018722/George-Miller, accessed 17th June 2011.

[238] *The Church of England Magazine*, 26, 748, (10th February 1849), 94. See, also, *Correspondence*, 1, 374-5.

[239] See below, 395.

[240] *The Church of England Magazine*, 26, 748, (10th February 1849), 94.

[241] Thomas Elrington (1760-1835) held various academic posts in Trinity before becoming Provost. In 1820 he became Bishop of Limerick, and was translated to Leighlin and Ferns in 1822. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101008758/Thomas-Elrington, accessed 17th June 2011.

[242] 'A Member of the Establishment' [Alexander Knox], *An Answer to the Right Honourable Patrick Duigenan's Two Great Arguments against the Full Enfranchisement of the Irish Roman Catholics*, hereafter, *Answer to Duigenan*, Dublin: C. La Grange, 1810. Patrick Duigenan (1735-1816) was a leading opponent of Catholic emancipation; see: http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101008190/Patrick-Duigenan, accessed 17th June 2011.

Irish Academy, they achieved a certain degree of reconciliation, fostered by their common high churchmanship.[243]

Another leading figure at Trinity with whom Knox fell out was William Magee (1766-1831), professor of mathematics 1800-12.[244] Although each was a close friend of Jebb,[245] they themselves were far from being on amicable terms. They were divided politically: Magee had been a staunch opponent of the Union, which Knox had been charged with promoting. Theologically, too, they differed, notably over the atonement. One of Magee's principal works had been a trenchant defence of Christ's death as an expiatory sacrifice, something which Knox's theology downplayed.[246] A major clash occurred in 1803. As a tract for the A.D.V., Knox produced a collection of writings by Bishop Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) [247] entitled *Lives, Characters, and a Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Hon. Robert Boyle*. In his preface to the tract, Knox spoke appreciatively of the puritan Richard Baxter and this offended the orthodox Magee, who thought that Knox was favouring dissenterism.[248] More trouble between Knox and Magee occurred in 1806, when Knox pressed for the A.D.V. to stop distributing copies of the Homilies [249] to children, on the grounds that they

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[243] For the relationship between Elrington and Knox, see B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fols 83-4, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 28th April 1816.

[244] For William Magee (1766-1831), subsequently Dean of Cork (1813-19), Bishop of Raphoe (1819-22) and Archbishop of Dublin (1822-31), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101017778/William-Magee, accessed 18th June 2011.

[245] *Correspondence*, 2, 233.

[246] See below, 275-6.

[247] For Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), Bishop of Salisbury, 1689-1715, see below, 172.

[248] *Correspondence*, 2, 229. No copies of this 1803 edition appear to be extant. The preface is preserved in Jebb's edition of Burnet's *Lives*, xliii-xlvi. It will be cited hereafter as 'Preface to the First Dublin Edition.'

[249] For the Homilies, see F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, hereafter, *O.D. C.C.*, third edition, revised, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, (1957), 790. The edition of the Homilies used for this thesis is *Certain Sermons appointed by the Queen's Majesty to be declared and read by all parsons, vicars, and curates, every Sunday and holiday in their churches; and by Her Grace's advice perused and overseen for the better understanding of the simple people*, hereafter, *Certain Sermons*, edited by the Syndics of the University Press, London: John W. Parker, 1850, (1574).

contained anti-Catholic rhetoric unsuited to the Irish situation. Magee, who like Knox, was on the board of the Association, opposed the move,[250] despite which Knox's efforts proved successful, and the distribution of the Homilies was discontinued.[251]

In 1815 Knox brought out a second edition of Burnet's *Lives*.[252] This time he furnished it with a very high church preface, explaining his actual position on the relationship between the Church and dissent.[253] The result was reconciliation between Knox and Magee, with the latter writing to Knox:

> My dear Sir, I rejoice exceedingly that that phosphoric coruscation, drawn forth by Richard Baxter, has served to spread so sweet and soft a light over the venerable fabric of our establishment. I am indeed greatly pleased with what I have just read, and read, though hastily, yet not without close attention. I find much to admire, and nothing to condemn.[254]

Richard Graves (1762-1829), successively Professor of Laws (1809), Greek (1810), and Divinity (1819), and Dean of Ardagh, 1814-29 [255] was the Trinity man to whom Knox was personally closest. A frequent visitor to Dawson Street, [256] Knox reported of him: 'He loves our way of thinking, as far as he knows it,'[257] although there is no indication that either influenced the other's theology.[258]

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[250] 'Dr Magee has certainly done all in his power to *put me* down,' Knox complained to Brodrick. N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 3). Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 6th May 1806. Emphasis in the original.

[251] The move was to have unforeseen consequences: see below, 77-8.

[252] *Lives, Characters, and a Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Hon. Robert Boyle by Gilbert Burnet, Lord Bishop of Sarum*, Dublin: W. Watson, 1815.

[253] The 'Preface to the Second Dublin Edition,' was also reprinted in Jebb's edition of Burnet's *Lives*, xlvii-lxx. Quotations in this thesis are taken from this source.

[254] *Correspondence*, 2, 229-30.

[255] For Richard Graves (1762-1829), see Leslie, *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, 677.

[256] *Remains*, 4, 380; *Correspondence*, 1, 210; 2, 190-1; T.C.D., Ms 6396-6397, Jebb Papers, Correspondence 1795-1827, fol. 20, Charles Forster to John Jebb, letter, 23rd December 1814.

[257] B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 197, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 17th March 1809.

[258] Graves's theology will be found in the remains collected by his son, Richard Hastings Graves, and published as *The Whole Works of Richard Graves, D.D., late Dean of Ardagh, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, now collected with a memoir of his life and writings*, four volumes, Dublin: William Curry, 1840.

Graves was not Knox's only visitor. 'His chamber was a church,' Jebb recorded, 'and his chair a pulpit.'[259] Callers flocked to him;[260] they found his ideas bold and challenging,[261] and his powers of conversation remarkable.[262] Nor did he simply stay at home receiving visitors: he was also, he recorded, 'taken possession of by visiting and calls about.'[263] He was especially fond of Bellevue, the Delgany home of Peter La Touche (1777-1830) and his wife Elizabeth (1759-1844);[264] and from 1803 until 1830, when Peter La Touche died, Knox stayed there in almost constant residence.[265] The beautiful setting and the congenial company had a healing effect on his mental state: there was no former period of his life when he had known such composure, he related.[266] As in Dublin, Knox spent much time at Bellevue expounding his ideas to a circle of admirers, passing 'generally whole afternoons and evenings in the parlour and drawing-room.'[267]

'I am particularly attracted to epistolary correspondence,'[268] Knox wrote. He was talking about reading collections of such correspondence, but he also, to quote Gunstone, 'laboured long hours, composing massive letters to his friends.'[269] Together with his conversation, these letters made up what Gunstone describes as

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[259] *Correspondence*, 1, 160.
[260] *Ibid.*, 2, 220-1.
[261] See, for instance, Knox's comment from his 1804 trip to Bath: '[T]hose who heard me were pleased, and surprised at having, as it were, religion presented to them in so different a form from that to which they had been accustomed,' *Remains*, 4, 185-6. See, also, Ewens, *Three Hermits*, 91.
[262] For testimonies to Knox's conversational powers, see, for example: Bodleian, Ms. Eng. Lett. d. 124, 'Letters to C.A. Ogilvie,' fol. 101, Hannah More to C.A. Ogilvie, letter, 19th July 1815; *British Critic*, 17, 33, (January 1835), 160; *Christian Examiner*, 3, 35, (September 1834), 632; *Correspondence*, 1, 241; 478; *Dublin University Magazine*, 4, 21, (September 1834), 243.
[263] B.L., Add. Ms, 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 171, Knox to Jebb, letter, 30th November 1808.
[264] Peter La Touche (1777-1830), scion of an important banking family of Huguenot extraction, M.P. for Leitrim, 1802-6. Elizabeth (1759-1844), was his second wife. For the La Touche family in general, see Michael McGinley, *The La Touche Family in Ireland,* Greystones: La Touche Legacy Committee, 2004. For Knox's appreciation of them, see *Remains*, 4, 318-9.
[265] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' xix. Hornby states that Peter La Touche died in 1828, but this is a mistake.
[266] *Remains*, 4, 132. See, also, 124-5.
[267] *Correspondence*, 2, 53.
[268] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 1), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 12th February 1800.
[269] Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox,' 466.

'Knox's method ... of personal influence.'[270] This question of Knox's influence is a large topic which deserves separate treatment. I will thus leave discussion of it until section four, after I have given a full account of Knox's life and work. For the moment, it suffices to note that, despite his 'religious retirement,' Knox nonetheless managed to propagate his ideas to what Gunstone calls 'an astonishingly wide and varied' audience.[271]

Contemplation, conversation and correspondence were not Knox's only activities. 'Association, Academy, charities cut deeply into my time,' he recorded.[272] The 'Academy' was the Royal Irish Academy; the 'Association,' the A.D.V., both of which have already been discussed.[273] The 'charities' were several. One was the Female Orphan House, on North Circular Road, Dublin,[274] of which, from 1809 onwards,[275] Knox was 'a very active governor,'[276] one who was 'particularly anxious for the welfare of the establishment.'[277] This anxiety extended to the spiritual life of the orphans, to whom Knox sought to apply his high church principles, by seeing that the chapel had 'the external appearance and suitable appointments of a regular place of Church of England worship,'[278] with the services made 'engaging and impressive.'[279]

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[270] *Ibid.*
[271] *Ibid.*
[272] *Correspondence*, 2, 253. Compare Knox's complaint to Brodrick, the following year: '[B]usiness of the Association and of the Royal Irish Academy engage me so as to leave no room for anything else,' N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 6), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 17th February 1816.
[273] See above, 28; 38-9.
[274] For the Orphan House, see 'Nemo,' *A Brief Record of the Female Orphan House, North Circular Road, Dublin, for over one hundred years, from 1790-1892*, Dublin: Seeley, Bryers, and Walker, 1893.
[275] *Sixth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry: The Hibernian Society for the Care of Soldiers Children &c*, London: House of Commons, 1827, 'Appendix 46, Examination of Alexander Knox, Esq., 28th January 1826, 105-9, 105.
[276] *Ibid.*, 'Appendix 43, Examination of Mr Richard Malins, 29th November 1824' 95-7, 96.
[277] *Ibid.*, 'Appendix 45, Examination of Miss Sarah Stephens, 27th January 1826,' 101-5, 104.
[278] *Ibid.*, 'Appendix 46, Examination of Alexander Knox, Esq., 28th January 1826,' 107.
[279] *Ibid.*

Knox was also a governor of the Hospital for the Relief of Poor Lying in Women, in Great Britain Street;[280] a member of the committee of the Dublin Institution;[281] and a subscriber to the Magdalene Asylum, in Leeson Street.[282] His main involvement, however, apart from the Orphan House, was with the Richmond Institution, founded in 1809, and located first on Great Britain Street, before moving to Sackville Street in 1814. It provided employment for the blind.[283]

1.2.5. Knox and John Jebb

It has been seen that Knox's 'religious retirement' did not preclude 'religious conversation.'[284] This conversation brought him many friends and admirers, of whom the most important was John Jebb.

The 'long intimacy'[285] between Knox and Jebb began in Londonderry, where, in 1788, Jebb arrived as a pupil at the endowed school, an event that he was later to describe as 'the great hinge of my life,' because it brought him into contact with

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[280] For the hospital, see J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin from the earliest accounts to the present time, containing its annals, antiquities, ecclesiastical history, and charters; its present extent, public buildings, schools, institutions, &c. To which are added biographical notices of eminent men and copious appendices of its population, revenue, commerce, and literature*, hereafter, *History of the City of Dublin*, two volumes, London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1818, 2, 669-82. Knox's association with the hospital is first recorded in the *Treble Almanack* (1806), 136.

[281] For the institution, see Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, 2, 943-4. Knox's association with it is first recorded in the *Treble Almanack* (1815), 227.

[282] For the asylum, the first in Ireland, see Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, 2, 770-3. Knox's subscription is recorded in the *Treble Almanack* (1830), 198.

[283] For the institution, see Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, 2, 767-8. According to the *Treble Almanack*, Knox's first involvement with the project dates from 1815 (227). It is mentioned a number of times in his writings: B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 214, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 27th December, 1809; Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30), fol. 56, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 20th May 1815; fol. 82, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 15th April 1816; fol. 199, 19th June 1826; T.C.D., Ms 6396-6397, Jebb Papers, Correspondence 1795-1827, fol. 19, Charles Forster to John Jebb, letter, 21st December 1814.

[284] *Remains*, 4, 136.

[285] Forster quotes Jebb as saying: 'From [Knox] in the course of a long intimacy I derived principles which I trust will never die' (*Life of Jebb*, 1, 23, note). Knox was, says Jebb, his 'guide, philosopher, and friend' (*ibid.*).

Knox.[286] The two met in about 1790, at a dinner in the school, and became friends, despite an age-gap of fifteen years.[287] Their paths diverged for a short time after Jebb left school, but the friendship was renewed in Dublin. Guided by Knox, Jebb discovered that he had a call to ordination, and Knox introduced him to Charles Brodrick, then Bishop of Kilmore, in whose diocese Jebb first served as a clergyman, working as curate of Swanlinbar. When Brodrick was translated to Cashel in 1801, Jebb followed him, becoming Rector of Abington, where he stayed until in 1822, when he was appointed Bishop of Limerick. In 1827 he suffered a stroke, as a result of which he moved to Wandsworth. Despite this, he did not resign his see, but continued to govern the diocese through a vicar-general, James Forster (died 1861),[288] until his death in 1833.

'If Mr Knox be Socrates,' wrote James Forster's brother, Charles, 'Mr Jebb is Plato.'[289] By this Forster meant that, as Barrett explains, Jebb was Knox's 'pupil and voice.'[290] This voice was necessary for Knox, who had considerable difficulty expressing himself in writing with clarity and concision. To quote the *Dublin University Magazine*:

> his conversation was immeasurably beyond his composition. Nothing surprised his friends more than the felicity of his language, the happy arrangement of his thoughts, the exquisite richness and force of the imagery by which they were illustrated and adorned,

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[286] *Correspondence*, 2, 111.

[287] Forster speaks of Knox's 'parental affection' for Jebb: T.C.D., Ms 6396-6397, Jebb Papers, Correspondence 1795-1827, fol. 184, Charles Forster to John Jebb, letter, 15th September 1819. For Jebb's own remarks, see 'Introduction' to Burnet's *Lives*, xxix. Jebb, it may be noted, was an orphan.

[288] James Forster (died 1861), Rector of Tankardstown and Aghadoe, Archdeacon of Aghadoe, 1834-61; see, Boase, *Modern English Biography,* 5, 327-8.

[289] Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 1, 87.

[290] Barrett, 'Knox,' 45. The point was made already in the *Christian Examiner's* review of the *Correspondence*: 'We can scarcely say that we have two writers' (3, 35, September 1834, 633). Similarly, G. T. Stokes calls Jebb 'simply Knox's mouthpiece' (*Guardian*, 14th September 1887, 1382), while the *British Critic* says: '[T]he formation of Bishop Jebb as a divine was principally the work of Knox' (17, 33, January 1835, 167). For Jebb's own acknowledgement of the debt he owed to Knox, see *Correspondence*, 1, 479; 2, 59; 205-6. See, also, Jebb's 'Introduction' to Burnet's *Lives*,' where Jebb compares Knox to Plato, xxix-xxx.

> except the fact that when he came to put the same matter into a written form, the production had all the appearance of a tame translation of himself.[291]

Knox's writing, by his own confession, was like 'a Serbonian bog;'[292] what was needed, he declared, was 'a more digested as well as [a] more systematised statement of all my views.'[293] It was this that Jebb provided. As Gunstone says: 'Jebb indeed mirrored Knox's teaching, but to its reflected light he added the clear outline of scholarly discipline.' [294] As Jebb expressed it, he could 'exhibit with tolerable clearness and precision'[295] Knox's theological principles, 'and thus, in the end, the pair of us may be enabled to do what neither of us separately could have effected.'[296]

The negative view of Knox as a writer was not universal. Jebb, despite the remark just quoted, spoke of Knox's style as 'true, luminous and exquisitely English;'[297] the *Eclectic Review* called it 'easily flowing and often beautiful;' [298] while the *British Critic* lauded its 'vigour,' 'richness,' and 'loftiness.'[299] The dichotomy is, perhaps, to be explained by the fact that most of Knox's extant writings were not intended for publication as they stood.[300] Knox did not, therefore, feel the need to polish them, as he did those works which he composed for public consumption.

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[291] *Dublin University Magazine*, 4, 21, (September 1834), 242.
[292] *Correspondence*, 2, 56. The Serbonian bog refers to a marshy region of Egypt 'where armies whole have sunk' (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 2, 594). For self-deprecatory remarks by Knox about his style, see also: *Remains*, 1, 365-6; 4, 473-5; 598; P.R.O.N.I., Castlereagh Papers, D/3030/406, Knox to Lord Castlereagh, letter, 12th December 1798.
[293] *Correspondence*, 2, 55.
[294] Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox,' 467.
[295] *Correspondence*, 2, 385.
[296] *Ibid.*
[297] *Ibid.*, 2.
[298] *Eclectic Review*, new series, 3, February 1835, 61.
[299] *British Critic*, 17, 33, January 1835, 160. See, also, Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox', 474; Maclagan, *The Grace of the Sacraments*, x-xi.
[300] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface,' vii.

1.2.6. Knox's Death and the Controversy Surrounding It

Knox died around nine in the morning on 17th June 1831, at his Dawson Street residence.[301] He was buried a few days later at the nearby church of St Ann's, where he had been a parishioner. Later, in 1861, a stained-glass window was erected in his honour; it depicts the Matthean parables, which were the subject of one of his essays in the *Remains*.[302] There is also a memorial tablet, which carries the following inscription. It serves as a convenient summary of Knox's life and work:

> Alexander Knox, died June 17th A.D. 1831. He was a true and real, a spiritual and practical, an informed and enlightened, a primitive and catholic Christian. His intellect was of a high order of ardent and soaring genius: discursive, intuitive, imaginative, judicious. He communicated truth with great force of argument and splendour of eloquence in writing and speech. To a temperament constitutionally nervous, timid, refined, sensitive, the warmth of his affections supplied energy, which gave zeal and constancy to his friendships, and courage to sustained exertions in a good cause. At an early age he gave up the world and its distinctions, devoting every power to the immediate service of God and His Word. That Word, in its letter and spirit, in its principles and their effects, was the satisfaction of his heart and mind: it gave enlightenment to the whole man in all his faculties. Cultivating it diligently, and bringing forth its fruits, he realised to himself the great fact that the Gospel of Christ, by a justifying and sanctifying efficacy, is, to everyone that believeth, the power of God unto salvation. A cordial adherent of the Church of England, he loved her best in her universal character as a living member of Christ's body; and gave the right hand of fellowship to all who under any form possessed her spirit; rejoicing that in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. As he lived the life of faith, so he died in the sure Christian hope of a resurrection to glory.[303]

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[301] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' xxix-xxx; Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 1, 376.
[302] *Remains*, 1, 447-67.
[303] *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, 2, 1, (1892), 85.

Several years after Knox's death a letter from Thomas Kelly (1769-1855) [304] appeared in the *Christian Observer*,[305] claiming that he had visited Knox, with whom he was well-acquainted, a little before his demise, and that Knox had told him: 'I begin to suspect, my dear Mr Kelly, that I have not been *sufficiently evangelical*.'[306] Kelly took this to mean that Knox had, in the face of death, abandoned his own 'system,' to embrace the more comforting tenets, as Kelly saw them, of evangelical religion.[307] 'Mr Knox had found his theories, however ingenious, to fail him in time of need,' Kelly declared.[308] The story was taken up by other evangelical newspapers,[309] but met with a vigorous rebuttal from Hornby, in an advertisement in the *Times*, and in the preface to the third and fourth volumes of the *Remains*.[310] Kelly, however, maintained his position. 'That my statement is *true*, I know,' he asserted of his report of Knox's words. 'And that my opinion [as to their meaning] is *well-founded*, I am confident.'[311] Although he confessed this opinion to be an 'impression,'[312] it was nonetheless an impression shared by several of Knox's other acquaintances, he claimed.[313] The matter was important for evangelicals, because they thought that it showed the weakness of Knox's 'system,' which they perceived as a serious challenge to their doctrine of justification by faith alone.[314] Thus, if Knox had

[304] Thomas Kelly (1769-1855), was a leading evangelical clergyman and hymnographer, who seceded from the Church of Ireland in 1802 to found his own denomination. See Carter, *Anglican Evangelicals*, 69-77.
[305] *Christian Observer*, 36, (August 1836), 491-2.
[306] *Ibid.*, 492. Emphasis in the original.
[307] For Knox's 'system,' see below, 190-2; 252-3.
[308] *Christian Observer*, 36, (August 1836), 492.
[309] *Ibid.*,, 37, (January 1837), 63-4.
[310] Hornby 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' xii-cviii. See, also, T.C.D., Ms 6398, Correspondence of the Reverend John Jebb (1805-1886), 1827-1869, fol. 53, John Jebb junior to J.J. Hornby, letter, 2nd October 1836. The letter gives the view on the story of Bishop Jebb's nephew, John Jebb junior (1805-86). For John Jebb junior, see below, 118-9.
[311] *Christian Observer*, 37, (April 1837), 226. Emphasis in the original.
[312] *Ibid.*, Appendix, (1837), 809.
[313] *Ibid.*, 811.
[314] *Ibid.*, 37, (April 1837), 226. See, also, O'Brien, *Justification*, third edition, 523-4.

repudiated this position and accepted their own, evangelicals would have been able to claim his change of mind as a vindication of their teaching.

1.2.7. Short Conclusion

This section looked in detail at Knox's life, beginning with his early years in Londonderry, and paying attention to his relationship with John Wesley. It then moved on to his brief career in politics; his friendship with Hannah More; the thirty years of his 'religious retirement;' and his 'long intimacy' with John Jebb. The section closed with his death and the controversy surrounding it. This review of the biographical details of Knox's life means that we are now in a position to examine the passion by which it was animated, his interest in religion.

3. Knox and Religion

For Knox, life and religion were so interwoven as to be inseparable. This section analyses his thinking on Anglicanism, Methodism and Roman Catholicism, the three religious bodies with which he was most concerned.

1.3.1. Knox's High Churchmanship

This sub-section investigates Knox's high churchmanship. Its length reflects the importance of the topic to a proper understanding of his life and theology.

Knox wrote to Castlereagh:

> [M]y connections and prejudices [are] episcopal and my tie to the establishment from birth and education most strongly confirmed by reason and conviction. [315]

[315] Knox to Lord Castlereagh, letter, 5th February 1802, in Vane, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 4, 216-8; 218. By 'establishment,' Knox means here, as throughout his writings, the established church, from 1801 the United Church of England and Ireland. One may note in passing that, from what Knox says

This convinced Anglicanism appeared throughout Knox's writings, and it is little wonder, therefore, that Gladstone spoke of the Church of England as 'that Church [Knox] almost adored.'[316] In Knox's words, the Church of England represented the 'best and loveliest form of visible Christianity.'[317] One should note the designation 'Church of *England*.' It was this 'sacred and auspicious name'[318] that Knox habitually employed. Only three times do his writings speak of the Church of *Ireland*. Two of these occurrences are in his essay 'On the Situation and Prospects of the Established Church' (1816).[319] This essay, which began as a private letter to Charles Brodrick,[320] was occasioned by Sir Robert Peel's suggestion, made in 1816, that the tithe-reform being proposed for the Church of England should be extended to the Irish Church.[321] It was for this reason that Knox wanted to emphasise the distinction between the two bodies. The other instance dates from 1789, and thus from a time when, one may presume, Knox's ecclesiological views were not as yet fully formed.[322]

Knox's usage of the term 'Church of England' came partly from the fact that the denomination to which he belonged was styled, from 1801 onwards, after the Act of Union, 'The United Church of England and Ireland.' More importantly, he envisaged the English Church as extending beyond the provinces of Canterbury and York to cover the entirety of the British empire. He spoke of 'the united Church of the whole

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here, his family's attachment to Methodism did not make them any less attached to the established Church.

[316] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fol. 76, 'memorandum,' 24th March 1835. Compare the *British Critic*, 17, 33, (January 1835), 159: 'he loved [the Church of England] with his whole heart.'

[317] *Remains*, 4, 465.

[318] P.R.O.N.I., Castlereagh Papers, D/3030/1123, Knox, Draft Comments on the Union of the Churches [1798].

[319] *Remains*, 1, 53-69. The references to the 'Church of Ireland' occur 53 and 69.

[320] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 6), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 4th June 1816.

[321] For the background situation, see George L. Craik and C. MacFarlane, *The Pictorial History of England during the Reign of George III*, eight volumes, London: Charles Knight and Company, 1841-44, 3, 600.

[322] *Dublin Chronicle*, 27-30th June 1789, 206.

empire … the only Church of the empire,'[323] and, in relation to it, of 'our Irish branch of the Anglican Church.'[324] Knox, thus, did not identify the Church of Ireland with the church of St Patrick, as other Irish protestants had done since James Ussher (1581-1656) and his *Discourse of the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and Scottish* (1623).[325] On the contrary, Knox identified 'the moral person of the ancient church of Ireland' with the contemporary Irish Roman Catholic Church.[326]

Knox used the term 'Anglican' a number of times,[327] and this is significant. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Church of England found itself confronted by two major transformative factors. One involved its global expansion: the other its local contraction. With the growth of the British empire, the Church now had 'branches,' to use Knox's term, spread throughout the world. At the same time, in England itself the Church was in decline. The ties which bound it to the state were loosening, as 'infidelity,' Roman Catholicism and dissent gained an ever-stronger position in society. The qualification 'of England' seemed, therefore, no longer entirely adequate. A new term was needed, one which would, moreover, help distinguish the peculiar character of the Church from not only Roman Catholicism, but also from other Reformed bodies. Such a distinction was necessary with regard to

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[323] P.R.O.N.I., Castlereagh Papers, D/3030/1123, Knox, Draft Comments on the Union of the Churches [1798].

[324] *Ibid.*

[325] Ussher's thesis first appeared as an appendix to Christopher Sibthorp's *Friendly Advertisement to the Pretended Catholicks of Ireland*, Dublin: Printed for the Societie of Stationers, 1623, as *An epistle written by the reverend father in God, James Ussher Bishop of Meath, concerning the religion anciently professed by the Irish and Scottish, shewing it to be for substance the same with that which at this day is by publick authoritie established in the Church of England.* It was subsequently republished in London as a separate tract in 1631 as *A Discourse of the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and the British*, 'printed by R.Y. for the Partners of the Irish Stocke' For James Ussher (1581-1656), Archbishop of Armagh, 1625-56, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101028034/James-Ussher, accessed 17th June 2011.

[326] Knox to Lord Castlereagh, letter, 23rd February 1802, in Vane, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 4, 219-23, 222.

[327] *Remains*, 1, 130; 132; 133; 289; 309; 310; 2, 281, note; 3, 64; 290; 295; 297; 303; 328; 4, 482; *Correspondence*, 1, 576; 2, 190; 495. The earliest occurrence is in a letter to Hannah More, dated 1806, 'On the Design of Providence respecting the Christian Church' (*Remains*, 3, 103-230, 115; 189). For the term 'Anglican,' see Colin Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity*, London: Church House Publishing, 2005, 35-7.

the latter, because both at home and abroad, evangelicalism was blurring denominational differences, something particularly acute in Ireland.[328] This, together with the minority status of the religion 'as by law established' in relation to the Roman Catholic Church, placed the Church of Ireland very much in a *via media* position, and so it was perhaps not surprising that the Irishman Knox should have been one of the first writers to employ the expression 'Anglican' in an habitual fashion, the new term which eventually came to be adopted as the designation of the whole denomination.[329]

That a word used by Knox should gain such currency is, arguably, indicative of his influence on the wider Church.[330] More important than the word, however, was the meaning that Knox supplied with it. The substantive 'Anglicanism' may date from1836,[331] but a theory of Anglicanism was set out by Knox two decades prior to that.

Knox defined himself as a high churchman,[332] or, as he told one correspondent:

> I am a primitive churchman, prizing in our system, most cordially, what it has retained from Christian antiquity, as well as what it has gained from the good sense of the Reformers in expurgating it from later abuses.[333]

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[328] See above, 22.

[329] Another term which, for a while, vied with 'Anglican' was 'reformed episcopal church.' See Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity*, 34-5. This term, too, and its cognates, appear in Knox. See, for example: *Remains* 3, 132; 260; 261; *Correspondence*, 2, 125.

[330] For Knox's influence, see below, 108-21.

[331] The word 'Anglicanism' first appeared in the *Dublin Review*, 1, 1, (May 1836), in an article on 'The Oxford Controversy,' 250-65, 264.

[332] Bodleian, Ms. Wilberforce c. 52, fol. 81, Knox to Samuel Whitbread, copy of a letter, 1st December 1812; '...a high churchman such as I confess myself to be.' For an analysis of the term 'high church' at this time, see: P.B. Nockles, 'Church Parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England, 1750-1833: The Orthodox: Some Problems of Definition and Identity,' in John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor, eds, *The Church of England, c. 1689-1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 334-59. For the general topic of high churchmanship in Ireland, see above, 21, note 10.

[333] *Remains*, 4, 207. One should recall that for Knox the 'good sense' of the Reformers, by which he means the *English* Reformers, lay precisely in their appeal to antiquity, *Remains*, 1, 66.

This churchmanship manifested itself in externals. 'I love episcopacy, the surplice, festivals, the communion table set altar-wise, antiphonal devotions,' Knox wrote.[334] This was not just a question of taste: Knox believed that 'Christianity must be impressively exhibited, as well as clearly notified, in order to either deep or general effect.'[335] This was so, he argued, on account of human nature, which included the senses as well as the reason, an argument by which he distanced himself both from evangelicalism, in which, he affirmed, 'reliance [was] placed on notification solely,'[336] and Enlightenment rationalism, which appealed to the reason alone, rather than to what Knox called 'the whole man.'[337] More than this appeal, however, the liturgical worship of the Church was for Knox an important help to holiness. '[T]he uniform import and design of all our established services,'[338] was, he asserted, the formation of:

> such habits and feelings of devotion as must imply a constant commerce of the heart with heaven, and a gradual approximation to its purity, its serenity and its happiness, through fresh and fuller infusion of that eternal life, which God has given us in his Son.[339]

For Knox, externals were thus not simply rites and ceremonies: they were a means by which the Christian was joined to God, and enabled to grow in sanctity, that which for him was the essence of true Christianity.[340]

Knox's high churchmanship was not simply, or primarily, manifested in externals. It appeared, above all, in the insistence which he laid on the importance of 'just and

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[334] *Remains*, 4, 207.
[335] *Correspondence*, 2, 341. Knox uses the contemporary construction 'in order to' without a verb. By 'clearly notified,' Knox means that preaching is not to be excluded. It is to be complemented by worship.
[336] *Correspondence.*, 2, 342. By 'notification' Knox means 'preaching.'
[337] *Ibid.*
[338] *Remains*, 2, 273.
[339] *Ibid.*, 272.
[340] For Knox's view of the 'essence of Christianity,' see below, 194-5.

adequate views.'[341] Of these views, the most fundamental, in the sense of being that on which the others rested, was his teaching about the Church of England. What Brilioth terms the 'most consistent formulation of Knox's conception of the Church'[342] appeared in 1815, in an appendix to Jebb's *Sermons On Subjects Chiefly Practical.*[343] Although in a note prefaced the 'Appendix,' Jebb merely thanked an 'excellent person' for his 'assistance' in its composition,[344] the work represented, according to Knox, the 'conjoint thoughts' of the two men.[345] Their position was as follows. The Church of England was distinct from Roman Catholicism because it 'derives all obligatory matter [*sic*] of faith ... *from the scripture alone.*'[346] It was distinct from other Reformed churches, because it:

> systematically resorts to the concurrent sense of the church catholic, both for assistance in the interpretation of the sacred text, and for guidance in those matters of religion which the text has left at large. [347]

The genius of the Church of England was thus that, as Knox wrote elsewhere, it steered a course 'equidistant from puritanism on the one hand, and from popery on the other.'[348] Knox and Jebb did not use the term *via media* to describe this position, as the Tractarians were later to do, but they did employ its English equivalent. 'The Church of England alone has adopted a middle course,' they wrote.[349]

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[341] *Correspondence*, 2, 457.
[342] Brilioth, *Anglican Revival*, 53.
[343] John Jebb, *Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical: with illustrative notes, and an appendix, relating to the character of the Church of England, as distinguished both from other branches of the Reformation, and from the modern Church of Rome*, London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1815. The 'Appendix,' as it will be referred to hereafter, runs from 357-98.
[344] 'Appendix,' 355.
[345] *Remains*, 4, 463. See, also: *Correspondence*, 2, 225-6; 232; 245.
[346] 'Appendix,' 358. Emphasis in the original.
[347] *Ibid.*
[348] *Remains*, 3, 329. See, also, 3, 66.
[349] 'Appendix,' 378. See also 397: 'The Church of England steers a middle course.' There can be little doubt that Knox's adumbration of the doctrine had, as Nockles affirms, 'a formative influence on Newman's formulation of the *via media*' (Nockles, 'Church or Protestant Sect,' 464). Newman acknowledged this. Speaking as a Roman Catholic he wrote that the 'distinctive character' of Anglicanism had been noted 'especially by Mr. Alexander Knox' (*Lectures on Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Submitting to the Catholic Church,* London: Burns and Lambert, 1850, 307).

In distancing the Church of England from other Reformed Churches, Knox and Jebb implied in the 'Appendix' that it was not a protestant body. Elsewhere, Knox was more explicit. Writing to Jebb, he vituperated:

> What perverse influence the nickname of protestant has had on our Church! Ever since this epithet became fashionable, its vulgar definition has had more authority with churchmen themselves than all the settled standards to which they are bound.[350]

By denying the protestant nature of the Church, Knox distinguished himself from the vast majority of pre-Tractarian high churchmen, who were, as Nockles notes, 'proud of the title protestant,'[351] and he anticipated the attitude of the Tractarians, for whom the Church was 'merely *reformed*, not protestant,' to quote Newman's words. [352]

Protestantism, for Knox, was as much a peril to Anglicanism as Roman Catholicism.[353] 'If popery can be a Charybdis,' he wrote, 'there is a Scylla on the other side, not less dangerous.'[354] The danger lay, he reasoned, in the principle of *sola scriptura*, the doctrine that 'the Bible alone' was authoritative in matters of faith. Once this principle was allowed and the interpretative authority of catholic antiquity lost, then, Knox held, doctrinal disaster followed automatically, as witnessed by 'every [other] Reformed church,' which could be seen 'more or less rapidly verging

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[350] *Correspondence*, 2, 125.

[351] Peter B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857*, hereafter, *Oxford Movement in Context*, paperback edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, (1994), 154. In the view of pre-Tractarian high churchmen, the Church was catholic in that it held to the primitive faith; it was protestant because it rejected those innovations, as they saw them, by which the primitive faith had been overlaid. For an example, see Charles Daubeny, *The Protestant's Companion, or A Seasonable Preservative against the errors, corruptions, and unfounded claims of a superstitious and idolatrous church, with a chapter respectfully addressed to our governors, and another to our clergy*, London: C. & J. Rivington, 1824. There were some rare exceptions to this general rule of high churchmen identifying the Church as protestant; see Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context*, 154.

[352] [John Henry Newman], *Tract 71: On the Controversy with the Romanists*, 32, emphasis in the original. Text in Members of the University of Oxford, [Benjamin Harrison, R.F. Wilson, J. Keble *et al.*], *Tracts for the Times, Volume 3: For 1835-6*, London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1836.

[353] It will be shown that, in fact, Knox viewed Roman Catholicism as less inimical to Anglicanism than protestantism; see below, 105-6.

[354] *Remains*, 1, 58. The allusion is to two dangers that, in classical mythology, stood on either side of the straits of Messina (Homer, *Odyssey*, 23, 322).

towards Socinianism.'[355] 'The Church of England alone appears to have escaped this warping influence,' Knox contended, because it alone combined 'the study of the sacred word … with a reverent attention to catholic consent.'[356]

By 'catholic consent,' Knox meant that which has been believed 'everywhere, always and by all,' a principle which he derived from Vincent of Lérins, or 'Vincentius Lirinensis,' as Knox called him.[357] Vincent is a somewhat obscure figure, a fifth-century monk from the south of France, whose fame rests on a work called the *Commonitorium*, in which he sort to establish a rule or 'canon' for determining the truth in religious controversies.[358] Vincent stated this rule as follows: '[*C*]*urandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*' [359] This rule was fundamental to Knox's theology, for Knox saw it as providing the definition of the catholic faith:

> [W]hat is the catholic religion, but the concurrent judgment or tradition of the church, the *consensus omnium*, the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*? [360]

Having been believed 'always,' the *consensus omnium* was often presented by Knox in terms of 'antiquity.' It was the teaching of the Fathers, or, more exactly, their

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[355] 'Appendix,' 367.
[356] *Ibid.*, 367-8.
[357] For a fuller treatment of Knox's understanding of 'universal consent,' see below, 218-21. In the present passage, I deal with his use of the concept simply in relation to his understanding of Anglicanism, rather than as a theological authority considered more broadly.
[358] For the Latin text, see J.P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus ... Series Latina*, hereafter, *P.L.*, 217 volumes, Paris: Migne, 1844-55,50, 625-86; also, R.S. Moxon, ed., *The Commonitorium of Vicentius of Lerins*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915. The word *commonitorium* might be translated 'an aid to memory.' Unless otherwise stated, all translations from patristic sources are my own.
[359] Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium,* 2, *P.L.,* 50, 640. The rule is usually cited, as in Knox, '*semper, ubique et ab omnibus*.' It means: 'Care is to be taken that we hold that which has been believed everywhere, always and by all.'
[360] *Remains*, 3, 67. See, also, 292.

consensus.[361] This did not mean Knox was an inflexible traditionalist. He believed that Anglicanism was balanced:

> a combination of mental freedom and mental discipline, of adherence to all that has received the concurrent stamp of times that are past, and of an openness to all those intellectual improvements with which the goodness of providence may yet be pleased to bless posterity.[362]

Knox thus believed in the development of doctrine, an idea which he would have found in Vincent. 'Yet, you will ask,' Vincent wrote, 'is there no development (*profectus*) of the faith in Christ's church? Yes, there is, and a great one.'[363] Nonetheless, for Vincent development was not the same thing as a change in fundamentals (*permutatio*).[364] For Knox, Anglicanism provided a perfect example of this development without fundamental change. Without abandoning their doctrine, it had nonetheless 'improved upon the Fathers.'[365] As Knox wrote:

> The Church of England on the whole ... has carefully retained and preserved all the treasures of the ancients ... but she has not buried it [*sic*] in a napkin. She has traded with her five talents; nor is the time of occupying yet over: she may in the end have ten talents to deliver to the great taskmaster. In the mean time, what equal instance have we of approach to that description of the mystical householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasures things new and old? [366]

Numerous editions and translations of the *Commonitorium* had been circulating in Europe since the seventeenth century,[367] and Church of English writers had consistently invoked it, as they defended Anglican doctrine by an appeal to patristic

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[361] Knox allowed that the Fathers disagreed over certain issues; if they did so, however, it was over 'unessential opinions,' he argued (*Remains*, 3, 284).
[362] 'Appendix,' 368.
[363] Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*, 23, *P.L.*, 667.
[364] Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*, 23, *P.L.*, 667-8.
[365] *Remains*, 1, 299.
[366] *Ibid.*, 299-300. Knox alludes in the passage to Matthew 25, 14-28, the parable of the talents, and 13, 52, the *logion* about the scribe.
[367] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (since 1700)*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, paperback edition, 1991, (1989), 80.

tradition.[368] As Knox argued in the *Correspondence*: 'The wish to keep [the Church of England] primitive … [was] the uniform spirit and feeling of all the Anglican divines,'[369] an assertion in evidence of which he and Jebb furnished a *catena* of quotations from earlier authors.[370] Nonetheless, there was an important difference between Knox's teaching and that of other high churchmen. As Newman's pupil S. F. Wood (1809-43)[371] remarked in an 1840 memorandum on 'The Revival of Primitive Doctrine:' '[The 'Appendix'] has the praise of having … reproduced in *a modern shape* the Anglican rule of faith.'[372] For other high churchmen, if Anglicanism and antiquity were substantially identical, it was because the Fathers were seen as espousing the doctrine of the Church of England; they were 'marshalled in Anglican order and costume,' to borrow the words of Tom Mozley (1806-93).[373] For Knox, by contrast, the Church of England was identical with antiquity, because it espoused the doctrine of the Fathers. It was because 'our Church follows the ancient church,' that Knox saw the teachings of Anglicanism as authoritative.[374] His appeal was to 'the judgment of the church, ancient and Anglican,' a single court of appeal.[375]

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[368] See Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context*, 104-6.

[369] *Correspondence*, 1, 576. Compare Newman's claim: '[T]he Anglican plea was antiquity' (John Henry Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua, being a history of his religious opinions*, hereafter, *Apologia*, edited with an introduction and notes by Martin J. Svaglic, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967, (1864), 102.

[370] 'Appendix,' 388-96.

[371] Samuel Francis Wood (1809-43) was a student at Oriel College, Oxford, where Newman was his tutor. He subsequently worked as a barrister. See *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, Volume 2: Tutor at Oriel: January 1827-December 1831*, edited by Ian Ker and Thomas Gornall, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 416.

[372] S. F. Wood, 'The Revival of Primitive Doctrine,' a private memorandum written in 1840, reproduced in James Pereiro, *Ethos and the Oxford Movement: At the Heart of Tractarianism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, 252-65, 254. Emphasis added. Wood praised the 'Appendix' for setting out 'the intellectual basis on which the whole [Anglican] system rests' (*ibid.*).

[373] Thomas Mozley, *Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, two volumes, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882, 2, 400. Ironically, Mozley was talking about Newman's method of argument in *The Arians of the Fourth Century, their doctrine, temper, and conduct, chiefly as exhibited in the councils of the church, between A.D. 325 and A.D. 381*, hereafter, *Arians*, London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1833. For Thomas Mozley (1806-93), clergyman and journalist, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101019479/Thomas-Mozley, accessed 18th June 2011.

[374] *Remains*, 1, 309.

[375] *Ibid.*

Because of the identity of the Church's teaching with that of antiquity, Knox held that, in order to be properly understood, the Anglican formularies had to be interpreted by catholic tradition. He maintained that no one could 'understand the Church of England, until they have recourse to the ancient catholic church.' [376] To quote a letter to Daniel Parken (1785-1812): '[I]f we would understand our formularies, we must resort to the sources from whence they were derived, and consult [the] ancients.'[377] The corollary of this was the principle that, if anything was found in the Church of England incompatible with catholic tradition, then it should be regarded as something foreign to the true genius of Anglicanism and be corrected accordingly, in favour of the *consensus patrum*.[378]

All this is important, not only because it set Knox from apart contemporary high churchmen, but also because it marked him out as a precursor of the Tractarians, of whose vision of Anglicanism the primacy given to antiquity was a distinguishing feature.[379] As an example, one may quote E.B. Pusey (1800-82), [380] who, when asked to define what constituted the system called by his name, listed among other points:

> Reverence for and deference to the ancient church, of which our own Church is looked upon as the representative to us, and by whose views and doctrines we interpret our own Church when her meaning is

[376] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 6), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 23rd January 1812.
[377] *Remains*, 1, 385. Daniel Parken (1785-1812), a Baptist lawyer, was one of the founders of the *Eclectic Review*, which he edited from 1806 until his death in 1812. See Hiller, '*The Eclectic Review*, 1805-1868,' 180.
[378] See, for the enunciation of this principle: *Remains*, 3, 45; *Correspondence*, 1, 562-3.
[379] For the Tractarians, to quote Nockles:'[A]ntiquity became an absolute standard and final court of appeal, rather than, as with most old high churchmen, merely a corroborative testimony to the truth of the Church of England's formularies and the teaching of her standard divines' (*Oxford Movement in Context*, 114). See, too, Reginald H. Fuller, 'The Classical High Church Reaction to the Tractarians,' in Geoffrey Rowell, ed., *Tradition Renewed: The Oxford Movement Conference Papers*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986, 51-63, 53.
[380] Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82), Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, 1828-82. See especially H.P. Liddon,, *The Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford,* hereafter, *Life of Pusey*, four volumes, volumes one to three edited by J.O. Johnson and Robert J. Wilson, volume four edited by J.O. Johnson, Robert J. Wilson and W.C.E. Newbolt, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893-7. See, also: Perry Butler, ed., *Pusey Re-Discovered*, London: S.P.C.K., 1983; David A. R. Forrester, *Young Doctor Pusey: A Study in Development*, London: Mowbray, 1989.

> questioned or doubtful: in a word, reference to the ancient church instead of the Reformers as the ultimate expounder of the meaning of our Church.[381]

Despite stating that the Church of England was subject to the correction of antiquity, for Knox such correction was hypothetical, since he believed the Church of England to be 'radically primitive,'[382] faithfully maintaining the Vincentian position.[383] '[N]ext to the explicit Word of God, pious antiquity is the standard of the Church of England,' he declared.[384] As he wrote in the preface to his second edition of Burnet's *Lives*:

> [W]e of the Church of England are only echoing the voices, repeating the movements and tracing the footsteps of the great body of the church militant which has marched on before.[385]

Anglicans, he affirmed:

> are in the justest and strictest sense catholic, that is, diligent inquirers after the united sense of the regular Christian church in interpreting holy scripture, and steady adherents to what we thus find clearly avouched to us.[386]

Although he could be more nuanced,[387] Knox at times even went so far as to claim that the Church of England was *the* 'exclusive providential conservatory of ancient catholic faith and ancient catholic piety.'[388] As he wrote to James Dunne (1767-1838), the Rector of Delgany:[389]

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[381] E.B. Pusey, 'What is Puseyism?' in Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, 2, 140-1, 140.
[382] 'Preface to the Second Dublin Edition,' lxii.
[383] *Remains*, 3, 323.
[384] *Ibid.*, 1, 384. The principle is often affirmed in Knox's writings; see, for example: *Remains*, 1, 66-7; 2, 167-8; 175; 276; 3: 43-5; 65-6; 295; 4, 240; 402-3; *Correspondence*, 2, 125.
[385] 'Preface to the Second Dublin Edition,' lxiii.
[386] *Remains*, 4, 240.
[387] See, for example: Bodleian, Ms. Eng. Lett. d. 123, 'Letters to C.A. Ogilvie, K-Z,' fol. 86, Knox to C.A. Ogilvie, letter, 23rd January 1827; *Remains*, 1, 406-7; 3, 211-2.
[388] *Remains*, 2, 175. See, also, *Correspondence*, 2, 482.
[389] James Dunne (1767-1838) was Rector of Delgany, 1810-17. See Leslie, *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, 598. In the *Remains*, Dunne is spelled without an 'e.'

> [W]hat else did the Church of England at the Reformation, than follow the spirit of Vincentius's principle? And it may even now be asked, where, except by the Church of England alone, has this principle been practically and consistently maintained?[390]

Knox saw the 'primitive' nature of the Church manifested in two main areas. The first was the episcopate,[391] although this was not an idea that he developed. By contrast, the catholicity of 'our blessed liturgy' was a constant theme. In words reminiscent of those written by Newman at a later date,[392] he asked: 'Were a Christian of the third- or fourth-generation to revisit the earth and be present at our public worship, what difference would he find ...?'[393] For him, the Book of Common Prayer contained 'everything essential to catholic theology, set forth in terms the most simple, luminous and impressive.'[394] It was 'a body of practical theology'[395] which served as 'a standard ... of doctrine as well as of devotion.'[396]

Despite his veneration of the 1662 Prayer Book, Knox had a preference for that of 1549.[397] This is evident from his private correspondence with Jebb. The text of the 1549 Prayer Book was at that time difficult to obtain,[398] and Knox told Jebb that he was ready to pay eight guineas for a copy. 'It is *the* single thing for which I can be

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[390] *Remains*, 3, 323. See, also, *Correspondence*, 2, 125, where he claimed that the principle maintained by 'Vincentius' 'at this day exists nowhere but in the genuine central essence of our own reformed episcopal church.'

[391] For the theme of the episcopate as a link with the primitive church, see, for example: *Remains*, 3, 69; 4, 482-3; *Correspondence*, 2, 18; *Answer to Duigenan*, 40; 63.

[392] 'Did St Athanasius or St Ambrose come suddenly to life, it cannot be doubted what communion they would mistake for their own' (John Henry Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, London: James Toovey, 1845, 138).

[393] *Christian Observer*, 15, 6, (June 1816), 360. The letter from which this quotation comes runs from 358-65. Signed 'Amicus,' it is a defence of the 'Appendix.' The style and argumentation point to Knox, and it may be the 'paper' referred to by Jebb, *Correspondence*, 2, 393.

[394] *Remains*, 3, 68.

[395] *Ibid.*, 63. One may compare the position of the Tractarians, for whom, as Newman says, the Prayer Book was 'the living authority on which they based their theological system' (*Lectures on Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Submitting to the Catholic Church*, 109).

[396] *Remains*, 3, 63.

[397] For the history of the Prayer Book, see Francis Proctor and Walter Howard Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, with A Rationale of its Offices*, London: Macmillan and Co., 1958, (1855)

[398] Al f Härdelin, *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist,* Uppsala, Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1965, 253.

tempted to be extravagant,' he confided.[399] His preference is clear, too, in his published writing. He argued that, during the turmoil of the Reformation, the catholic doctrine of the eucharist 'was embodied in the first reformed communion service.'[400] It was, he asserted, a 'transcript of primitive doctrine.'[401] Thus, Knox claimed, 'short-lived as it was,' the 'first Prayer Book of Edward' provided a model for the revisers of 1662 to follow,[402] although he lamented that they had not adhered to it more closely. '[When] I compare [1662] with the original form [of 1549], I could wish for a greater nearness,' he confessed.[403]

To the primary standard of the Prayer Book, Knox held that the Thirty-Nine Articles were subordinate.[404] This was because, while the liturgy of the Prayer Book embodied 'the sublime piety of the primitive church,'[405] the Articles drew their 'materials ... from later times.'[406] Not only were the Articles modern, however; a number of them were, in Knox's judgement, doctrinally flawed. As he told Hannah More, they

[399] B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 245, Knox to John Jebb, letter, January 1816.
[400] *Remains*, 2, 168-9.
[401] *Ibid.*, 175
[402] *Ibid.*, 172.
[403] *Ibid.*, 171. Knox's preference for the 1549 Book was shared by the Tractarians; see Häredelin, *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist*, 253. It may have been through Knox, in part, at least, that they came to this position, since the Tractarians were highly appreciative of Knox's teaching on the eucharist in general. See, for example, the use made of Knox by Pusey: [E. B. Pusey], *The Doctrine of the Real Presence as set forth in the works of divines and others of the English Church since the Reformation, Part 2*, hereafter, *Doctrine of the Real Presence*, 2, Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker, 1855, 78-108. Another example is given by John Keble, who thought that ' [Knox] did the world great service by his treatise on the eucharist' (J.T. Coleridge, *A Memoir of the Reverend John Keble, M .A., Late Vicar of Hursley*, hereafter, *Memoir of Keble*, two volumes, Oxford and London: James Parker and Company, 1869, 1, 241-2). For John Keble (1792-1866), see, besides Coleridge, Georgina Battiscombe, *John Keble: A Study in Limitations*, London: Constable, 1963; and, more recently, Kirstie Blair, ed., *John Keble in Context*, London: Anthem Press, 2004.
[404] *Remains*, 3, 61-2. For the text of the Thirty-Nine Articles, see *B.C.P.*, 395-405. On the relationship of the liturgy to the Articles, Knox again anticipated the position of the Tractarians. See, for example, [John Henry Newman], *Tract 38: Via Media, Number 1*. Text in Members of the University of Oxford [John Henry Newman, John Keble, *et al.*], *Tracts for the Times: Volume 1: For 1833-4*, London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1834. See, too, [John Henry Newman] *Tract 90: Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles*, London: J.G. F. & J. Rivington, 1841, 4; 80.
[405] *Remains*, 4, 302.
[406] *Ibid.*

'contain a series of hair-breadth 'scapes,'[407] by which he meant that they came perilously close to being at odds with 'the integrity of primitive truth.'[408] Writing to Brodrick, his language was even more severe: he described the Articles as infected with the fungi of Calvinism.[409]

In spite of his strictures to More and Brodrick, Knox appealed to the Articles in his writings. In his teaching on the eucharist, he cited Articles twenty-five, twenty-eight and twenty-nine,[410] while in his work on justification, he quoted Articles eleven and twelve.[411] He did so, first, because he did not see all the Articles as flawed: some he esteemed excellent. For example, the catholic doctrine of the sacraments 'could scarcely be expressed with greater simplicity or strength than in [the] words' of Article twenty-five, he held.[412] Second, even those Articles which he judged 'pernicious' were 'not poisonous.'[413] They were capable of being interpreted in an orthodox sense: this was the reason that they needed to be construed not in isolation but by reference to catholic tradition.[414] Thus, discussing Articles eleven and twelve, on the question of justification, he claimed that, once they had been carefully examined, '[t]he inference on the whole is that justification, or acceptance with God, is most essentially connected with moral obedience.'[415]

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[407] *Ibid.*, 3, 83.
[408] *Ibid.*, 84.
[409] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 5), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 11th November 1808. Knox's difficulty with the Articles recalls Newman, who spoke of their 'vile protestantism.' See John Henry Newman to R. F. Wilson, letter, 13th May 1835, in *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman: Volume 5: Liberalism in Oxford: January 1835 to December 1836*, edited by Thomas Gornall, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, 70.
[410] *Remains*, 2, 189-91.
[411] *Ibid.*, 1, 291-2.
[412] *Ibid.*, 2, 189.
[413] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 3), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 11th November 1808.
[414] See above, 72. Again one thinks of Newman in *Tract 90.* When he came to re-publish the tract in 1877, he added a prefatory 'Notice' which explained that the whole aim of the essay was to show that 'the Articles, when examined ... were (as was said at the time) patient ... of a catholic interpretation' (John Henry Newman, *The Via Media of the Anglican Church, illustrated in lectures, letters and tracts written between 1830 and 1841,* two volumes, London: Pickering, 1877, 2, 251-7, 257). His position appears identical to that taken by Knox.
[415] *Remains*, 3, 85.

As well as the Articles, Knox appealed to the Church Catechism,[416] which he cited in his teaching on baptism and the eucharist.[417] He also appealed to the Homilies, although he declined to consider them as binding statements of the Church's faith.[418] This became clear in the course of a controversy which erupted at the end of 1825, when, almost twenty years after the event, one of the Commissioners for Irish Education expressed surprise that 'an individual of weight and influence' had 'objected to the circulation of the Homilies of the Church of England' by the A.D.V.[419] In response, Knox defended his position in a letter dated 27th December 1825, addressed to the secretary of the A.D.V., James Wilson (1780-1837).[420] The letter was subsequently lithographed for circulation among the members of the Association,[421] before being published as a tract.[422] This tract was the first in a spate of pamphlets on the subject, all of them reviewed in the *Christian Examiner*, which covered the controversy in a long article running over three issues.[423] The reason for the furore was not the point about the sectarian nature of the articles, but about their authority, which Knox denied. They are 'not ... in any respect *authoritative* in the English Church,' he maintained.[424] The issue was of importance for evangelicals because, as the *Examiner* argued, the Homilies contain 'a detailed explanation of the

[416] For the Catechism, see *B.C.P.*, 212-6.
[417] *Remains*, 1, 496; 2, 191-3.
[418] *Ibid.*, 1, 293-8; Bodleian, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 140, fol. 97, Knox to James Wilson, letter, 27th December 1825.
[419] *Appendix to the First Report of the Commission on Education in Ireland*, London: House of Commons, 1825, 371. For the origins of the controversy, see above, 53-4.
[420] Bodleian, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 140, fol. 97, Knox to James Wilson, letter, 27th December 1825. James Wilson (1780-1837) was secretary to the A.D.V. from 1817-33. Subsequently, he became Bishop of Cork. See Leslie, *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, 1190.
[421] *Christian Examiner*, 4, 21, (March 1827), 220.
[422] 'A Member of the Tract Committee' [Alexander Knox], *The Judgment of the Tract Committee of the Association for Discountenancing Vice &c. Respecting the Homilies Reviewed and Vindicated in a letter to the Reverend C.R. Elrington, D.D., M.R.I.A.*, hereafter, *The Judgement of the Tract Committee*, Dublin: Milliken, 1826. For C.R. Elrington (1787-1850), Thomas's son, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101008756/Charles-Elrington, accessed 1st August 2011.
[423] *Christian Examiner*, 4, 21, (March 1827), 216-32; 22, (April 1827), 292-311; 26, (June 1827), 434-61.
[424] *The Judgement of the Tract Committee*, 13; quoted *Christian Examiner*, 4, 22, (April 1827), 305. Emphasis in the original.

meaning of justification by faith and of the sense in which we are justified by faith alone,'[425] the doctrine which was central to their beliefs, and which was the object of perpetual dispute between themselves and Knox.

After the Prayer Book, Knox's main Anglican authority was the teaching of those whom he regarded as the Church's standard divines. These were not the Carolines, as one might have initially expected, given Knox's high churchmanship, but rather the moderates of the seventeenth century,[426] although one should note that the moderates were not lacking in high church credentials.[427] Knox declared himself to be their follower. 'I am,' he affirmed, 'a most sincere and cordial churchman of the seventeenth century, the humble disciple of Hale and Boyle, of Burnet and Leighton.'[428]

1.3.2. Knox's Relationship with Other High Churchmen

One cannot speak of Knox as a high churchman *tout court*. Hunt affirms: 'He might be described as a high churchman, an evangelical or a broad churchman, yet in each case with qualifications and reservations.'[429] To quote Reardon, Knox was 'an individualist fitting exactly into no party.'[430] As Knox put it: 'I am bound to no party, nor have any of my fellow creatures authority over my conscience.'[431]

Knox's distinctiveness should not be pressed too far. As we have seen above, he was fundamentally a high churchman; and this will be further demonstrated when we

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[425] *Christian Examiner*, 4, 26, (June 1827), 450.
[426] For the moderates, see below, 171-7.
[427] See below, 174-5.
[428] *Remains*, 4,101. One should be careful to see that Knox is not leaping across the centuries, from the fourth to the seventeenth, ignoring the period in between. Rather, these two eras were, in his view, spiritual high-points in the history of the church. For 'Hale and Boyle, Burnet and Leighton,' see below, 172.
[429] Hunt, *Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century*, 44.
[430] Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore*, 38.
[431] B. L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 71, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 23rd October 1804.

come to look at the details of his theology. Nonetheless, Knox distanced himself from those he called 'the old high church race,'[432] offended by what Bowen terms their 'almost total lack of spirituality.'[433] For, as Gilley writes:

> In the eighteenth century high churchmanship fell on evil days, often declining into pure politics. Many high churchmen were simply Church-and-King Tories, blind zealots for the Tory Party and the traditional connexion between the Church and State.[434]

Gilley notes that this was 'only one side of the picture;'[435] what Nockles calls 'a spiritual high churchmanship' did exist.[436] But it was not this that Knox saw: 'unspiritual orthodoxy,' was how he termed the high churchmanship of his day.[437] In his view, '[t]he majority [of high churchmen were] mere men of the world,'[438] figures such as 'Mr Testy,' a character whom Knox described in an article in *The Flapper*.[439] 'No man appears more attached to the established religion or is more zealous in its defence,' Knox commented. 'But notwithstanding all [his] great zeal for religion, it is remarkable that Mr Testy uniformly forgets to go to church,' nor can even a Bible be found in his house.[440]

More than their perceived lack of spirituality, Knox detested the 'high church bigotry,'[441] of the orthodox, manifested in the animosity they showed towards

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[432] *Remains*, 1, 54.
[433] Desmond Bowen, *The Idea of the Victorian Church: A Study of the Church of England, 1833-1889*, Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968, 53.
[434] Sheridan Gilley, 'John Keble and the Victorian Churching of Romanticism,' in J.R. Watson, ed., *An Infinite Complexity: Essays in Romanticism*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983, 226-39, 227.
[435] *Ibid.*, 229.
[436] Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context*, 194.
[437] *Correspondence*, 1, 339.
[438] *Remains*, 1, 54. Knox admitted that there were 'conscientious members' of the party, but they were lacking in charity (*ibid.*). See, also, *Remains*, 4, 329, where Knox describes the high churchmen of his time as 'cold formalists and violent anti-fanatics.'
[439] *The Flapper* was a short-lived Dublin journal, which ran from 2nd February 1796- 4th February 1797, to which Knox contributed several articles (John Thomas Hope, *Catalogue of a Collection of Early Newspapers and Essayists*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865, 123).
[440] *The Flapper*, 15, (22nd March 1796), 58-9.
[441] *Correspondence*, 1, 198.

Methodism,[442] and even to the evangelicalism of their fellow-Anglicans, such as Hannah More.[443] Their zeal made them indiscriminate, in Knox's view. 'They involve in their attack all that is venerable and valuable, with that which is really exceptionable and justly to be resisted,' he lamented.[444] They confounded 'vital religion with its abuses and counterfeits.'[445]

It was this 'vital religion' which Knox espoused, and which he saw as distinguishing him from the cold and rigid orthodoxy that he perceived as being the mark of contemporary high churchmanship. Instead of it, he sought what he portrayed as '*warmth of piety*, something like that described by those two travellers: did not our hearts *burn within us*?'[446]

1.3.3. Knox's Relationship with Evangelicals

Knox's relationship with evangelicals was friendly, at least with those in England. Knox found Irish evangelicalism less than cordial, on account of its dogmatic Calvinism; for their part most Irish evangelicals were, as Nockles notes, 'less tolerant of Knox's departure from accepted evangelical doctrinal norms than their English Claphamite counterparts.'[447] One also needs to take the historical situation into account. As a result of the changing political landscape, many Irish protestants were

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[442] See, for example: Bodleian, Ms. Wilberforce d. 15, fols 63-5, Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 9th January 1801, P.R.O.N.I., Castlereagh Papers, D/3030/1595, Knox to Lord Castlereagh, letter, 9th February 1801; D/3030/1612, Knox to Lord Castlereagh, letter, 17th February 1801. For the background, see W.R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850*, London: Batsford, 1972.
[443] See above, 39-40; 46.
[444] *Remains*, 1, 64-5. What Knox meant by that which was 'venerable and valuable' were those 'movements of piety which belong to the mind and the heart' (64), such as Methodism and evangelicalism.
[445] *Remains*, 4, 328.
[446] B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 74, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 20th March 1805, emphasis in the original. Knox alludes to Luke 24, 32.
[447] Nockles, 'Knox, Alexander (1757-1831), *O.D.N.B.*, 32, 3. Nockles speaks only of 'some Irish evangelicals' (*ibid.*), yet the evidence suggests a general intolerance of his ideas among Irish evangelicals, even though they may have had a genuine appreciation for his personal qualities. One may cite the examples of the *Christian Examiner* (see above, 7-8) ; James Thomas O'Brien (see above, 9) ; Thomas Kelly (see above, 61) ; John Walker (see below, 87-8) ; and Robert Daly (see below, 110).

seeking to distinguish themselves from Roman Catholics as far as possible, [448] and would thus have been viscerally hostile to Knox's high church theses.

Knox's trip to England in 1800-1 has already been mentioned; [449] the itinerary of another, undertaken in 1809,[450] shows that he visited More in Somerset, as well as a number of evangelical leaders in London, including Venn, Wilberforce, and Henry Thornton (1760-1815).[451] These journeys demonstrate what Rowell calls Knox's 'warm appreciation of evangelicalism.'[452] There were what Jebb termed 'differences of [theological] opinion,'[453] yet Knox and the evangelicals were united at a more fundamental level. As Knox explained:

> [W]e both make it our object to pass through the form of godliness to the power thereof. They who agree with us in this, be they Calvinists or Remonstrants, Presbyterians, Independents, or even Anabaptists, may have intercourse with us, useful and pleasant to us and to them. But between all anti-fanatics (as they deem themselves) there is, as it were, a great gulf fixed. We have not any common ideas to exchange or any common ground whereon to meet. There may be kind and friendly converse and real mutual regard, but no intermixture of hearts: for, in the mysterious difference of which I speak, it is the heart and not the understanding which is concerned; and there is want of harmony not because the parties do not think but because they do not feel alike.[454]

In other words, there was between Knox and other high churchmen, the 'anti-fanatics,' agreement in theology, but divergence spiritually: between him and the

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[448] See, for example, on this point, Donald Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922*, first paperback edition, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991, (1988).
[449] See above, 38.
[450] T.C.D., Ms 6396-6397, Jebb Papers, Correspondence 1795-1827, fol. 9, [Miss Ferguson], 'Itinerary,' [1809].
[451] Henry Thornton (1760-1815), M.P., was one of the leading members of the Clapham Sect; see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101027357/Henry-Thornton, accessed 18th June 2011.
[452] Rowell, 'Theological Forerunners,'46.
[453] *Correspondence,* 2, 338. See, for similar sentiments: *Correspondence*, 1, 171; 2,107; 341; Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 1, 80-1. The differences were also perceived by the evangelicals; see: More to Wilberforce, letter, 24th September 1804, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 1, 322-23, 323; Hennell, *John Venn and the Clapham Sect,* 179.
[454] *Remains*, 4, 174-5.

evangelicals (including non-Anglican evangelicals) a meeting of hearts, if not of minds.

It is this concentration on the practical aspect of the Christian life rather than a focus on doctrinal difference which explains the esteem in which Knox could hold non-Anglicans, such as Richard Baxter [455] and the 'wise and pious' Jonathan Edwards (1703-58).[456] While there is no evidence to support More's assertion that Baxter was, with Robert Leighton, Knox's favourite religious writer,[457] there is little doubt that Knox held 'the *great* Baxter' in high regard.[458] In the *Brief Confutation* he even sought to categorize him as an Anglican,[459] while in a letter to Brodrick, he insisted that Baxter was 'a Non-Conformist by mischance, not by misbelieve.'[460] '[T]hough not properly of our Church,' he remarked, 'I [class Baxter] with our best divines.'[461] Edwards he held up as the Baxter of the eighteen century.[462] Knox especially esteemed Edwards's *Religious Affections* (1746), describing it as 'highly valuable,'[463] although 'the most important work of that extraordinary man was,' in Knox's view, 'his *History of Redemption*' (1774).[464]

Anne Stott has argued that, besides a shared heart religion, Knox cultivated the evangelical world 'partly to move it in a more high church direction, partly to convert

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[455] See above, 40.
[456] For Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), American puritan theologian, see, for example, George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.
[457] Hannah More to William Wilberforce, letter, 24th September 1804, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence,* 1, 322-23, 323.
[458] *Remains*, 4, 170. Emphasis in the original.
[459] *Brief Confutation*, 2.
[460] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 2) Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 11th September 1804.
[461] *Remains*, 4, 104. See, also, 158, where Knox says that in the 'transcendent' Baxter one finds 'the soundest divinity … that has appeared since the apostolic age.'
[462] *Remains*, 1, 431.
[463] *Ibid.*, 4. 515. The *Treatise concerning Religious Affections* was first published in Boston in 1746 by S. Kneeland and T. Green.
[464] *Correspondence*, 1, 546. A *History of the Work of Redemption* was published posthumously, Edinburgh: John Erskine, 1774. Quotations in this thesis are taken from the text in volume 3 of *The Works of President Edwards*, edited by S.E. Dwight, ten volumes, New York: S. Converse, 1829-30, 159-436. For the relationship of this work to Knox's thought, see, below, 394-5.

the parliamentary Claphamites to the cause of Catholic emancipation.'[465] The first of these objectives has already been mentioned: we saw above that Knox sought to win Hannah More over to high church views, with the hope that she would then disseminate them amongst her evangelical readership.[466] As for the conversion of the Claphamites to the cause of Catholic emancipation, this, too, seems to have been Knox's intention, although it is not clear to what extent he actually influenced the Claphamites' opinions. In the case of More, given their proximity, he may have aided the evolution of her views,[467] but there is no evidence for it. By contrast, there is some support for believing that Knox helped Wilberforce's slow and laborious move from outright opposition to qualified support.[468] The *Dublin University Magazine* records: '[Knox] had, we believe, much to do in inducing Mr Wilberforce to change his first impression ... and to become the advocate of emancipation,'[469] while Forster speaks of the impression that Knox made on Wilberforce by the 'eloquence and genius' of his arguments for the cause.[470] Wilberforce himself told a friend:

> Knox is a wonderful creature, and so eloquent that you scarce know how to refuse your assent to the strangest propositions he pours forth most copiously. His opinions concerning the Roman Catholics you must have heard me mention. He declares that ... the true policy is to quiet them ...and then to grant them all they desire.[471]

The exact extent of Knox's influence on Wilberforce's views of emancipation is, however, impossible to gauge.

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[465] Stott, *Hannah More*, 262.
[466] See above, 47.
[467] On this evolution, which was extremely gradual, see M. G. Jones, *Hannah More*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952, 250, note 49.
[468] For the progression of Wilberforce's views on Catholic emancipation, see Hague, *William Wilberforce*, 406-7.
[469] *Dublin University Magazine,* 4, 21, (September 1834), 257.
[470] Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 1, 168.
[471] William Wilberforce to 'a friend,' August 1809, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 163-5, 164-5.

Although passionate about Catholic emancipation, Knox showed no interest in the social issues that so exercised the evangelicals, describing Wilberforce's opposition to slavery as being the result, at least in part, of 'over-earnest zeal.'[472] His main disagreement with the English evangelicals, however, concerned the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804.[473] At first, Knox was supportive of the initiative; in 1805 one finds him contemplating a reply to a high church attack on the Society.[474] Even after he had changed his mind on the issue, which he seems to have done fairly rapidly, he was still dismissive of the line taken by other orthodox critics. 'They that oppose the Bible Society seem hitherto unhappy in their ground,' he opined to Brodrick. 'They are at a loss for a satisfactory reason [for their opposition].[475] It is a strange remark, since Knox's criticisms were indistinguishable from those of other high churchmen.

Knox opposed the Bible Society, first, because he believed that its pan-protestant structure blurred the distinction between the Church and other denominations.[476] Making his own the strictures of William Phelan (1789-1830) on the 'latitudinarianism of the Bible Society,'[477] he viewed the organisation as encouraging

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[472] Knox to Lord Castlereagh, letter, 21st July 1803, in Vane, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 4, 290-4, 294.

[473] For the Bible Society, see William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, five volumes, London: John Murray, 1904-10, and, more recently, Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

[474] *Correspondence*, 1, 198.

[475] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 5), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 23rd January 1812.

[476] The fear was reasonable, in so far as the Bible Society encouraged ecumenism among evangelicals of all denominations. See Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain, 1795-1830*, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1983.

[477] *Correspondence*, 2, 322. The quotation comes from William Phelan, *The Bible, Not the Bible Society, being an attempt to point out that mode of disseminating the scriptures which would most effectually conduce to the security of the established Church and the peace of the United Kingdom*, Dublin: John Cumming, 1817, 21. For William Phelan (1789-1830), at this time a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, see John Jebb, 'Biographical Memoir,' in *The Remains of William Phelan, D.D.*, edited by John, Bishop of Limerick [Jebb], two volumes, London: James Duncan, 1832, 1, 1-87.

what, in a letter to Brodrick, he termed 'an *elastic spirit*.'[478] Imbued with this spirit, Knox accused the Society's members of believing in:

> a notional church of their own, consisting of those, in different denominations, who have adopted the same doctrinal language, and are engaged in the same active plan for diffusing what they conceive the true knowledge of our saviour.[479]

The threat he alleged was thus theological: a weakening of the doctrine of the church. But Knox also feared, consequent on this, a practical danger. 'It *votes down* all *establishments*,' he complained. 'It makes every man his own teacher. Therefore, good night bishops and presbyters!' [480] This double fear was to prove a stimulus to his ecclesiological reflection, and his insistence on the visible and hierarchical nature of the church.[481]

His second objection to the Society concerned its methods. Knox foresaw the indiscriminate distribution of scripture leading to 'the sacred volume [being] exposed to depreciation, in one class from disappointment, in another class from familiarity.'[482] He believed, moreover, that scripture could not be understood without interpretation; it was necessary, in his view, 'to furnish due aids for reading the scriptures with profit,'[483] something which helps to explain his comment to Brodrick, that the Bible was not meant 'for the vulgar and ignorant, but for the refined and enlightened.'[484]

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[478] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 5), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 23rd January 1812. Emphasis in the original.
[479] *Remains*, 4, 437.
[480] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 5), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 23rd January 1812. Emphasis in the original. This is presumably what most distinguished the Bible Society, in Knox's eyes, from the A.D.V., which also distributed scripture. The A.D.V. acted under the supervision of the Church.
[481] See below, 370-1; 379-80.
[482] *Correspondence*, 2, 330.
[483] *Ibid.*, 322. See below, 217-8.
[484] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 7), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 23rd November 1819.

1.3.4. Knox and Methodism

Having examined Knox's Anglicanism, I turn now to his treatment of Methodism and Roman Catholicism, the other two religious bodies with which he most engaged. This sub-section explores his relationship with Methodism, beginning with his defences of John Wesley, and the interpretation he gave of Wesley as a theologian.

The singular tenderness shown by Wesley to Knox as a young man has already been noted.[485] It was a tenderness which Knox repaid in later life by publicly coming to Wesley's defence on three occasions. The first was in the summer of 1789, when Wesley gave permission for services to be held in the Methodist chapel in Whitefriar Street, Dublin, at the same time that worship was being conducted in the local Church of Ireland parish. This was an innovation, because up until then Methodist services had been held at different times from those of the established Church.[486] Wesley's decision met with a great deal of criticism, and was held up as a sign of his separatist intentions. Knox entered the fray with a letter to the *Dublin Chronicle*.[487] In the letter Knox conceded that '[a] growing trend to a separation from the [established] Church has long been observable among the Methodists,'[488] but the reason no separation had occurred was, he argued, that 'Mr Wesley has long laboured to stem the torrent.'[489] Now, however, given that Wesley was eighty-seven years old, 'is it strange,' Knox demanded:

> that he should yield rather than contend, that he should cease to struggle, where he cannot hope to prevail, and,

[485] See above, 27.
[486] For the background, see Rogal, *Wesley in Ireland, 1747-1789*, 2, 591-7.
[487] *Dublin Chronicle*, 27th-30th June, 1789, 206-7. The letter, signed 'Humanus,' was subsequently quoted in the Dublin edition of John Whitehead's *Life of the Reverend John Wesley*, two volumes, Dublin: John Jones, 1806, (1793-96), 2, 486; and by Henry Moore in his *Life of the Reverend John Wesley*, two volumes, London: John Kershaw, 1825, 2, 455. The latter work was based on a *Life* which Moore had produced with Thomas Coke, published in London in 1792 by G. Paramore.
[488] *Ibid.*, 206.
[489] *Ibid.*

> as far as he can, acquiesce in the prejudices of his wayward children? [490]

Knox's second defence of Wesley was the tract entitled *Remarks on an Expostulatory Address*, which appeared in Dublin in 1802.[491] This tract was written in reply to *An Expostulatory Address to the Members of the Methodist Society in Ireland*,[492] an intemperate attack on Methodism by the Reverend John Walker.[493] Knox's pamphlet was presented as an *eirenicon*, appealing for charity and understanding. Knox argued that both sides were 'probably closer in reality than the language used [by them] might imply,' when it came to the main question at issue, that of justification.[494] In reply, Walker issued a series of seven letters denouncing Knox's errors.[495] Walker concurred with Knox that justification was 'the great point in which we disagree,'[496] but he refused to see the difference between them as merely verbal, firmly insisting on the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Although there is no explicit evidence for it, it may be that this early clash with Walker led Knox to hone his views on the subject.

The 'rigorously inter-denominational' Walker [497] may also have helped influence Knox's ecclesiology, since he exemplified as much as the Bible Society the 'notional church' which Knox decried. One may give as an example Walker's proclamation in the *Expostulatory Address* of 'the perfect union of Christians in various churches.' [498] '[They] are scattered through various outward churches under various names,' Walker

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[490] *Ibid.*
[491] See above, 27, note 42.
[492] John Walker, *An Expostulatory Address to the Members of the Methodist Society in Ireland*, Dublin: H. Colbert, 1802
[493] For Walker, see above, 26.
[494] *Remarks*, 251.
[495] The letters are collected in a single volume: John Walker, *A Letter to Alexander Knox, Esq. M.R.I.A., being the first of a series of letters to that gentleman, occasioned by his remarks on the author's Expostulatory Address to the Methodists of Ireland*, Dublin: H. Colbert, 1803.
[496] John Walker, *A Fourth Letter to Alexander Knox*, Dublin: H. Colbert, 1803, 11-12.
[497] Yates, *Religious Condition of Ireland*, 269. The phrase was originally used of Walker's Bethesda chapel, but the description fits Walker equally as well.
[498] Walker, *Expostulatory Address*, 4.

declared, 'but they are all one body.' [499] At the same time Walker was also firmly opposed to the establishment of the Church, which he denounced in a series of tracts, beginning in 1804 with *An Address to Believers*,[500] a lead followed by Thomas Kelly in his *Plea for Primitive Christianity* (1815),[501] and this, too, may have helped to stimulate Knox's thinking about the church, which is marked by a strong defence of ecclesiastical establishment.[502]

Knox's third published defence of Wesley was *Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley*,[503] completed in 1828 [504] as a response to Robert Southey's *Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, which had appeared eight years earlier,[505] and which Knox felt was not entirely accurate.[506] Knox was particularly concerned to address Southey's portrayal of Wesley as animated by ambition.[507] '[H]ad [Southey] known Mr Wesley as I knew him, he would have written somewhat differently,' Knox contended.[508] Southey invited Knox to write an essay on Wesley 'chiefly with the wish of convincing him that he had judged erroneously in ascribing to Mr Wesley any motives of an ambitious character.' [509] In this aim, Knox

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[499] *Ibid.*, 5.
[500] John Walker, *An Address to Believers of the Gospel of Christ, on that conversation which becometh it,* Dublin: Robert Napper, 1804.
[501] Thomas Kelly, *A Plea for Primitive Christianity, in answer to the Reverend Peter Roe*, Dublin: T. Johnston, 1815. For Kelly, see above, 61.
[502] See below, 377-8.
[503] See above, 26, note 38.
[504] *Wesley*, 409.
[505] Robert Southey, *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, two volumes, London: Longmans, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1820. For Robert Southey (1774-1834), 'entire man of letters,' see *O.D.N.B.,* on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101026056/Robert-Southey, accessed 21st June 2011. See, also, Peter Nockles, 'Reactions to Robert Southey's *Life of Wesley* (1820) Reconsidered,' hereafter, 'Reactions,' in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63, 1, (January 2012), 61-80. I will discuss this article more fully below; see 93-4.
[506] *Wesley*, 425-7. See, also, Knox's two letters on the subject to Hannah More, *Remains*, 3, 457-80. Nockles notes that there is a perceptible difference between Knox's attitude in his two letters to More, and in *Wesley*; in the former Knox is more critical of Southey and more defensive of Wesley (Nockles, 'Reactions,' 76). See, too, *Remains*, 4, 444-5; *Correspondence*, 2, 512.
[507] *Remains*, 3, 460.
[508] *Wesley*, 425. See, also, 426; 427.
[509] C.C. Southey, 'Editor's Preface' to Robert Southey, *Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, vii-viii, viii. Charles Cuthbert Southey (1819-88) was Robert's eldest son. See *O.D.N.B.,* on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101026056/Robert-Southey, accessed 21st June 2011.

succeeded, for, according to Southey, Knox 'convinced me that I was mistaken in supposing ambition entered largely into Mr Wesley's actuating impulses.'[510] As a result the essay was appended to the third edition of Southey's *Life* (1846), although it never appeared separately.

Knox may not have known 'the very secrets of [Wesley's] heart,' as Jebb phrased it,[511] but he was, as Knox pointed out repeatedly,[512] intimate with Wesley over a long period, and to this intimate knowledge he added 'deep reflection [about Wesley] during thirty-six subsequent years.'[513] It was this which made the *Remarks*, in Rack's words, one of 'the most acute and penetrating studies of Wesley's character and theology.'[514] '[O]ne of the most probing of all the theological appraisals of Wesley by any of his own contemporaries,' is the judgment of Albert C. Outler,[515] who also adds that it is 'one of the most unjustly neglected.'[516] At the same time, the essay is important for the student of Knox, who writes that 'in giving my views of John Wesley's religious principles, I have pretty largely developed my own.'[517]

In his 'remarkable essay,' as Rack dubs it,[518] Knox depicted Wesley as 'a Church of England man of the highest tone,' [519] one who loved and valued 'that pure spirit of faith and piety which the Church of England inherits from catholic antiquity.'[520] More precisely, Knox stated that Wesley 'formed his views in the school of the Greek

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[510] Robert Southey to Richard Watson, letter, 17th August 1835, quoted Abel Stevens, *The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism, considered in its different denominational forms, and its relation to British and American Protestantism*, hereafter, *History of Methodism*, three volumes, New York: Carlton and Porter, 1858-61, 2, 515.
[511] John Jebb to Robert Southey, letter, 26th December 1817, quoted in Forster, *Life of Jebb*, 1,179-85, 185.
[512] See, for example: *Wesley*, 415; 416; 423; 425; 429; 437; 447; 451; 452. Knox made the same point to Hannah More; see *Remains*, 3, 479.
[513] *Wesley*, 417.
[514] Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 537.
[515] Albert C. Outler in *The Works of John Wesley, Volume 1: Sermons 1: 1-33*, hereafter *Works*, 1, edited by Albert C. Outler, Bicentennial Edition, Nashville TN: 1984, 62, note 28.
[516] *Ibid.*
[517] *Wesley*, 409.
[518] Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 536.
[519] *Wesley*, 445.
[520] *Ibid.*

Fathers and in that of their closest modern followers, the Platonic divines of the Church of England.'[521] Knox listed especially: 'Taylor, Smith, Cudworth, Worthington, and Lucas.'[522] Although their influence continued to act on Wesley for the whole of his life, there was a period, when, according to Knox, Wesley, through his acquaintance with Moravianism, was 'imbued with the doctrines of Luther,' which Knox castigated as 'mere human theology.'[523] Knox claimed that 'under the full influence of ... Lutheran dogma,'[524] Wesley defined faith as a 'sure trust and confidence in God that by the merits of Christ [the Christian's] sins are forgiven and he is reconciled to the favour of God.'[525] This allowed Wesley's true understanding of justifying faith to be, in Knox's word, 'disguised.'[526] '[H]e spoke on the subject of faith,' Knox complained, 'in a manner which made it difficult to distinguish his sounder views from the questionable positions with which they were more or less intermingled.'[527]

This period, which began with Wesley's acquaintance with the Moravian Peter Boehler (1712-75),[528] came to an end in 1767, according to Knox, who viewed its termination as being marked by Wesley in his *Journal* with the question: '[I]s it not high time for us ... to return to the plain word: He that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him?'[529] Knox interpreted this as Wesley '[throwing]

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[521] *Ibid.*, 419. See, also, 448, where Knox speaks of Wesley's 'close and cordial study of the ancient Fathers and the anti-Calvinist divines of the Church of England.'
[522] *Ibid.*, 419. For the authors cited by Knox, see below, 171-3.
[523] *Wesley*, 474. See, also, *Remains*, 3, 200.
[524] *Wesley*, 484-5.
[525] *Ibid.*, 484. The citation come from 'The Third Part of the Sermon on Salvation,' in the Homilies, (*Certain Sermons*, 27-31, 30), which, according to Knox, Wesley quoted frequently before his 'return to the plain word,' and which he misconstrued, according to Knox, in a Lutheran sense (*Wesley*, 484).
[526] *Wesley*, 497.
[527] *Ibid.*, 496.
[528] *Ibid.*, 420. For the life and work of Peter Boehler (1712-75), see Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728-1760*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
[529] Quoted, *Wesley*, 478. For the original, see Wesley, *Journal*, 5, 244, entry for 1st December 1767. Wesley is referring to Acts 10, 35 (Authorised Version).

off all the trammels of dogmatic theology.'[530] Thereafter, Knox claimed, Wesley's former views 'regained their due ascendancy;'[531] he returned to what was, according to Knox, 'native and essential' in his theology.[532] It was Wesley at this point in his theological evolution whom Knox knew.[533]

Knox's division of Wesley's theological career into several stages anticipated the findings of modern scholarship. Randy L. Maddox notes that it has become:

> increasingly common for studies of his theological convictions to distinguish between the 'early Wesley' (1733-38), the 'middle Wesley' (1738-65), and the 'late Wesley' (1765-91).[534]

Maddox gives the year 1765 as denoting the start of Wesley's 'late' period on account of the sermon he preached on 25th November that year on 'The Lord our Righteousness,' which shows a shift in his thinking.[535] Nonetheless, as Outler points out, the transition from the 'middle' Wesley to the 'late Wesley' was not clearly marked.[536] It was gradual evolution, and so Knox's date of 1767 should not be regarded as mistaken.

The 'late' Wesley emphatically proclaimed himself to be a high churchman.[537] His religion was, as he put it in a sermon preached in 1777:

> the religion of the Church of England, as appears from all her authentic records, from the uniform tenor of her liturgy and from numberless passages in her Homilies.[538]

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[530] *Wesley*, 477. For the phrase 'dogmatic theology,' in this context, see below, 298-9.
[531] *Wesley*, 472.
[532] *Remains*, 3, 154.
[533] *Wesley*, 418.
[534] Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology*, hereafter, *Responsible Grace*, Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1994, 20.
[535] John Wesley, Sermon 20, 'The Lord our Righteousness,' in *Works*, 1, 449-65.
[536] Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 1, 66. Outler speaks of the 'mature' Wesley rather than the 'middle' Wesley.
[537] 'I am an high church man,' John Wesley to Lord Dartmouth, letter, 14th June 1775, *Letters*, 6, 155-60, 156.
[538] John Wesley, Sermon 112, 'On Laying the Foundation of the New Chapel,' 2, 4, in *The Works of John Wesley: Volume 3: Sermons 3: 71-114*, hereafter, *Works*, 3, edited by Albert C. Outler, Bicentennial Edition, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1986, 577-92, 586.

Wesley did not suddenly come to this religion in 1765 or 1767. It was the religion, he argued, which he had always held. As he put it in his 'Farther Thoughts on Separation from the Church' (1790):

> From a child I was taught to love and reverence the scriptures, the oracles of God, and, next to these, to esteem the primitive Fathers, the writers of the first three centuries. Next after the primitive church, I esteemed our own, the Church of England, as the most scriptural national church in the world ... In this judgment and with this spirit, I went to America, strongly attached to the Bible, the primitive church, and the Church of England ... In this spirit I returned.[539]

In other words, although there are obvious discontinuities between the 'early' and the 'late' Wesley, there are also essential similarities. Wesley in 1765 is, in many ways, as much a high churchman as the Wesley who had set out for Georgia thirty years earlier, something that will be demonstrated when we come to look at his teaching on specific issues. Despite this, a number of scholars have argued that Wesley should be seen as an evangelical, especially on the issue of justification. This is the case, for example, with George Croft Cell in the *Rediscovery of John Wesley* (1935),[540] and Harald Lindström in *Wesley and Sanctification: A Study in the Doctrine of Salvation* (1946).[541] These scholars can appeal to the 'middle Wesley,' but they do not seem to give sufficient weight to the 'plain fact,' as Alan C. Clifford calls it, that Wesley's 'Lutheran view of justification underwent a significant change in the face of the antinomian challenge.' [542] 'Wesley came to reject solifidianism,' Clifford concludes.[543] By contrast, following the death of Wesley, his followers moved in a

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[539] John Wesley, 'Farther Thoughts on Separation from the Church,' 1-2. Text in Frank Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1970, 320-2, 320-1. 'Farther Thoughts,' written in 1789, was published in the *Arminian Magazine*, April 1790, 214-6.
[540] George Croft Cell, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*, New York: Henry Holt, 1935.
[541] Harald Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification: A Study in the Doctrine of Salvation*, London: The Epworth Press, 1946.
[542] Alan C. Clifford, *Atonement and Justification: English Evangelical Theology, 1640-1790*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 132.
[543] *Ibid.*, 59.

more definitely protestant direction. This development, charted by Mats Selén in his book *The Oxford Movement and Methodism in England* (1992),[544] helped to obscure the image of Wesley as a churchman 'of the highest tone.'

If Wesley may be described as a high churchman, nonetheless one would do well to heed the note of caution sounded by David Hempton, who, having reviewed the different schools of thought which influenced Wesley, remarks: 'Writers on each of these traditions are prone to compete for the pre-eminent influence over Wesley, but the truth of the matter is that Wesley's eclecticism is itself pre-eminent.'[545] Wesley was a high churchman, but his high churchmanship was idiosyncratic, although this idiosyncrasy was revealed in his actions, rather than in his teaching.[546]

Wesley's high churchmanship, to which Knox bears witness, means that I disagree with Nockles when, in his *O.D.N.B.* article on Knox, he implies that Knox's views 'on the primitive church and a high church emphasis on apostolic order and authority' were the result of 'his own independent thinking,' rather than something he derived from Wesley.[547] Even at his most 'catholic,' Knox showed the influence of Wesley, as I will demonstrate below. Knox went beyond Wesley, but the origin of his teaching lay in principles which he imbibed from Wesley.[548]

More recently, in his article on 'Reactions to Robert Southey's *Life of Wesley* (1820) Reconsidered,'[549] Nockles has suggested that Knox's *Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley* should be read as a subtle but nonetheless 'devastating

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[544] Mats Selén, *The Oxford Movement and Wesleyan Methodism, 1833-1882: A Study in Religious Conflict*, Lund: Lund University Press, 1992.
[545] David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005, 57.
[546] See below, 99; 380-1.
[547] Nockles, 'Knox, Alexander (1757-1831), *O.D.N.B.*, 32, 1.
[548] These principles are already apparent in Knox's first three published tracts, directed against the 'Separating Methodists,' *Free Thoughts* (1785); *Considerations* (1794) and *Candid Animadversions* (1794).
[549] See above, 88, note 505.

critique of Wesleyan theology.'[550] I find this reading of the essay hard to accept. For Knox one of the main defects of Southey's book was, as he told Hannah More, the fact that Southey had 'overlooked' the 'revolutions' which had occurred in Wesley's theology,[551] ignoring his 'later views.'[552] It seems to me therefore that, as well as defending Wesley from the charge of ambition, one of the intentions of Knox's essay was also to correct what he saw as the 'particularly defective' statement of Wesley's doctrine given by Southey.[553] Thus, while he was by no means blind to what he termed Wesley's 'intellectual frailties,'[554] and the 'circumstantial extravagances'[555] and 'nebulous accompaniments'[556] of Wesley's teaching, Knox in his essay identifies that teaching as essentially or 'in substance'[557] that of 'the ancient Fathers and the most eminent anti-Calvinist divines of the Church of England.'[558] As we have seen, Knox argued that it was these authorities which formed Wesley as a theologian, and that although Wesley's thinking later suffered from an exposure to the ideas of the continental reformers, he subsequently corrected himself.[559]

Although Knox was a staunch defender of Wesley, he was opposed to what he termed 'Separating Methodists,'[560] and, as early as 1785, produced a tract entitled *Free Thoughts Concerning a Separation of the People called Methodists*.[561] In this pamphlet, appealing to Wesley, Knox reminded his readers that Methodism had been raised up, not to proclaim any new doctrine or to change people from one religious

[550] Nockles, 'Reactions,' 75.
[551] *Remains*, 3, 468.
[552] *Ibid.*, 466.
[553] *Ibid.*, 468.
[554] *Wesley*, 412. See, also, 419; 428.
[555] *Ibid.*, 452.
[556] *Ibid.*, 472
[557] *Ibid.*, 473; see, also, 461.
[558] *Ibid.*, 455. See, also, 473. Knox made the same point to Hannah More, *Remains*, 3, 474.
[559] *Wesley*, 420; 421; 434; 454; 481-3.
[560] *Candid Animadversions,* 7.
[561] 'A Layman of the Methodist Society' [Alexander Knox], *Free Thoughts Concerning a Separation of the People called Methodists from the Church of England, Addressed to the Preachers in the Methodist Connection*, hereafter, *Free Thoughts*, London: no publisher given, 1785. Quotations in this thesis are from the 1786 edition, which has no place of publication, or publisher.

opinion to another, but to bring them 'from sin and Satan to the living God.'[562] Luke Tyerman calls the tract 'important,'[563] because it sums up so clearly the debate in the Methodism of the period between those who wanted to break with the Church of England, and those who wanted to remain within it.[564]

The author of *Free Thoughts* described himself as a 'layman of the Methodist Society.' When Knox next wrote on the subject, in 1794, it was, significantly, as 'a member of the Established Church.' His *Considerations on a Separation of the Methodists* [565] was directed against his former friend and fellow-Irishman Henry Moore (1751-1844),[566] and was followed by a second pamphlet, *Candid Animadversions* (1794),[567] which was composed as a response to Moore's *Reply* (1794).[568]

Moore was favourable to those Methodists who desired to receive the sacraments from ministers of their own, rather than from the clergy of the Church of England. The trustees of the 'Old Room' chapel in Bristol, where he was a preacher, were opposed to any such move, and sought to inhibit Moore's ministry. Abel Stevens notes: 'The dispute soon involved the whole Methodist community, and pamphlets and printed circulars were scattered almost from John O'Groats to Land's End.'[569]

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[562] *Free Thoughts*, 3.
[563] Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Reverend John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists*, hereafter, *Life and Times of Wesley,* three volumes, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1870-71, 3, 468.
[564] Tyerman, *Life and Times of Wesley*, 3, 468-9. Tyerman does not identify the author as Knox.
[565] 'A Member of the Established Church' [Alexander Knox], *Considerations on a Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church, addressed to such of them as are friendly to that measure, and particularly to those in the City of Bristol*, hereafter, *Considerations*, Bristol: printed by Bulgin and Rosser, 1794.
[566] Henry Moore (1751-1844), a native of Dublin, was a close associate of Wesley's. He arrived as a preacher in Londonderry in 1779, and became a friend of the Knox family. At the time of his conflict with Knox he was stationed in Bristol. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101019118/Henry-Moore, accessed 21st June 2011.
[567] See above, 35, note 106.
[568] Henry Moore, *A Reply to a Pamphlet entitled Considerations on a Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church*, Bristol: R. Edwards, 1794.
[569] Stevens, *History of Methodism*, 3, 57-8.

Knox's tracts were included in these, and, according to Stevens, they were among the most important contributions made to the debate.[570]

In 1795 the governing body of English Methodism, the Conference, approved the so-called 'Plan of Perfection,' which allowed preachers not ordained in the Church of England to celebrate the eucharist. Despite the provisos with which this permission was hedged, 'the plan represented,' to quote Richard P. Heitzenrater, 'an acknowledgement of British Methodism's final ecclesiastical separation from the Church of England,'[571] and it is from this decision that the existence of Methodism as a separate denomination in England is dated.[572]

Seeking to help avert a similar split in Ireland, Knox visited the Irish Methodist Conference annually between 1806 and 1809.[573] On the eve of the 1809 Conference he assured Jebb:

> I soberly think I am gaining deeply on some of the leading Methodist preachers. One here in Dublin is a perfect admirer of our views; so, I may say, is another. If this could be made to grow what might not follow! [574]

These hopes were dashed when the Conference gave its support to Adam Averell (1754-1847),[575] who, although only a deacon, had taken it upon himself to start administering the eucharist. Knox's feelings on the matter appear in a letter he wrote

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[570] *Ibid.*, 58, note 48.
[571] Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1995, 316.
[572] *Ibid.*
[573] These are the years for which we find mentions of Knox's presence at the Conference; see *Correspondence*, 1, 264; 348-50; 426-7; 552. On Knox's attendance at the Conference see, also, Ewens, *Three Hermits*, 49-50, and, for the background, Dudley Levistone Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland*, Dublin: St Columba's Press, 2002, 56-62. In relation to the Conference, Crookshank relates that, earlier on, in 1789, when, due to the political circumstances, there was a ban on public assemblies, it was at least in part thanks to Knox that the Conference was able to meet. (*History of Methodism in Ireland, Volume 2: The Middle Age*, London: T. Woolmer, 1886, 147).
[574] *Correspondence*, 1, 552. For similar notes of optimism, see: 426-7; 437.
[575] For Adam Averell (1754-1847), see Alexander Stewart and George Revington, *Memoir of the Life and Labours of the Reverend Adam Averell*, Dublin: Methodist Book Room, 1848. Averell was Knox's cousin, *Correspondence*, 1, 264.

to Hannah More at the end of the year. He began by describing what he called a 'most unpleasant' circumstance:

> the adoption of a clear dissenting principle by the Irish Wesleyan Methodists ...I take it to be fixed past recall. The apparent effects of this change will, probably, not be sudden, but they must be certain.[576]

Knox then explained how Averell had started celebrating the eucharist, before continuing:

> [T]he body of Methodist preachers, at their yearly conference last July, having fully heard the matter, were pleased to sanction Mr A's proceedings. So that his violation of the established order, in its most central principle, is now the common act of the fraternity. This occurrence has given me no surprise: it has only disappointed a very faint hope. I knew well the Irish Methodists had no steady principles. But inferring from this obvious fact that providence alone could have kept them in their subordinate state for fifteen years, in spite of the example of their brethren in England, I thought it possible that the same restraint upon them might still be continued. My hope of this, however, grew less and less as I saw the Irish Methodists becoming more and more spiritless and formal. Principles of corruption were, self-evidently, extending themselves within, and tokens of morbidness must, at length, appear on the surface. That event has clearly come ...[577]

Despite these gloomy sentiments, Knox did not abandon hope entirely, and even as late as 1813 one finds him refusing to 'account [Irish Methodists] schismatical,'[578] on the grounds that 'they do not yet exhibit *separate communion.*'[579] Three years later, however, the Conference of 1816 authorised the celebration of baptism and the eucharist by Methodist ministers, and it is with this decision that the Methodist Church in Ireland was born, although a number of people formed the 'Primitive

[576] *Remains*, 4, 231-2.
[577] *Ibid.* 232-3. Knox also wrote to Brodrick on the subject; see, N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 4), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 8th December 1809.
[578] *Correspondence*, 2, 172.
[579] *Ibid.* Emphasis in the original.

Methodist Wesleyan Society' for those who wished to remain united to the established Church.[580]

There is some evidence to suggest that Knox's ecclesiology developed partly in response to the controversy over Methodist separation, a separation which he combated by appealing to Wesley's teaching. I will leave the discussion of Knox's theological opposition to separating Methodism until chapter four,[581] and look here at his extra-theological arguments. First, Knox contended that separation would injure the interests of the established Church,[582] depriving it of a much-needed leaven,[583] while giving joy to the forces of 'infidelity.'[584] Second, separation would injure the Methodists themselves, by removing them from the haven of doctrinal safety provided by the established Church's formularies, and leaving them exposed to every current of heterodox opinion.[585] Third, separation was contrary to the express wishes of John Wesley, who '[e]everywhere and on all occasions … had inculcated on his people the strictest attachment to the established communion.'[586] If Wesley had subsequently acted in 'direct contradiction to the whole tenor of [his] language throughout life, it was at a time when, Knox argued, 'his strength was failing, his memory decaying, his whole frame rapidly sinking into the grave,' [587] and he could easily be led astray 'by subtlety and management.'[588]

Whatever force Knox's other arguments may have, this one, for all its rhetoric, was weak, betraying an ignorance on Knox's part of how many ordinations Wesley had

[580] See Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland*, 61-2.
[581] See below, 379.
[582] *Correspondence*, 1, 140.
[583] *Considerations*, 11-12.
[584] *Ibid.*, 31.
[585] *Ibid.*, 34-5.
[586] *Candid Animadversions*, 17.
[587] *Ibid.*, 20.
[588] *Ibid.*

been performing. Knox spoke of 'a single, contradictory act,[589] whereas Wesley had carried out a whole series of ordinations, clearly after careful deliberation.[590] Knox was, however, right to say that Wesley constantly urged his followers to remain united to the Church of England. The dichotomy exemplifies the ambivalent nature of Wesley's relationship to Anglicanism. To use a simile which Frank Baker borrows from Joseph Beaumont, Wesley was like as a rower, looking one way and moving another, in theory desiring to 'live and die a member of the Church of England,'[591] in practice pulling away from it.[592]

Knox was aware of this dichotomy. He fully understood 'that two dissonant principles wrought in Mr Wesley's mind: that he was unfeignedly attached to the Church of England, but that he was more sensitively and practically united to his own society.'[593] Knox argues that, being convinced the Methodist movement was 'indispensable' to the 'good [of] many thousands of human beings,' Wesley would 'in a case of absolute necessity' have chosen his society over the Church of England,[594] although in fact he was wholly opposed to 'a gratuitous separation,' assuring Knox shortly before his death that in the event of such a separation, his friends should 'adhere to the Church and leave the Methodists.'[595]

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[589] *Ibid.*
[590] For Wesley's ordinations, see Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England*, chapter 15, '1784 (III): Ordination is Separation,' 256-82. Wesley ended up ordaining twenty-seven presbyters and two 'superintendents' (*ibid.*, 282).
[591] 'I am a Church of England man and ... in the Church I will live and die' (John Wesley to Henry Moore, letter, 6th May 1788, *Letters*, 8, 58).
[592] Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England*, 2.
[593] *Wesley*, 438.
[594] *Ibid.*, 446. See, also, 439.
[595] *Ibid.*, 439.

1.3.5. Knox and Roman Catholicism

From a consideration of Knox's relationship to Anglicanism and Methodism, this sub-section moves on to his thinking about Roman Catholicism, the third religious body about which he wrote in detail.

The *Christian Examiner* claimed that Knox was a 'friend of Roman Catholics both in a political and religious point of view.'[596] The reality is more complex. With regard to the 'political point of view,' Knox was, in his own words, 'zealous ... for Roman Catholic enfranchisement.'[597] 'My motives spread out would fill a volume,' he told Wilberforce.[598] They may, however, be summarised as follows. First, Knox believed that unless Roman Catholics were granted equal rights they would become disaffected, thus destabilising Ireland and causing insecurity at the very heart of the empire. Emancipation, on the other hand, would guarantee their loyalty.[599] Second, the actual situation of Roman Catholics led them to distinguish themselves as much as possible from their Anglican neighbours. By contrast, emancipation would bring about a liberalisation of their theology, resulting in 'an actual reformation of the Irish R.C. Church'[600] and, ultimately, the reunion foretold by Christ, who had promised that there would be '*one fold* as *well as one shepherd*,'[601] a reunion which Knox regarded as a certainty.[602]

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[596] *Christian Examiner*, 3, 36, (October 1834), 718.
[597] Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 23rd March 1817, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 359-62, 361. For the background, see Wendy Hinde, *Catholic Emancipation: A Shake to Men's Minds*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
[598] Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 23rd March 1817, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 359-62, 361.
[599] Bodleian, Ms. Wilberforce d. 13, fol. 311, Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 15th February 1813.
[600] Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 31st August 1818, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 397-410, 401.
[601] Knox to Thomas Newenham, letter, 7th July 1824, in James Doyle, John O'Driscol, Alexander Knox and Thomas Newenham, *Letters on a Reunion of the Churches of England and Rome*, hereafter, *Letters on a Reunion*, Dublin: Richard Moore Tims, 1824, 26-31, 31. Emphasis in the original. Knox is alluding to John 10, 16. For Newenham, see below, 102.
[602] *Remains*, 4, 520-1; *Correspondence*, 1, 547; 2, 36.

In desiring the reunion of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, Knox was not unique. This was true even in Ireland, despite there being, in general, a progressive hardening of sectarian attitudes from the end of the eighteenth century and on into the nineteenth.[603] From Knox's point of view, reunion would be beneficial to the Church of England by helping restore to prominence the primitive elements in its constitution which the passage of time had obscured, but which the Roman Catholic Church had providentially retained. [604]

To facilitate the reformation and reunion that he envisaged, Knox was keen for Roman Catholics to be exposed to what he considered authentic Church of England principles. This gave him a further argument against the Bible Society, and other organisations of a similar ilk, which he felt betrayed these principles in favour of a pan-protestantism that was false to the true genius of Anglicanism.[605]

Although Knox believed in the eventual reunion of Anglicans and Roman Catholics, he was adamant that the latter would first have to reform themselves. Until that time, while 'kindly feeling'[606] and 'a more liberal and charitable understanding'[607] were to be encouraged, reunion itself would be impossible. Knox maintained this position in three of his writings: a letter to Wilberforce of 31st August 1818, published in Wilberforce's *Correspondence*;[608] the letter to Thomas Newenham of 7th July 1824, published in *Letters on a Reunion* (1824); and the 'Letter to the Reverend James Dunne, On the Impossibility of Union between the Churches of England and Rome,'

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[603] For ideas about reunion in Ireland, see Ian McBride, 'The Common Name of Irishman: Protestantism and Patriotism in Eighteenth-Century Ireland,' in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, eds, *Protestantism and National Identity, Britain and Ireland, c. 1650- c.1850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 236-62. See, also, more generally on projects for reunion between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, S.L. Ollard, *Reunion*, London: Robert Scott, 1919, 24-31.

[604] *Remains*, 1, 403; 406-7; 3, 188-90; 4, 608; *Correspondence*, 1, 459; Bodleian, Ms. Eng. Lett. d. 123, 'Letters to C.A. Ogilvie, K-Z,' fol. 86, Knox to C.A. Ogilvie, letter, 23rd January 1827.

[605] *Correspondence*, 2, 321-4.

[606] *Letters on a Reunion*, 30.

[607] *Ibid.*

[608] Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 397-410.

undated, but from the subject-matter evidently written in 1824, and published in volume three of the *Remains* (1837).[609]

The first of these three letters was occasioned by the appearance in 1818 of a book by Samuel Wix (1771-1861) entitled *Reflections concerning the Expediency of a Council of the Church of England and the Church of Rome*, which advocated reunion with Rome.[610] Fearing that Wilberforce would think he held the same position, thus jeopardising his quest to secure Wilberforce's support for Catholic emancipation, Knox sought, somewhat disingenuously, to distance himself from Wix's proposals.

The second two writings were related to the suggestion put forward in May 1824 by James Doyle (1786-1834), the Roman Catholic bishop of Kildare and Leighlin,[611] that a commission of Roman Catholic and Anglican theologians should be formed to look into disputed matters, with the intention of re-uniting the churches, a proposal eagerly taken up by the former M.P. for Clonmel in the Irish Parliament, Thomas Newenham (1762-1831).[612]

What specifically did Knox object to in Roman Catholicism? What, in his view, needed to be reformed? Writing in 1809, Knox related: 'I have always thought there were just two points of real difficulty: the supremacy of the pope and transubstantiation.'[613]

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[609] *Remains*, 3, 314-30.
[610] Samuel Wix, *Reflections concerning the Expediency of a Council of the Church of England and the Church of Rome being holden with a view to accommodate religious differences*, London: F.C. & J. Rivington, 1818. For Samuel Wix (1771-1861), high church Vicar of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, London, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101029812/Samuel-Wix, accessed 21st June 2011.
[611] For James Doyle (1786-1834), see Thomas McGrath, *Politics, Interdenominational Relations and Education in the Public Ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834,* Dublin: Four Courts, 1999. For Doyle's reunion scheme, see *Letters on a Reunion*, 1-10.
[612] Thomas Newenham (1762-1831), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101020010/Thomas-Newenham, accessed 21st June 2011.
[613] *Correspondence*, 1, 547.

With regard to the first point, Knox made a distinction between the 'great ecclesiastical commonwealth,' comprising the majority of Roman Catholic people,[614] and the 'ecclesiastical monarchy, of which Rome is the seat,'[615] the 'usurped dominion'[616] of the papacy, which Knox described as a 'despotism which admits of no restraints,'[617] exercising a mental tyranny over its subjects,[618] who were not allowed to think for themselves, being bound by 'the decision of the existing Church tribunal.'[619]

As for transubstantiation, Knox told Jebb in1811: '[W]e resist [it] and must resist [it].'[620] The doctrine would be, he predicted, the 'last remaining barrier to coalescence.'[621] In 1824, however, he wrote to Thomas Newenham:

> if there was nothing else but transubstantiation to divide us, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, according to the doctrine of the Council of Trent, might easily come to an understanding.[622]

The statement is interesting, not only given what Knox had written to Jebb in 1811, but also because in his *Inquiry on Grounds of Scripture and Reason into the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols*,[623] published in the same year as *Letters*, 1824, Knox explicitly repudiated 'the gross doctrine of a literal transubstantiation,'[624] while in a letter addressed in 1826 to J.S. Harford (1787-1866),[625] his whole theme was

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[614] *Answer to Duigenan*, 62.
[615] *Remains*, 3, 325.
[616] *Answer to Duigenan*, 62.
[617] *Remains*, 3, 324.
[618] The accusation of mental tyranny against the Roman Catholic Church is frequent in Knox. See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 418; 3, 316-8; 324; 4, 243; *Letters on a Reunion*, 28.
[619] *Remains*, 3, 322. Knox distinguished this appeal to the 'tribunal of the existing Church' from the authority to which he and, according to him, the Church of England appealed, the tribunal of the ancient church, the *consensus omnium* (*ibid.*).
[620] *Correspondence*, 2, 37.
[621] *Ibid.*
[622] *Letters on a Reunion*, 28.
[623] See below, 343, note 696.
[624] *Remains*, 2, 190.
[625] 'Letter to John S. Harford, Esq., Prefatory to the Treatise on the Eucharist,' *Remains*, 2, 154-83. Dated 19th July 1826, the letter was clearly intended to be prefaced to a second edition of the 'Treatise on the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols.' This second edition did not, however, appear in

transubstantiation being a 'modern dogma,'[626] unknown to the Fathers, [627] only 'propounded ... about the year 820 or 830,'[628] and not imposed as a belief until Lateran IV in 1215.[629] Possibly the anomaly is to be explained by reference to the words in Knox's letter to Newenham, 'according to the doctrine of the Council of Trent,' which may imply that Knox understood the Council to have taught, or to be capable of being interpreted as teaching, something less than 'the gross doctrine of a literal transubstantiation.' Unfortunately, however, he did not elucidate his meaning.

It is remarkable that Knox virtually ignored the doctrines usually seen by protestants as obstacles to unity, such as purgatory, indulgences, the sacrifice of the mass, and devotion to Mary and the saints. The reason for this was that he understood these points to be not so much doctrinal issues as 'practical errors,'[630] and, as such, more easy to resolve. '[N]o embarrassment can arise in altering mere matters of practice,' Knox contended, 'should motives occur for such alteration.'[631]

Two topics deserve specific mention. The first is the doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice, something which many protestants disputed, but which Knox taught.[632] The second is the issue of the saints. Commenting on Ephesians 2, 19, which speaks of Christians as συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων, 'fellow-citizens of the saints,' Knox remarked that the following conclusions may be deduced:

Knox's lifetime. For John Scandrett Harford (1787-1866), Clamphamite layman; see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101012311/John-Harford, accessed 21st June 2011.

[626] *Remains*, 2, 168.

[627] *Ibid.*, 156; 166; 178-80.

[628] *Ibid.*, 157.

[629] *Ibid.*, 160. This point also appears in his letter to Jebb of 13th June 1811 (*Correspondence*, 2, 36-8). Lateran IV was a council convened by Pope Innocent III, which proclaimed transubstantiation as part of the catholic faith against the Albigenisans and Cathars. See Heinrich Denzinger and Adolf Schönmetzer, eds, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum, et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum*, hereafter, *D.S.*, thirty-third edition, Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1965, (1854), section 802.

[630] *Remains*, 4, 305.

[631] *Correspondence* 2, 37.

[632] See below, 362.

> 1. That the ἁγίοι ['saints'] with whom we are συμπολῖται ['fellow-citizens'] are peculiarly the invisible ἁγίοι; 2. That to think of these, our fellow-citizens, and cultivate our relation to them, must be a true exercise of faith; and 3. That this very exercise is a natural, if not an essential part of the πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς.[633]

The context of the passage shows that by cultivating a relationship with the saints Knox meant contemplating them, but the step from that to asking their prayers would seem to be a small one, especially as Knox held that:

> the same intercession with God, for the happiness of a beloved object, which was exercised for us on earth, continues to be as really and intensely exercised in paradise ... [T]he saints in paradise [intercede] for their connexions on earth.[634]

Concerning the Virgin Mary in particular, Jebb made the comment that Knox 'rejoiced to hear the Irish address the holy virgin, for they added Mother of God, a delightful solecism, an uncouth metaphor, but conveying a most important truth,' that of the reality of the incarnation.[635]

Insisting on what he called the 'consanguinity' [636] between the two churches, Knox maintained that there was much for Anglicans to value in Roman Catholicism. Theologically, it had retained a great deal from antiquity, and these 'remains of original catholicity,' were to be prized and venerated.[637] If they had been overlaid and defaced by innovations and novelties, they nonetheless continued to form an integral part of the Roman Catholic religion, thus making it more attractive to Knox than those

[633] *Remains*, 1, 422-3. The second quotation comes from Philippians 3, 20: 'commonwealth of heaven' (my translation).
[634] *Remains*, 4, 427-8. Knox devoted the whole letter from which this extract is taken, *Remains*, 4, 417-30, to the 'concern felt by the spirits in paradise for their connexions [*sic*] on earth,'417.
[635] Jebb, 'Introduction' to Burnet's *Lives*, xxxviii.
[636] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 3), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 11th November 1808.
[637] *Remains*, 3, 315.

many forms of protestantism which had rejected the 'catholic verities.'[638] As he told Jebb:

> I prize what the Church of Rome possesses so deeply as to make me prefer their religion to sectarianism, in whatever plausible form the latter may appear.'[639]

Similarly, in his *Answer* to Patrick Duigenan (1734/5-1816) [640] he wrote: '[T]he *catholic Roman* [is] ... a sounder Christian ... than an *uncatholic protestant.*'[641] In his letter to Newenham, he went further and declared that, when it came to controverted issues, there were many areas in which truth was to be found more on the Roman side than on that of 'protestant controversialists.'[642]

Knox also made the point that Anglicanism was 'infinitely indebted to the Roman Catholic Church' [643] for much of its liturgy, as well as its doctrine, while there was yet further benefit it could still derive from the spiritual writing of Roman Catholic authors, whom Knox viewed as being 'cast in the mould of the very holiest of the Fathers.'[644]

1.3.6. Short Conclusion

This section has examined Knox's Anglicanism, and his relationship with Methodism and Roman Catholicism. With regard to Anglicanism, the section looked, first, at Knox's own position and his enunciation of a theory of Anglicanism, which he identified with catholic antiquity. Second, it examined the difference between him and those he described as the 'old high church race,'[645] whom he regarded as lacking

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[638] On these 'catholic verities,' see below, 193-5.
[639] *Correspondence*, 1, 459.
[640] For Duigenan, see above, 52, note 242.
[641] *Answer to Duigenan*, 61. Emphases in the original.
[642] *Letters on a Reunion,* 28. See, also, *Remains*, 4, 305. Compare the position maintained by Newman; see Rune Imberg, *In Quest of Authority: The Tracts for the Times and the Development of the Tractarian Leaders: 1833-1841*, Lund: Lund University Press, 1987.
[643] *Remains*, 4, 482. See, also: 1, 58-9; *Answer to Duigenan*, 41-2.
[644] *Remains*, 3, 110. See, also: 1, 131; 4, 249-50; 487.
[645] See above, 79.

in spiritual warmth and charity. Third, it analysed his relationship with evangelicalism, pointing out the good *rapport* which he enjoyed with the English Claphamites through their shared heart religion, as well as his disagreement with them over the Bible Society.

With regard to Methodism, the section explored, first, Knox's defences of Wesley, including the portrait which Knox painted of Wesley as a high churchman in his 'remarkable essay,' *Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley*.[646] Second, it investigated the important contribution which Knox made to the debate with the 'Separating Methodists' of England and Ireland.[647]

With regard to Roman Catholicism, the section reviewed Knox's political zeal for emancipation; his belief in the eventual reunion of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches; his understanding of the issues which needed to be resolved prior to that reunion; and his appreciation of Roman Catholicism in terms of doctrine, liturgy, and spirituality.

Having examined these issues, a question which remains to be addressed is that of Knox's influence. What impact did his life and writing have?

1. 4. Knox's Influence

This section is divided into three parts. The first explores the question of Knox's influence in general. The second examines five specific examples of important figures who acknowledged his influence: Archbishop W. D. Maclagan (1826-1910); Bishops Charles Dickinson (1792-1842); William Jacobson (1803-84); Francis Paget (1851-1911); and the priest-writer, John Jebb junior (1805-86). The third analyses the impact of Knox on William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98), who is discussed separately,

[646] See above, 89.
[647] See above, 94.

not simply because of his pre-eminence, but also on account of the detailed analysis he gives of Knox's theology.

1.4.1. Knox's Influence in General

'[F]ew, in reality, have exercised a more deeply-felt influence over a large circle of acquaintance,' Dickinson wrote in his obituary of Knox.[648] This ability on Knox's part to attract people personally to his ideas has already been noted.[649] Those who were 'accustomed to sit at his feet for instruction' included, according to the *Christian Observer*, 'clergymen, noblemen, [and] private gentlemen.'[650] '[T]he *élite* of the worth and intellect of Ireland,' is how O'Sullivan described them.[651] But the '*élite*' were not the only ones who turned to Knox as their mentor. As Knox told Jebb, writing from Bellevue:

> The blacksmith is a very cordial friend and often puts in for a little talk, by tapping at my room door. The butler, however, is *astonishingly* one of ourselves. Nothing will content him but the very kernel of our system.[652]

Even during his life-time, Knox' ideas circulated beyond the confines of his immediate acquaintances, carried by those to whom he spoke, as well as in his letters. Writing to him in 1808, Jebb reported that Knox was being accused of 'ruining and perverting the diocese of Cashel.'[653] 'I am happy to say that every one of our [Cashel] clergy hope and trust you will continue the infection,' Jebb added.[654] 'Every one of our clergy' was an exaggeration, but, as the Rector of Fethard, Henry Woodward

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[648] *Christian Examiner*, 11, 73, (July 1831), 562.
[649] See above, 55-6.
[650] *Christian Observer*, 34, 11, (November 1834), 692.
[651] *Dublin University Magazine*, 4, 21, (September 1834), 242.
[652] B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 205, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 20th June 1809. Emphasis in the original.
[653] *Correspondence*, 1, 453.
[654] *Ibid.*

(1775-1863) [655] recorded, there were a 'small number of more serious clergy,'[656] in Cashel who were characterised by what Woodward termed 'something like a system of its own.' [657] This 'system' was clearly marked by Knox's thinking. Its proponents, who included Jebb and James and Charles Forster, were distinguished, according to Woodward, by their reserve in preaching the atonement, focusing more on 'the gospel ... [as] medicine to heal the sickness of the soul.'[658] Woodward joined the group when he arrived in Fethard in 1812, and through its members he came under the influence of Knox's theology. This influence was evident in Woodward's sermons, throughout which he defined salvation in terms redolent of Knox's teaching as 'the assimilation of the soul to God and participation in the divine nature,' accomplished by grace.[659] These sermons were doubtless Woodward's own composition, but Knox recorded drafting homilies for the clergy of Cashel,[660] and, on at least one occasion, he wrote an archiepiscopal charge for Brodrick.[661]

Knox's influence was not confined to Cashel. In a letter to Jebb written in1812, he told of a clergyman in Cork who 'preaches both *you* and *me*'[662] to the 'young clergy' of the diocese.[663] As a result, Knox wrote, 'excellent dispositions seem to be silently diffusing themselves.'[664] The clergyman in question was Horace Newman (1781-1864), Rector of Kilbrogan, and subsequently Dean of St. Finbarr's Cathedral. Knox's influence on him was not enduring, for Newman subsequently became a noted

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[655] For Henry Wooward (1775-1863), see Henry Woodward, *Some Passages of My Former Life*, Dublin: James McGlashen, 1847.
[656] Woodward, *Some Passages of My Former Life*, 14.
[657] *Ibid.*
[658] *Ibid.*, 19. For this teaching in Knox, see below, 279-80.
[659] Henry Woodward, *Sermons*, London: Macmillan, 1866, 86. See, also: 38; 135; 166; 167-8; 355-7; 384. For this teaching in Knox, see below, 159-60; 163; 288.
[660] B.L., Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30), fol. 46, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 25th July/2nd August 1814.
[661] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 8), drafts of a charge, undated.
[662] *Correspondence*, 2, 100. Emphasis in the original.
[663] *Ibid.*
[664] *Ibid.*

evangelical.[665] Another young clergyman was Robert Daly (1783-1872).[666] As a young curate in Newcastle, Co. Dublin, Daly was described by Knox as 'product of Bellevue.'[667] Daly, however, was adamant that although he 'loved [Knox] as a friend, admired him for his talents, and … honoured him for his deep tone of personal piety' he did not share his 'erroneous doctrines.' [668] It was perhaps Daly who, in an anonymous review of the *Correspondence*, described the 'continued flashes of brilliant wit and illustration which gave such a charm to [Knox's] familiar conversation,'[669] and which lay at the source of what Daly's biographer calls Knox's 'great influence over many young persons.'[670]

Knox's influence was also felt in England. There, to quote Jebb, 'many [were] … cordially disposed' to his way of thinking.[671] '[T]he good people here thirst after your society,' Jebb told Knox in a letter from Henbury, dated 22nd September 1817. Therefore, Jebb continued:

> you are not to confine yourself to Ireland, but to scatter in the prepared soil of this country some good seed which, hereafter, if it please God, may produce a harvest of good fruits.[672]

With the posthumous publication of Knox's writings, his influence only increased. R.B. McDowell ranks the *Correspondence* as 'one of the most influential theological works produced in Ireland,'[673] something which finds confirmation in a statement

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[665] For Horace Newman (1781-1864), see *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 216, 2, (February 1864), 216.
[666] Robert Daly (1783-1872), Bishop of Cashel, 1843-72, was a noted evangelical. See Mrs Hamilton Madden, *Memoir of the Late Right Reverend Robert Daly, D.D., Lord Bishop of Cashel*, hereafter, *Memoir*, London: James Nisbet, 1875.
[667] B.L., Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30), fol. 15, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 3rd December 1812.
[668] Robert Daly to Richard Whately, letter, undated, quoted Madden, *Memoir*, 34.
[669] *Christian Examiner*, 3, 35, (September 1834), 632.
[670] Madden, *Memoir*, 33.
[671] *Correspondence*, 2, 336.
[672] *Ibid.*, 336-7.
[673] R.B. McDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution, 1760-1801,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 205.

made in 1856 by Charles Kingsley (1819-75),[674] who spoke of Knox, together with Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834),[675] as having 'changed the minds, and, with them, the acts of thousands.' [676] Another testimony to the extent of Knox's influence comes from the 1845 debates over Maynooth in the House of Lords, where both sides invoked Knox's moral authority. The Earl of Roden, Robert Jocelyn (1788-1870), cited Knox as an opponent of the college, describing Knox's opinion 'an authority of great weight.' [677] In response, Lord Monteagle, Thomas Spring Rice (1790-1866), appealed to Knox as a friend of Maynooth. In so doing, Spring Rice affirmed of Knox:

> A more excellent and pious man did not exist, or one more entitled to respect for his high principles, his earnest piety, his rare literary endowments, and his love of Ireland.[678]

Not everyone shared these positive sentiments. Many nineteenth-century anti-Tractarian evangelicals laid much of the blame for the Oxford Movement on what the *Christian Examiner* called Knox's 'marvellous influence.'[679] Looking back in 1862 over 'the controversies and heresies which have been agitating the Church during the last half-century,'[680] the journal traced the origin of many of them back to Knox's writings: 'the suggestions,' as the *Examiner* put it, 'of that unsound thinker.'[681]

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[674] For Charles Kingsley (1819-75), clergyman and controversialist, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101015617/Charles-Kingsley, accessed 17th June 2011.
[675] For Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), see below, 143-8.
[676] C.K. [Charles Kingsley], 'Hours with the Mystics,' in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 54, (September 1856), 315-28, 315.
[677] *Hansard*, 'House of Lords: Debates,' 80, 1195, 2nd June 1845. For Robert Jocelyn (1788-1870), see *O.D.N B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101039661/Robert-Jocelyn, accessed 8th August 2011.
[678] *Hansard*, 'House of Lords: Debates,' 81, 66, 4th June 1845. For Thomas Spring Rice (1790-1866), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101026179/Thomas-Spring-Rice, accessed 8th August 2011.
[679] *Christian Examiner*, new series, 47, (November 1862), 283.
[680] *Ibid.*
[681] *Ibid.*, 282-5. For a similar view, see [William McIlwaine], *Ecclesiologism Exposed, being the letters of Clericus Connorensis as originally published in the Belfast Commercial Chronicle, with introductory remarks and an appendix,* Belfast: G. Phillips, 1843, 33. For William McIlwaine (1807-

From what has been said, it seems clear that it would be an impossible task to trace the exact extent of Knox's influence: it was so widespread and diverse as to defy adequate investigation. One has to consider, too, that in many cases Knox's influence would not have been direct, but, as in the case of Henry Woodward, mediated by others. Again, some, like Horace Newman, might for a time have been under Knox's sway, but then have changed their opinions. In other cases, Knox may have proved influential only in the realm of piety, without having had a theological impact. One example of this is furnished by Samuel O'Sullivan, for whom:

> There is no living man with whom we are acquainted, nor has there been within our memory, to whom we could compare Alexander Knox.[682]

Despite this encomium, O'Sullivan was, as Hornby relates, 'by no means identified with Mr Knox's theology.'[683] A similar example is furnished by Adam Clarke (1762-1832),[684] who, in a letter to Knox, dated 11th June 1821,[685] declared him to have been the beloved and revered guide of his youth, to whom Clarke had 'ever looked up … with affectionate respect and reverence.'[686] This did not mean that Clarke was in any way indebted to Knox for his theology, something for which no evidence exists. Rather, Clarke meant that Knox acted as a spiritual mentor, and as someone who encouraged him in his studies.

It is evident from what has been said that Knox enjoyed a great influence throughout the nineteenth century. How is it, therefore, that he came to be so largely forgotten?

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80), Rector of St George's, Belfast, 1836-80, see J.B. Leslie, *Clergy of Connor from Patrician Times to the Present Day*, Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1993, 1997.

[682] *Dublin University Magazine*, 4, 21, (September 1834), 243.

[683] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' xxxix.

[684] For Adam Clarke, theologian and Biblical commentator (1762-1832), see *O.D.N.B.*, 11, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101005483/Adam-Clarke, accessed 27th June 2011.

[685] For this letter, see *Remains*, 4, 51-2, note.

[686] *Ibid.*, 51.

The answer, I would suggest, is that he suffered the precursor's fate of being eclipsed by those whose positions he anticipated, in his case the Tractarians.

1.4.2. Examples of Knox's Influence

There are some writers who explicitly acknowledge a theological debt to Knox, and in whose writings this debt is clear. Among these are several bishops. One may note, in addition to Jebb: W.D. Maclagan, Charles Dickinson, William Jacobson and Francis Paget. Besides these four bishops, a notable example of Knox's influence is also furnished by the priest-writer John Jebb junior.

Archbishop of York from 1891-1908, Maclagan produced an edition of Knox's tracts on the sacraments in 1905.[687] In the preface, Maclagan wrote:

> It has long been my desire that some part, at least, of Alexander Knox's writings should be brought within the reach of theological students and other readers of the present day. To myself, they have been familiarly known and increasingly valued for more than fifty years.[688]

Maclagan described how:

> It was my frequent enjoyment at the end of a laborious day, and, most of all, on the evening of the Lord's Day, with its manifold duties, to take down from my shelves a volume of the writings of Alexander Knox and find in them a great restorative.[689]

Knox's influence on Maclagan is of note, because as Archbishop of York, Maclagan was jointly responsible with Frederick Temple (1821-1902), the Archbishop of Canterbury, for one of the most authoritative statements of Anglican eucharistic

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[687] For William Maclagan (1826-1910), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101034773/William-Maclagan, accessed 17th June 2011. For his edition of *The Grace of the Sacraments*, see above, 1, note 4.
[688] W.D. Maclagan, 'Preface' to *The Grace of the Sacraments*, viii.
[689] *Ibid.*, xv.

doctrine, *Saepius Officio* (1897), the official reply to Pope Leo XIII's condemnation of Anglican orders, *Apostolicae Curae* (1896).[690]

Charles Dickinson was Bishop of Meath from 1840-42. His *Remains* were edited by John West (1805-90),[691] who prefaced them with a 'Biographical Sketch' of Dickinson.[692] In this 'Sketch,' West related how Knox's 'profundity of thought and … uncommon felicity of expression' proved 'peculiarly attractive to a mind like Mr Dickinson's and undoubtedly exercised a considerable influence upon the tone of his religious sentiments.'[693] West qualified this by saying that Knox did not lead Dickinson to change his opinions on any important matters, but rather '[quickened] into active growth germs of thought already existing in his mind.'[694]

Knox's influence on Dickinson appears most clearly in Dickinson's understanding of justification.[695] Rejecting what he termed 'solifidian principles,'[696] Dickinson asserted that justification was brought about by 'a *real* righteousness … which [the] Holy Spirit *implants in the heart.*'[697] Thus, for Dickinson, Christianity was not, primarily, a matter of 'knowledge ... the *intellectual* reception of instruction, the entertaining of notions;'[698] it consisted, rather, in 'the keeping of his

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[690] *Saepius Officio: The Reply of the English Archbishops to the Bull Apostolicae Curae of Pope Leo XIII concerning Anglican Ordinations, Addressed to all the Bishops of the Catholic Church*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897. For Frederick Temple (1821-1902), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101036451/Frederick-Temple, accessed 17th June 2011.

[691] John West (1805-90), Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; see Leslie, *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, 1166.

[692] John West, 'Biographical Sketch,' in *Remains of the Most Reverend Charles Dickinson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Meath, being a selection from his sermons and tracts, with a biographical sketch*, hereafter, Dickinson, *Remains,* edited by John West, London: B. Fellowes, 1845, xvii-lxvi.

[693] West, 'Biographical Sketch,' xxviii.

[694] *Ibid.*

[695] For Knox's teaching on justification, see below, 295-306.

[696] Dickinson, *Remains*, 215.

[697] *Ibid.*, 96. See, also, 101, where Dickinson asserts that justification is accomplished through a '*real* righteousness, fixed and living within the soul, implanted by the Spirit of God.' Emphasis, in both quotations, is in the original.

[698] *Ibid.*, 97.

commandments.'[699] Dickinson's understanding of soteriology likewise showed Knox's influence.[700] In a sermon for Good Friday,[701] Dickinson insisted that Christ's death was not just an example to us but a sacrifice for us;[702] nonetheless, Dickinson was equally adamant that Christ was 'a present saviour,'[703] who offered believers both forgiveness *and* sanctification,[704] an assertion in support of which Dickinson adduced Titus 2, 14.[705] The whole sermon closed with a long quotation from 'a valued friend.'[706] This 'valued friend' was Knox, and the quotation comes from his treatise 'On the Nature of our Salvation through Christ.'[707]

Knox's influence on Dickinson is further evidenced by Dickinson's views on churches and 'sects.'[708] In his *Observations on Ecclesiastical Legislature and Church Reform* (1833),[709] Dickinson expatiated on the benefits of an established church,[710] but then continued: 'Were it possible to have one church so formed as to comprehend all professing Christians residing in the same country, it is very questionable whether it would be, on the whole, desirable,' because '[t]he Church of England and dissenting communions seem adapted, at present, to different offices.'[711] In other words, they

[699] *Ibid.* Emphasis in the original. Dickinson is alluding to 1 John 2, 3. Compare 135, where Dickinson speaks of justifying faith as 'obedience' rather than the 'profession of truth or intelligence of doctrines.'
[700] For Knox's soteriology, see below, 274-80.
[701] Dickinson, 'Sermon VI: The Lamb of God,' *Remains*, 105-23.
[702] Dickinson, 'Sermon VI: The Lamb of God,' *Remains*, 116.
[703] Dickinson, 'Sermon VI: The Lamb of God,' *Remains*, 118.
[704] *Ibid.*
[705] Dickinson, 'Sermon VI: The Lamb of God,' *Remains*, 117. For Knox's use of this verse, see below, 276.
[706] Dickinson, 'Sermon VI: The Lamb of God,' *Remains*, 121.
[707] Dickinson, 'Sermon VI: The Lamb of God,' *Remains*, 121-3. For the passage which Dickson quotes, see Knox's *Remains*, 2, 391-2.
[708] For Knox's teaching on churches and sects, see below, 372-4.
[709] Charles Dickinson, *Observations on Ecclesiastical Legislature and Church Reform*, hereafter, *Observations*, Dublin: Richard Milliken and Son, 1833. The text used in this thesis is that to be found in Dickinson's *Remains*, 266-342.
[710] See especially, Dickinson, *Observations*, *Remains*, 320-4.
[711] Dickinson, *Observations*, *Remains,* 324.

were distinct but complimentary ways of diffusing religion in society:[712] the same teaching which one finds in Knox.

William Jacobson [713] came as a young graduate from Oxford to Ireland to act as tutor to the La Touches' nephews, Charles and Francis. This brought him into contact with Knox, who mentioned Jacobson to Jebb in the *Correspondence*. Writing on Christmas Day 1827 from Bellevue, Knox reported:

> There is a very sensible young gentleman at present in this house. He is a Mr Jacobson, an A.B. of Lincoln. In one of his first conversations with me, he asked me if I knew the 'Appendix' to your sermons, pronouncing upon it, at the same time, as intelligent a eulogium as I had perhaps heard from anyone ... [He suggested] that it were desirable the 'Appendix' should be published in a small volume by itself, in order to give it the widest possible circulation, which he conceives the present time, especially, renders expedient.[714]

From Ireland, Jacobson returned to Oxford and ordination, becoming vice-principal of Magdalen Hall in 1832. His most famous work was an edition of the Apostolic Fathers, *Patres Apostolici* (1838),[715] on the basis of which he became Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1848, before being elevated to the episcopate in 1865. Burgon noted of him:

> Bishop Jacobson was known frequently to recur to his conversations with Alexander Knox ... as having been singularly productive of fruit to himself.[716]

Burgon recorded, too, Jacobson's regret that on his return from Ireland he allowed his acquaintance with Knox to lapse, although the *Remains* 'occupied a conspicuous

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[712] See especially, Dickinson, *Observations*, *Remains*, 324-7.
[713] For William Jacobson (1803-84), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101014578/William-Jacobson , accessed 17th June 2011. For his relationship to Knox, see Burgon, *The Lives of Twelve Good Men*, 2, 248-9.
[714] *Correspondence*, 2, 566-7.
[715] William Jacobson, *Sancti Clementis Romani, S. Ignatii, S. Polycarpi, Patrum apostolicorum, quae supersunt: accedunt S. Ignatii et S. Polycarpi martyria*, two volumes, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1838.
[716] Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, 2, 248-9.

place in Jacobson's library and were often taken down from his shelf in illustration of something in his lectures.'[717] These lectures, it should be noted, were obligatory for all candidates for holy orders at Oxford,[718] something which argues for a wide but perhaps unacknowledged dissemination of Knox's thought amongst the English clergy.

Francis Paget was another Oxford don who owned the importance of Knox on his thinking. Professor of Pastoral Theology from 1885-92, and Dean of Christ Church, 1892-1901, Paget was Bishop of Oxford from 1901-11.[719] Paget cited Knox in several of his writings. One instance comes from his sermon 'The Records of the Past,'[720] in which he quoted *verbatim* two passages from the essay 'On the Situation and Prospects of the Established Church.'[721] The whole sermon, however, is evocative of Knox's teaching on Anglicanism. Paget expanded on the providential care which has kept the Church of England on the *via media*, 'untouched by the losses which have marred the heritage of the protestant communities abroad, [and] ... the accretions which have defaced the doctrine and practice of Rome.'[722] The Church of England, Paget proclaimed, was distinguished by its orders, its sacraments, its daily prayers, and:

> a tradition of doctrine which we can bring without fear or apology or reserve to the great canon of the catholic faith: *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*.[723]

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[717] *Ibid.*, 249.
[718] *O.D.N.B.* on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101014578/William-Jacobson , accessed 17th June 2011.
[719] For Francis Paget (1851-1911), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101035355/Francis-Paget, accessed 17th June 2011.
[720] Francis Paget, 'The Records of the Past,' in *Faculties and Difficulties for Belief and Disbelief*, hereafter, *Faculties and Difficulties*, London: Rivingtons, 1887, 237-56.
[721] Paget, 'The Records of the Past,' *Faculties and Difficulties*, 249-50. For the passages which Paget quotes, see *Remains*, 1, 56; 68.
[722] Paget, 'The Records of the Past,' *Faculties and Difficulties*, 250.
[723] Paget, 'The Records of the Past, *Faculties and Difficulties*, 250.

Paget's most notable work was the essay which he contributed to *Lux Mundi* (1889).[724] Paget's topic was 'The Sacraments;'[725] and in his treatment of this theme he acknowledged 'with gratitude the help he [had] found' in what he described as Knox's 'remarkable treatise' on the eucharist,[726] which he quoted from or alluded to several times, beginning with the definition of the sacraments as 'the vehicles of saving and sanctifying power.'[727] In terms which echo Knox, Paget stated that 'the chief aim' of his essay was:

> to show that ... [the Church] has been taught and enabled, in its ministry of sacraments, to deal with the entirety of man's nature, not slighting, or excluding, or despairing of any true part of his being.[728]

A priest who professed his theological dependence on Knox was Bishop Jebb's nephew, John Jebb junior.[729] Writing in *Notes and Queries* in 1877, Jebb spoke of Knox as 'this great man, from whom I derived more information and benefit than from any formal theological lectures.'[730] Jebb did not explicitly cite Knox theological views in any of his writings, but such works as *The Divine Economy of the Church* (1840),[731] and *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*

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[724] Charles Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*, hereafter, *Lux Mundi*, London: John Murray, 1889. The aim of the book, historically one of the most important in modern Anglican theology, was to combine the traditionalism of Anglo-Catholicism with the insights of contemporary scholarship. See Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O. D. C.C*, 1017.

[725] Francis Paget, 'The Sacraments,' in Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi*, 405-33.

[726] Paget, 'The Sacraments,' in Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi*, 412, note.

[727] Paget, 'The Sacraments,' in Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi*, 406. The quotation is from *Remains*, 2, 155. For other quotations or allusions to Knox by Paget, see: 'The Sacraments,' in Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi*, 412; 414; 442.

[728] Paget, 'The Sacraments,' in Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi*, 406. For Knox's concern with 'the entirety of man's nature' in general, see below, 260; for his teaching on the congruence of the sacraments with human nature, see 344.

[729] For John Jebb junior (1805-86), a priest of strong Tractarian views, and author of numerous books, rector of Peterstow in Hampshire, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101014682/John-Jebb, accessed 17th June 2011.

[730] *Notes and Queries*, fifth series, 8, 193, (8th September 1877), 191. Jebb notes that while at Trinity he would seek to visit Knox as often as he could (*ibid.*).

[731] John Jebb, *The Divine Economy of the Church*, London: Duncan and Malcolm, 1840.

(1843) [732] reveal an ecclesiology and sacramental doctrine which fully accorded with those of the man whom he described as 'one of the greatest philosophers of our age.'[733]

1.4.3. Knox's Influence on Gladstone

The most prominent figure to acknowledge Knox's influence was the British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone.[734] Although raised an evangelical, Gladstone became dissatisfied with this school of churchmanship. As he wrote in 1843, in an essay on the 'Present Aspect of the Church:'

> [T]he sum and substance of our charge against the evangelical system, such as it was thirty years ago, is that it was a partial and defective system and required the admission of new and potent elements. The secret, so to speak, of the close relationship between what is catholic and what is, in the best popular sense, evangelical, had not been discovered.[735]

Gladstone consequently moved to a high church stance, 'not least,' he recorded, as a result of reading 'the religious writings of Alexander Knox, all of which I perused.'[736] A personal memorandum on the *Remains* exists among Gladstone's private papers,[737]

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[732] John Jebb, *The Choral Service of England and Ireland: being an enquiry into the liturgical system of the cathedral and collegiate foundations of the Anglican Communion*, London: John W. Parker, 1843. For indications of Knox's influence, see, especially, the first chapter, 'Introductory Remarks,' 1-16.

[733] Jebb, *Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England*, second edition, Leeds: T.W. Green, 1845, (1841), 163. For Jebb, Knox was also 'the first and main promoter of the real catholic reaction of our days' (*Notes and Queries*, fifth series, 8, 193, 8th September 1877, 191).

[734] William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98), Liberal politician, Prime Minister, 1868-74; 1880-85; 1886; 1892-94. See John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, three volumes, London: Macmillan, 1903; and, more recently, H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809-1898*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

[735] William Ewart Gladstone, 'Present Aspect of the Church,' in *Gleanings of Past Years, 1843-50: Volume 5: Ecclesiastical*, London: John Murray, 1879, 1-80, 11-12. The essay first appeared in *The Foreign and Colonial Quarterly Review*, 2, October 1843, 522-63.

[736] William Ewart Gladstone, unpublished 'fragment,' in Morely, *Life of Gladstone*, 1, 159-162, 161. For references to Knox in Gladstone's diaries, see H.C.G. Matthew, ed., *The Gladstone Diaries, with Cabinet Papers and Prime-Ministerial Correspondence: Volume 14: Index,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, 445.

[737] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fol. 73-6, 'memorandum,' 24th March 1835.

and, despite there being several points on which he distanced himself from Knox, his overall judgment was positive. In Gladstone's view, Knox had:

> vindicated, one may almost hope for ever … the great and essential doctrine of inward and vital religion ... operated upon the heart by divine agency. [738]

Gladstone also praised Knox's insistence on progress in religion, the need:

> to pass onward from lower unto higher truths; from dimness to more clear apprehensions; from the contemplation of sin with sorrow to the study of holiness with avidity and joy.[739]

Likewise commended was Knox's concern with the practical rather than the abstract, the renewal of human nature. As Gladstone said:

> [T]his, in the view of Knox is the great ... work which constitutes in chief the province of our Christian duty and which claims for us, so to speak, the *bulk* of our attention and concern.[740]

Gladstone valued, too, Knox's arguments against mysticism.[741] 'He has taught with convincing and salutary effect,' Gladstone wrote, 'that undivided contemplation of the divine essence is not appointed to constitute the habitual state or furnish the constant sustenance of our souls.'[742] Lastly, Gladstone remarked on how Knox 'has unfolded with great ability the beautiful results' of the doctrine of 'baptismal regeneration,' expounding its consequences with 'great depth of wisdom and felicity of expression.'[743]

Against these positive points, Gladstone set what he termed 'several defects of considerable importance.'[744] Of these, the first was Knox's conception of the church,

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[738] *Ibid.*, fol 73.
[739] *Ibid.*
[740] *Ibid.* Emphasis in the original.
[741] For Knox's teaching on mysticism, see below, 244-6.
[742] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fol. 73, 'memorandum,' 24th March 1835.
[743] *Ibid.*, fol. 74. For Knox's teaching on baptism, see below, 329-35.
[744] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fol. 74, 'memorandum,' 24th March 1835.

which Gladstone described as 'faint and low.'[745] Although Gladstone was writing in 1835, before the *Remains* had been fully published, his observation is difficult to understand. The tract 'On the Situation and Prospects of the Established Church,'[746] the essay on the parables in Matthew 13;[747] and the two versions of 'The Doctrine Respecting Baptism,'[748] all present a 'high' view of the church, which emphasises its visible aspect.[749]

Gladstone's second criticism is more comprehensible. It is the allegation that Knox denied the doctrine of forensic justification,[750] and its concomitant, the doctrine of Christ's expiatory death.[751] Gladstone suggested that Knox gave little importance to these doctrines, 'because he had travelled so far from sin,' something which, Gladstone continued, 'can be the lot of few.'[752] Gladstone was not alone in believing that Knox denied forensic justification and the atonement, but, as I will demonstrate, a full and careful study of Knox's teaching reveals these criticisms to be without foundation, a conclusion which can be drawn even from first two volumes of the *Remains*, about which Gladstone was writing.[753]

1.4.4. Short Conclusion

This section has established the magnitude of Knox's influence. It examined, first, the question of his influence in general, then discussed six specific examples: Archbishop Maclagan, Bishops Dickinson, Jacobson, and Paget; the Reverend John Jebb junior; and, particularly, the Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone.

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[745] *Ibid.*
[746] *Ibid.*, 53-69.
[747] *Remains*, 1, 447-67.
[748] *Ibid.*, 484-528; 2, 460-504.
[749] For Knox's 'high' ecclesiology, see below, 370-3; 375.
[750] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fol. 76, 'memorandum,' 24th March 1835.
[751] *Ibid.*
[752] *Ibid.*
[753] For the points in question, see below, 275-6; 301.

5. Conclusion

As a prelude to the study of Knox's theology, this chapter has examined his life. The chapter comprised four sections and a conclusion. Section one provided a brief summary of the political and ecclesiastical background against which Knox's life was set. Politically, what was important, as far as Knox was concerned, were the 1798 rebellion and the ensuing preparations for the 1800 Act of Union, in which he was involved as secretary to Castlereagh. Important, too, was the campaign for Catholic emancipation, of which he was an ardent supporter. Ecclesiastically, two things were significant. One was the growth of evangelicalism, in response to which much of Knox's theology was written. The other was the hostility being directed against the privileged status of the established Church. This helped to stimulate his formulation of 'Anglicanism,' since the Church could no longer be seen as the English nation at prayer.

Section two turned to Knox himself. It examined his early life, which was dominated by two features, ill-health and piety, both of which were to be enduring. Enduring, too, was the admiration he felt for his 'never-to-be-forgotten old friend' John Wesley,[754] and the relationship between the two men was also analysed. This relationship is critical to understanding Knox's theology, the proximity of whose thinking to Wesley's will be demonstrated in the ensuing chapters. The section next examined Knox's short time of public service as secretary to Lord Castlereagh; his friendship with Hannah More; his 'religious retirement;'[755] and his 'long intimacy' with John Jebb,[756] before closing with an account of Knox's death and the controversy surrounding it.

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[754] See above, 26.
[755] See above, 51.
[756] See above, 57.

Because Knox's life was inextricably bound up with religion, section three dealt with Knox's relationship to Anglicanism, Methodism and Roman Catholicism. The first of these was studied at some length, because of Knox's importance as a theoretician of Anglicanism. He was one of the first writers to make habitual use of the designation 'Anglican,' and the subsequent adoption of the term more generally may be an indication of his influence. More significant than the word, however, was his articulation of a coherent theory of what it means to be 'Anglican.' The section also explored the relationship of Knox to what he termed 'the old high church race,'[757] from whom he distanced himself, considering them to be lacking in spiritual warmth and charity.

The section looked, too, at Knox's interaction with evangelicalism. Knox did not, in general, enjoy a good relationship with Irish evangelicals; he was, by contrast, close to the leading English evangelicals of the Clapham sect, united to them by a shared piety, although he differed with them over the Bible Society, criticism of which was to prove a stimulus for his reflection on the nature of the church.

With regard to Methodism, the section analysed Knox's defences of John Wesley, paying particular attention to Knox's portrayal of him in the *Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley*, which Rack describes as 'one of the most accurate and penetrating studies of Wesley's character and theology.'[758] In it Knox cogently argued that Wesley was a 'Church of England man of the highest tone,'[759] whose views had been 'formed … in the school of the Greek Fathers and in that of their closest modern followers, the Platonic divines of the Church of England.'[760] This is significant for several reasons. First, it demonstrates how the study of Knox can contribute to a better

[757] See above, 79.
[758] See above, 89.
[759] *Ibid.*
[760] See above, 89-90.

understanding of Wesley. Second, Knox's depiction of Wesley's theological antecedents serves as a pointer to the existence within Anglicanism of a Platonic tradition inspired by the 'Greek Fathers,' and I will argue below in the ensuing chapters that Knox belonged to this tradition. Third, Wesley's high churchmanship provides an argument for seeing the catholic emphases which one finds in Knox's theology not as something which he derived from elsewhere, but as coming, ultimately, from Wesley. The section also examined Knox's opposition to those he termed 'Separating Methodists,'[761] both in England and Ireland, a controversy which was another contributory factor to the development of Knox's ecclesiology. The section closed with an analysis of Knox's relationship to Roman Catholicism, discussing, first, his zeal for 'enfranchisement,' as he called it,[762] and, second, his views on reunion between the Anglican and Roman Catholic Church.

Section four examined Knox's influence, exploring it in general terms, before discussing several cases which illustrate this influence. Charles Kingsley described Knox as having influenced 'thousands.'[763] This is not an exaggeration if one considers not only Knox's personal influence through conversation and correspondence, but also the impact he had through his writings, as well as through important figures, whose thinking he helped to shape: bishops like Maclagan and Dickinson; dons like Jacobson and Paget; and writers like John Jebb junior.

Overall, the chapter demonstrated that the study of Knox's life aids the understanding of his theology, which will be examined in the next three chapters. As will be seen when dealing with his teaching in detail, much of what he wrote was shaped, or can be seen as being shaped, by events in his biography. One example of this is the impact on his theology of his proximity to Wesley. Another is his

[761] See above, 94.
[762] See above, 100.
[763] See above, 111.

understanding of Anglicanism, which was influenced by the historical situation in which the Church found itself at the start of the nineteenth century. One may also cite, for instance, his differences with Irish evangelicals over justification, which helped to stimulate his thinking on the subject; and his dismay at what he regarded as the latitudinarianism of the Bible Society and his struggle with the 'Separating Methodists,' which aided in the moulding of his ecclesiology.

CHAPTER 2

The Intellectual and Spiritual Context of Knox's Theology

In his book, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, Claude Welch writes:

> The immediate background of protestant theology in the nineteenth century must be described by reference to at least three broad movements of thought, commonly labelled pietism, rationalism and Romanticism.[1]

The aim of this chapter is to examine how Knox's theology fits in to the context of these three movements. I intend to demonstrate three things. First, that Knox was a Romantic theologian, although included in this definition is the fact that he had roots in the Enlightenment, what Welch calls 'rationalism;' second, that Knox was not simply a Romantic theologian, but also someone whose theology was influenced by what Welch terms 'pietism,' or, as I will describe it, in the language used by Knox, heart religion; third, that the type of heart religion by which Knox was influenced was that of the Christian Platonic tradition.

The chapter is divided into two sections, with a conclusion. The first section explores Knox's thought in the context of the Enlightenment and of Romanticism, and includes a comparison between him and the two major theologians of the epoch, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834). The second section deals with the spiritual context of Knox's theology, seeing how he presents himself as an exemplar of 'pietism,' or, as he defines it, heart religion; and it

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[1] Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, 22.

demonstrates how his heart religion is expressed in the form of Christian Platonism. The section analyses the meaning of this term and examines those whom Knox presents as its main proponents: first, the Greek Fathers, Clement of Alexandria (c. 150- c.215), Pseudo-Macarius (fourth century), and John Chrysostom (c. 349-407); second, the Anglican moderates of the seventeenth century; and, third, John Wesley. Wesley has already been discussed in terms of his personal friendship with Knox, but what is examined here is their theological kinship.

1. The Intellectual Context of Knox's Theology

This section examines the relationship between Knox and the Enlightenment, and Knox and Romanticism, the two great intellectual movements which dominated the age in which he lived. The section closes with a comparison between Knox and the two leading theologians of the epoch, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Friedrich Schleiermacher.

2.1.1. Knox and the Enlightenment

'There can be no real question,' writes Reardon, 'but that the first four decades of the nineteenth century constitute … the Romantic era *par excellence*.'[2] As a theologian who flourished in this era, Knox was strongly marked by Romanticism. This meant that *ipso facto* he was marked by the Enlightenment, in which the roots of

[2] Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism: Studies in Early Nineteenth-Century Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 2.

Romanticism lay.[3] For this reason, before examining the topic of Knox and Romanticism, I will explore his relationship to the Enlightenment.

Historiography before the last two decades of the twentieth century portrayed the Enlightenment as a secular phenomenon, resolutely anti-religious.[4] This view was challenged at the start of the 1980s in the book *Enlightenment in National Context* (1981), edited by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich,[5] which argued the case for distinguishing several different Enlightenments. Amongst these different Enlightenments, it is now recognised that there was a 'religious Enlightenment,'[6] something exemplified especially clearly in England,[7] where, as Porter notes, the Enlightenment 'throve ...*within* piety.'[8] Despite this, the Enlightenment posed two major problems for Christianity. One was theological, and came from Immanuel Kant (1724-1804),[9] who, in his *Critik der reinen Vernunft* (1781),[10] brought down, as Stephen Prickett puts it, 'an iron curtain between the phenomenal world, where knowledge is possible, and the noumenal world, about which we must remain

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[3] See below, 136-7.

[4] See, for examples of this position: Owen Chadwick, *The Secularisation of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975; Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.

[5] Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds, *The Enlightenment in National Context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

[6] See, especially, on this theme, David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews and Catholics from London to Vienna,* hereafter, *The Religious Enlightenment*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

[7] In this context what is true for England is true also for Ireland.

[8] Roy Porter, 'The Enlightenment in England,' in Porter and Teich, *The Enlightenment in National Context*, 1-18, 6. Emphasis in the original. For further development of the point, see David Spadafora , *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990; and B.W. Young in *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

[9] For the impact of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) on theology, see Bernard M.G. Reardon, *Kant as Philosophical Theologian*, London: Macmillan, 1988.

[10] Immanuel Kant, *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, Riga: Hartnoch, 1781. *Kritik* was only spelled with a 'K' in subsequent editions.

agnostic.'[11] According to Kant, the only things we can know are what he called phenomena, the objects of our direct sense-experience. Thus, Kant asserted, there could be no natural knowledge of God, a position he reinforced by refuting the traditional arguments for the existence of the deity.

Theology was thus left with a problem which it could not ignore: the problem of the knowability of God; and the quest for a solution to this problem was what dominated protestant theological thought during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. To quote Welch: 'At the beginning of the nineteenth century the theological problem was simply: How is theology possible?'[12] The answer of many theologians was, as Weclch says, 'to enlarge the category of direct experience,'[13] something that involved a new emphasis being placed on the self and subjective experience. Thus, as Pelikan puts it: 'The current experimental philosophy found a counterpoint in experimental theology.'[14] Or, to borrow Welch's words:

> Theology now had to start from, to articulate, and to interpret a subjective view of the religious object. That is, any significant speech about God had to be talk in which the self was concerned, talk about God as the object of devotion, or of utter dependence, or of passionate concern and fidelity.[15]

It will be shown that Knox's theology was strongly marked by the 'subjective view of the religious object.' As he phrased it: 'Religion is experience.'[16] Nonetheless, raised from his childhood in a *milieu* of faith, he showed no sign of being perturbed

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[11] Stephen Prickett, *Romanticism and Religion: The Tradition of Coleridge and Wordsworth in the Victorian Church*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, 21.
[12] Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, 59.
[13] *Ibid.*, 48.
[14] Pelikan, *Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture*, 172.
[15] Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, 59-60.
[16] *Remains*, 4, 458. For Knox's teaching on experience, see below, 230-43.

by epistemological questions about the knowability of God. I would therefore argue that the role Knox gave to experience had more to do with the second problem which the Enlightenment posed for Christianity. This problem was not intellectual, but spiritual: the accent placed on reason by the *zeitgeist* meant that much religion became arid and lifeless. 'The dry details of meagre morality … pronounced from most parochial pulpits,' is how Knox spoke of it.[17]

In one way, therefore, with his emphasis on experience, Knox was reacting against the Enlightenment. But in a number of other ways he showed himself as more positively marked by the spirit of his age. For instance, one feature of the Enlightenment period was the high value placed on science, and, coupled with this, what Clare Jackson calls an 'insatiable optimism.'[18] Because the use of the scientific method had led to a dramatic increase in knowledge about the natural world,[19] the belief was prevalent that the same method could be applied to all aspects of human existence with similar results. An example of this attitude is furnished by Jebb, who in his *Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical* held up the vision of 'an unbounded prospect of intellectual improvement to future ages ... encouraged by the past history

[17] *Remains*, 4, 102.
[18] Clare Jackson, 'Progress and Optimism,' in Martin Fitzpatrick, Peter Jones, Christa Knellwolf and Iain McCalman, eds, *The Enlightenment World*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, 177-93, 117. On the topic of progress, see, especially, Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain*.
[19] See John Henry, 'Science and the Coming of Enlightenment,' in Martin Fitzpatrick *et al.*, *The Enlightenment World*, 10-26.

of all the sciences.'[20] '[W]hat limits can be placed on the possible progress of those future theologians who shall engage in sacred studies?' he demanded.[21]

Both respect for science and belief in progress run throughout Knox's work. He conceived of theology in scientific terms; it was for him 'the science of true piety,'[22] no different in its methodology from astronomy, chemistry or mathematics,[23] and, like these disciplines, capable of yielding ever-greater knowledge. This growth in knowledge, Knox believed to be part of the divine plan for humankind. He was convinced that:

> the Christian dispensation, though perfectly and immutably defined in the New Testament, yet, in actual development, was intended to be progressive.[24]

This was one of Knox's main motives for studying the Bible. '[M]y mind,' he declared, 'is generally full of thought on the yet unsettled meanings and unsuspected depths of the New Testament.'[25] Once these were uncovered, Knox postulated that they would prove of immense apologetic value, as well as helping nourish piety.[26]

Optimism about knowledge was matched by optimism about human nature. Roy Porter remarks: 'Central to the aspirations of enlightened minds was the search for a

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[20] Jebb, *Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical*, 348. Jebb is quoting from the Enlightenment philosopher Dugald Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, second edition, London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1802 (1792), 222. For Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), see *O.D.N. B.*, online edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101026471/Dugald-Stewart, accessed 5th February 2012.
[21] Jebb, *Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical*, 348.
[22] *Remains*, 1, 251.
[23] *Ibid.*,, 246-8. See, also, Jebb's remarks, *Correspondence*, 2, 136.
[24] *Wesley*, 487.
[25] *Remains*, 4, 547-8.
[26] *Ibid.*, 1, 244; 447-8; 481; 3, 201-3; 4, 615.

true science of man.'[27] As it was expressed by Alexander Pope (1688-1744), whose work is a *résumé* of English Enlightenment thinking: 'The proper study of mankind is man.'[28] From this study, a number of Enlightenment writers postulated, in the words of Adam Ferguson (1723-1816),[29] that 'man is susceptible of improvement and has in himself a principle of progression and a desire for perfection.'[30] Knox's theology reflected the Enlightenment interest in anthropological questions.[31] Not everything Knox taught about humanity was in keeping with the spirit of the Enlightenment: the emphasis which he placed on the fallenness of human nature may in fact be seen as a reaction to Enlightenment views;[32] nonetheless, the idea that perfection was 'equally the vocation of all,'[33] one of the most important and distinctive tenets of his theology,[34] can be understood as a counterpart to the contemporary belief in the perfectibility of human nature.

Connected to the idea of perfection was that of happiness, the 'universal obsession' of the period, as Paul Hazard terms it;[35] 'happiness, our being's end and aim,' to quote

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[27] Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment*, second edition, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001, (1996), 11. For the Enlightenment's interest in human nature see, Christa Knellwolf, 'The Science of Man,' in Fitzpatrick *et al.*, *The Enlightenment World*, 194-206.

[28] Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, 2, 2. For the text, see Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, edited by Maynard Mack, London: Methuen, 1982, (1733-34), 55. Quotations from the *Essay* in this thesis are taken from this edition.

[29] For the philosopher Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101009315/Adam-Ferguson, accessed 23rd June 2011.

[30] Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, second edition, London: A. Millar and T. Cadell, 1768, (1767), 12.

[31] For Knox's anthropology, see below, 259-65.

[32] Enlightenment thinkers held divergent views of human nature. Didérot's question '*Est-il bon? Est-il méchant?*' 'Is [humanity] good? Is it bad?' received no one definitive answer. Nonetheless, Porter is right to say: 'The new Enlightenment approaches to human nature ... dismissed the idea of innate sinfulness as unscientific and without foundation' (*The Enlightenment*, 17).

[33] *Remains*, 1, 525.

[34] For Knox's doctrine of perfection, see below, 314-9.

[35] Paul Hazard, *La Pensée Européene au XVIIIième Siècle*, quoted Franklin L. Baumer, *Modern European Thought: Continuity and Change in Ideas, 1600-1950*, New York: Macmillan, 1977, 142.

again from Pope.[36] This happiness was conceived of not simply in terms of moral utilitarianism, but also in terms of individual enjoyment. 'The highest perfection of intellectual nature lies in a careful and constant pursuit of true and solid happiness,' affirmed John Locke (1632-1704) [37] in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690),[38] where he defined happiness as, 'in its full extent ... the utmost pleasure we are capable of.'[39] Knox made this 'utmost pleasure' an essential feature of his thinking.[40] With its title, 'On Christianity, As the Way of Peace and True Happiness' (1805), [41] the first essay in the *Remains* enunciated a theme which was constant through all four volumes. The same subject ran through the *Correspondence*, where Knox described:

> the happiness of loving God and of exercising that love in devotional intercourse with him; happiness not merely in the good effects which these habits produce, but in that sweet, rational, self-complacential, yea, direct, disinterested delight which they involve. To these sensations, I think, religion owes its energy. We are made to love pleasure, and it is in virtue of a *delectatio victrix* that Christianity makes us its own.[42]

See, on the topic of happiness in the Enlightenment, Darrin M. McMahon, 'Pursuing an Enlightened Gospel: Happiness from Deism to Materialism to Atheism,' in Fitzpatrick *et al.*, *The Enlightenment World*, 164-76.

[36] Pope, *An Essay on Man*, 4, 1. For the text, see, Mack, ed., *An Essay on Man*, 128.

[37] For the philosopher John Locke (1632-1704), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101016885/John-Locke, accessed 25th July 2011.

[38] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, twenty-seventh edition, London: Tegg and Co., 1836, (1690), book 2, chapter 21, section 51, 171.

[39] *Ibid.*, 2, 21, 42, 166.

[40] See below, 260-1.

[41] *Remains*, 1, 1-52.

[42] *Correspondence*, 1, 283. 'Complacential' means 'pleasing;' see: *Oxford English Dictionary*, on-line edition, http://www.oed.com, 'Complacential,' accessed 21st July 2011. *Delectatio victrix* is a phrase derived from Augustine, much used by the Jansenists, whom Knox had been discussing in the letter from which this passage is quoted. Literally meaning 'conquering delight,' it is the joy which, according to Augustine, the soul finds in God, making it able to resist the delight of earthly things. See Carol Harrison, '*Delectatio Victrix*: Grace and Freedom in St Augustine,' *Studia Patristica*, 27, (1993), 298-302.

A final characteristic of the Enlightenment which marked Knox's thinking was the 'brave attempt,' as James Byrne puts it, 'to focus on what unites, rather than divides us; a rejection of prejudice in all its forms; an emphasis on toleration and the search for simplicity of religion.'[43] To borrow Sorkin's words:

> [T]he religious Enlightenment represented a renunciation of Reformation and Counter-Reformation militance, an express alternative to two centuries of dogmatism and fanaticism, intolerance and religious warfare.[44]

This pacific spirit suffused Knox's writing.[45] He constantly opposed bigotry and sectarian hostility; the virtues of 'humility, meekness, purity, and love' were much more important than any particular doctrinal position, he held.[46]

The same Enlightenment traits which have just been enumerated appear in eighteenth-century evangelicalism, something which has led the historian David Bebbington to argue that 'the evangelical version of protestantism was created by the Enlightenment.'[47] Could the same argument be applied to Knox's theology?

Bebbington's thesis has not gone unchallenged. Scholars such as Brad Walton,[48] and Michael Haykin and Kenneth Stewart[49] have argued that evangelicalism should not be seen as a creation of the Enlightenment, but rather as the continuation of a more

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[43] James Byrne, *Religion and the Enlightenment: From Descartes to Kant*, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997, 229.
[44] Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment*, 6.
[45] For examples, see below, 198-9.
[46] *Candid Animadversions*, 30.
[47] David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London: Unwin, Hyman, Ltd., 1989, 74.
[48] Brad Walton, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Affections, and the Puritan Analysis of True Piety, Spiritual Sensations, and Heart Religion*, hereafter, *Jonathan Edwards*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002.
[49] Michael A.G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart, eds, *The Advent of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities*, Nashville, TN: B. & H. Publishing, 2008.

ancient tradition, whose representatives include the puritans, the Reformers, Augustine and Paul. I would maintain a similar position with respect to Knox. As I will demonstrate below, Knox's theology came from a tradition which, although it shared several features with the Enlightenment, was, in fact, anterior to and independent of it: the tradition of Christian Platonism.

Knox's theology was not a 'creation' of the Enlightenment, in the sense that it was not formed by the Enlightenment. It did not depend on the Enlightenment for its existence. But it was shaped by the Enlightenment, for it could not help but be marked by the intellectual environment in which it was articulated. The way in which Knox expressed his thinking, and the issues that he addressed were, inevitably, even if perhaps unconsciously, moulded by and reflected the world in which he lived.

2.1.2. Knox and Romanticism

Having examined Knox's links to the Enlightenment in the preceding sub-section, I will now consider his relationship to Romanticism.

In his paper 'The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas' (1941),[50] Arthur O. Lovejoy argued that there is no such thing as 'Romanticism' and that it is more correct to speak of the 'Romantic period,' which is distinguished by various 'Romantic movements.'[51] Despite this, as Michael Ferber states, 'scholars have

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[50] Arthur O. Lovejoy, 'The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 2, 3, (June 1941), 257-78. René Wellek answered Lovejoy's criticism in his two-part essay 'The Concept of Romanticism in Literary History,' *Comparative Literature*, 1, 1, (Winter 1949), 1-23; and 1, 2, (Spring 1949) 147-72. As Michael Ferber remarks, their debate has been 'replayed many times' (Michael Ferber, ed., *A Companion to European Romanticism*, hereafter, *European Romanticism*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005, 'Introduction,' 1-9, 6).

[51] Lovejoy, 'The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas,' 261.

continued to embrace the term [Romanticism].'[52] One reason they do so, is that it is possible to identify certain common traits or characteristics, 'family resemblances,' as Ferber terms them, which can be seen as contributing to a meaningful definition of the word.[53] Of these traits, the foremost is that of reaction to what David Newsome calls, 'the barren and cold concept of reason as taught by John Locke and accepted by the age of Enlightenment.'[54] Here, however, a word of caution is necessary. To quote Crouter:

> [T]he Enlightenment and Romanticism are handy categories for cultural periodisation, but misleading if we suppose they signify a sharp divide that utterly separates two distinct eras.[55]

In other words, it would be a mistake to envision Romanticism as nothing other than a repudiation of the Age of Reason. This is because, first, as Frederick C. Beiser recalls: 'If the Romantics were critics of the *Aufklärung*, they were also its disciples.'[56] Second, rather than negate, the Romantics strove to enlarge the vision of the eighteenth century.[57] The thoughts and ideas of the two periods thus intersect and intertwine. To take an example: if, as G.R. Cragg comments, the Romantic period saw

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[52] Ferber, *European Romanticism*, 4.
[53] *Ibid.*, 6. Ferber's language derives from Wittgenstein. See Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations, the German text with a revised English translation* , translated by G.E.M. Asncombe, P. M. S. Hacker, and Joachim Schulte, edited by P.M.S. Hacker and Joachim Schulte, fourth edition, revised, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, (1953), section 66, xciv.
[54] David Newsome, *Two Classes of Men: Platonism and English Romantic Thought*, hereafter, *Two Classes of Men*, London: John Murray, 1974, 13.
[55] Crouter, *Schleiermacher*, 40.
[56] Frederick C. Beiser, 'Early Romanticism and the *Aufklärung*,' in James Schmidt, ed., *What is the Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions*, Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1996, 317-29, 318.
[57] See, on this point, James C. Livingston, *Modern Christian Thought: The Enlightenment and the Nineteenth Century*, hereafter, *Modern Christian Thought*, second edition, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006, (1971), 83-4.

a protest against 'the arid intellectualism of an excessively intellectual age,' [58] reason was not by any means rejected; instead, the appeal to reason alone was balanced by an appeal to what John Keats (1795-1821) called 'the heart's affections and the truth of imagination.'[59]

'Affections' meant, in the language of the Romantic era, what today would be termed 'emotions' or 'feelings.'[60] Their connection to Romanticism is evident. To the entire movement might be applied the description of poetry given by William Wordsworth (1770-1850): 'the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.'[61] But, if Romanticism was engendered by the emotions, it also sought to stimulate them. As Wordsworth expressed it in his poem *The Prelude* (1850):

> .... What we have loved,
> Others will love, and we will teach them how;
> Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
> A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
> On which he dwells ...[62]

The words recall those of Mill in his essay on 'Tennyson's Poems' (1835), where he speaks of the 'noblest end of poetry' being to act 'upon the desires and characters of

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[58] G.R. Cragg, *Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964, 176.
[59] John Keats to Benjamin Bailey, letter, 22nd November 1817. Text in *Selected Letters of John Keats*, edited by Grant F. Scott, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002, 52-6, 54.
[60] *Oxford English Dictionary*, on-line edition, http://www.oed.com, 'Affection,' accessed 28th August 2011.
[61] W. Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads, with Other Poems*, second edition, two volumes, London: Longman and Rees, 1800, (1798), 1, v-xlvi, xiv.
[62] William Wordsworth, *The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind: An Autobiographical Poem*, hereafter, *Prelude*, London: Edward Moxon, 1850, 371.

mankind through their emotions, to raise them towards the perfection of their nature.'[63]

For the Romantics, the means by which this end was to be achieved was the imagination. As Wordsworth wrote:

> ... Love acts not nor can exist
> Without imagination.[64]

All the English Romantics, says Newsome, 'whether poets, philosophers, or theologians,' were united by what he calls an 'epistemological quest,' the quest to go beyond observable phenomena,[65] to cross, one might say, Prickett's iron curtain. It was a quest on which the Romantics embarked through the imagination, which James Engell has called 'the core and *sine qua non* of Romanticism,'[66] and which Mary Warnock has well defined with respect to the Romantics as 'the power of seeing things as they are, namely as symbolic.'[67] It is the power to see in nature what Wordsworth termed 'types and symbols of eternity;'[68] or, to quote William Blake (1757-1827):

> To see a world in a grain of sand
> And a heaven in a wild flower.[69]

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[63] J. S. Mill, 'Tennyson's Poems,' in *Early Essays by John Stuart Mill*, edited by J.W.M. Gibbs, London: George Bell and Sons, 1897, 239-71, 261. The essay first appeared in the *London Review*, 1, (1835), 402-24. The similarity between Wordsworth and Mill's understanding of poetry and Knox's understanding of religion should be noted: love leading to perfection.
[64] Wordsworth, *Prelude*, 361.
[65] Newsome, *Two Classes of Men*, 2.
[66] James Engell, *The Creative Imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981, hereafter, *Creative Imagination*, 4. Engell's thesis is that 'the idea of the imagination as understood in the Romantic period ... was actually a product of the Enlightenment' (4), something which again demonstrates the continuity between the Enlightenment and Romanticism.
[67] Mary Warnock, *Imagination*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976, 70.
[68] William Wordsworth, 'The Simplon Pass,' 19. For the text, *The Poems of William Wordsworth*, edited by John Hayden, two volumes, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977, 1, 638.
[69] William Blake, 'Auguries of Innocence,' 1-2. For the text, see *William Blake's Writings*, edited by G.E. Bentley, two volumes, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978, 2, 1312.

The idea of the world as symbolic goes back to Plato and it is thus little surprise to find that the Romantic era was marked by a revival of Platonism, as well as by an interest in Hellenism more generally.[70] One of the clearest examples of the link between Romanticism and Platonism is given by Coleridge in his poem 'The Destiny of Nations' (1817), which makes a direct allusion to Plato's myth of the cave:

> For all that meets the bodily sense I deem
> Symbolical, one mighty alphabet
> For infant minds; and we in this low world
> Placed with our backs to the bright Reality
> That we may learn with young unwounded ken
> The substance from their shadows.[71]

From what has been said so far it will be seen that the Romantic period was strongly marked by subjectivism. But, as Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre have remarked:

> [T]he demand for community is just as essential to the definition of the Romantic vision as its subjective and individualistic aspect.[72]

This demand was expressed in a number of ways:

> in authentic communication with others, in participation in the organic whole of a people (*Volk*) and its collective imaginary as expressed in mythology and folklore, in social harmony, or in a classless society.[73]

This points us to one of the most important aspects of Romantic religion: it was strongly communal, something which is attested to by the large part that ecclesiology

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[70] See Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1980. Despite its title, the book covers the later Hanoverian period. For the revival of Platonism in particular, see chapter 10, 227-63.
[71] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, edited by J.C.C. Mays, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 16, 1, *Poems (Reading Text)*, six volumes, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, 210. For Plato's cave, see *The Republic*, 7, 514a-516b.
[72] Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, translated by Catherine Porter, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2001, (1992), 26.
[73] *Ibid.*

played in the theology of the period, at least for Roman Catholics and Anglicans. One could cite, for example, Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838) at Tübingen,[74] or, the Roman Giovanni Perrone (1794-1876);[75] while in the Britain, Coleridge, William Palmer and the Tractarians all bear witness to the same interest. In part, this interest was due to the loosening of the bonds between church and state throughout the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, which meant that the church had to be defined in terms other than that of 'the nation at prayer.' In part, it was a response to the need for a sense of community felt by many people as a result of the social dislocation engendered by the Industrial Revolution.[76] But in part, too, it was a reflection of the Romantic concern with community. Linked to this concern was a renewed interest in those things from the past which could aid the community to define its identity, and, in the case of the church, this translated into an appeal to tradition.[77]

Concern for community was not, however, that which, in Reardon's words, 'pre-eminently distinguishes the Romantic understanding of Christianity.'[78] Rather, its primary trait was what Reardon calls 'the subjectivization of all religious truth,'[79] or,

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[74] Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838), professor of theology at Tübingen, 1828-35. His ecclesiology is contained principally in his book *Die Einheit in der Kirche*, Tübingen: Laupp, 1825. See Peter Riga, 'The Ecclesiology of Johann Adam Möhler,' *Theological Studies*, 22, (1961), 563-87.
[75] For Giovanni Perrone (1794-1876), Jesuit theologian, see Walter Kasper, *Die Lehre von der Tradition in der römischen Schule*, Freiburg: Herder, 1962.
[76] See, on this point, R. W. Franklin, *Nineteenth-Century Churches: The History of a New Catholicism in Württemberg, England, and France*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1987.
[77] For this aspect of Romanticism, see Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism*, 11-14.
[78] *Ibid.*, 10.
[79] *Ibid.*

the 'immanentizing [of] religious reality.'[80] 'The self's involvement in theological assertions,' is Welch's term for the same phenomenon.[81]

All the characteristics I have just mentioned are found in Knox. First, while not denying the importance of reason, Knox believed that '[r]eligion must, in order to work its full effect, give employment to every mental faculty.'[82] He emphasised the affections, as I will demonstrate when we come to view his anthropology,[83] and he stressed, too, the imagination. '[P]ure poetry and vital religion are wonderfully akin,' he wrote,[84] and his understanding of imagination was that of the Romantic poets. He spoke of it as the 'mind's eye,'[85] which had as its object of vision 'what is sublime or vast or beautiful.'[86] Thus, for example, in a scene which surely sums up the Romantic era, Knox related how, on holiday in the Welsh marches, his man-servant Michael had 'been particularly attracted by ruins and old castles, and will carry back with him a large set of new pictures in his imagination.'[87] For Knox, however, the great object of the imagination was not 'ruins and old castles,' but God, 'the original

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[80] *Ibid.*
[81] Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, 60. See, also, above, 130.
[82] *Remains*, 1, 419.
[83] See below, 260.
[84] *Remains*, 4, 212. One is reminded of Keble's words: '[I]t is hard to believe that … poetry and theology would have proved such true allies, unless there was a hidden tie of kinship between them' (*Keble's Lectures on Poetry: 1832-1841*, translated by Edward Kershaw Francis, two volumes, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912, 2, 479-80. For the original text, see John Keble, *Praelectiones Academicae Oxonii habitae annis MDCCCXXXII – MDCCCXLI*, two volumes, Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1845, 2, 813).
[85] For examples of the imagination being described by Knox as the 'mind's eye,' see: *Remains*, 2, 337; 3, 406; 4, 268.
[86] *Ibid.*, 1, 481. See, also, for example: 474; 4, 213.
[87] *Ibid.*, 4, 165-6.

of all sublimity and beauty.'[88] '[T]he imagination will, of necessity, find in that object both its amplest range and its noblest exercise,' he affirmed.[89]

The imagination served, for Knox, to lead the soul to God through a symbolic reading of the material world, 'every image of the sublime being, in my mind, a reflected ray of deity.'[90] It is an idea which he found expressed by William Cowper (1731-1800) [91] in *The Task* (1785), from which Knox quoted the following lines:

> The soul that sees him, or receives, sublim'd,
> New faculties, or learns, at least, t'employ
> More worthily the pow'rs she own'd before
> Discerns in all things, what with stupid gaze
> Of ignorance till then she overlook'd,
> A ray of heavenly light gilding all forms
> Terrestrial, in the vast and the minute,
> Th'unambiguous footsteps of a God,
> Who gives its lustre to th'insect's wing
> And wheels his throne upon the rolling worlds.[92]

The emphasis on the affections and the imagination, and the use of the latter to see the material world in a symbolic way are indicative of the subjective element in Knox's theology: 'the self's involvement in theological assertions.' This subjectivism was balanced, however, by a strong concept of the church and the importance of

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[88] *Ibid.*, 1, 476.
[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Remains*, 1, 16. See, also, 17, where Knox speaks of 'every species of the sublime [as] a shadowing of the deity ... [exciting] in the mind some tendency, however vague, toward the mysterious archetype of greatness.'
[91] For the evangelical poet, William Cowper (1731-1800), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101006512/William-Cowper, accessed 21st June 2011. Knox greatly admired Cowper: one of the essays in the *Remains* is entitled 'On the Poetry of William Cowper,' (1802), 3, 331-67, part of which was subsequently published, anonymously and untitled, by William Hayley in the fourth edition of his biography of the poet. See William Hayley, *The Life and Letters of William Cowper, with Remarks on Epistolary Writers*, fourth edition, four volumes, London: J. Johnson and Co., 1812, (1803-4), 4, 409-13.
[92] *Remains*, 3, 366. The quotation is from *The Task*, 5, 806-14. For the text, see *The Poems of William Cowper*, edited by John D. Baird and Charles Ryskamp, three volumes, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980-95, 2, 231.

tradition, something at which we have already looked at in part, and which will also be examined in detail further on.[93]

The Hellenism and Platonism of the Romantics were matched in Knox by a notable preference for the Fathers of the Greek church, most particularly for Clement of Alexandria, Pseudo-Macarius and Chrysostom,[94] from whom he inherited the Platonic doctrine of deification which, as I will demonstrate, lies at the heart of his theology.[95]

2.1.3. Knox and Coleridge

As a Romantic theologian, Knox possessed a number of similarities with his contemporaries.[96] In this and the following sub-section I want to examine the commonalities which Knox shared with the two major theologians of the Romantic period, Friedrich Schleiermacher, and, first of all, Samuel Taylor Coleridge.[97]

Given that they were contemporaries, both prominent lay-theologians of the Anglican Church, it is surprising that no evidence exists of any contact between Knox and Coleridge. This is even more surprising given the points they held in common.

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[93] See above, 67-74; and below, 217-30; 370-2.
[94] See below, 164-71.
[95] See below, 163; 252-3.
[96] These contemporaries may be argued to include the Tractarians, Tractarianism being an 'ecclesial form of the Romantic movement in England' (Aidan Nichols, *The Panther and The Hind: A Theological History of Anglicanism*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1993, 118). Space does not, however, permit the development of this topic.
[97] The theology of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), a poet and literary critic as well as religious thinker, has been examined in detail by J. Robert Barth, *Coleridge and Christian Doctrine*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969. See, also, more recently: Douglas Hedley, *Coleridge, Philosophy and Religion: Aids to Reflection and the Mirror of the Spirit*, hereafter, *Coleridge, Philosophy and Religion*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; and, more briefly, 'Coleridge as a Theologian,' in Frederick Burwick, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 473-97.

Of these commonalities, four stand out as particularly significant. All four are indicative of Knox and Coleridge's shared Romanticism.

First, like Knox, Coleridge attacked the narrow rationalism of the Enlightenment. In fact, to quote Livingston:

> Coleridge ... represents better than any other figure in England the Romantic protest against rationalism in the early decades of the nineteenth century ... More than any other individual, Coleridge was responsible for the rebirth of a vital English theology out of the cold and spare remains of late eighteenth-century orthodoxy and rationalism.[98]

Rationalism in religion was, for Coleridge, the great error of his age, and against this error he was resolved to strive with all his power. 'I believe myself bound in conscience to throw the whole force of my intellect in the way of this triumphal car,' he declared.[99]

Second, Coleridge and Knox held a similar view of justification. For Knox, justification was a dynamic process, through which, by the working of the Trinity, Christians were deified.[100] The same was true for Coleridge. For him:

> We, according to the necessity of our imperfect understandings, must divide and distinguish. But surely justification and sanctification are one act of God, and only different perspectives of redemption by and through and for Christ. They are one and the same plant: justification the root, sanctification the flower, and, might I venture to add, transubstantiation into Christ, the celestial fruit.[101]

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[98] Livingston, *Modern Christian Thought*, 86.
[99] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, edited by John Beer, *The Collected Works of Samuel Coleridge Taylor*, volume 9, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993, (1825), 408.
[100] See below, 252-3.
[101] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Marginalia*, edited by H. J. Jackson and George Whalley, five volumes, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, volume 12, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992, 1, 748.

To quote J. Robert Barth:

> Coleridge nowhere treats at length of justification and grace … One thing is clear throughout [his writings], however: his emphasis is constantly on the action of God, indwelling and working within man.[102]

This God is the Trinity; as Hedley has pointed out, for Coleridge 'the doctrine of the Trinity is at the very heart of Christianity itself.'[103] The same point is made also by Coleridge's American editor, W. G. T. Shedd, who concludes:

> Few minds in the whole history of the Christian church, as we believe, have had more awful and adoring views of the Triune God, or have bowed down in more absolute and lowly worship before the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.[104]

In the case of both Coleridge and Knox, the idea of God indwelling to sanctify human beings derived from a shared tradition, for Coleridge, like Knox, was a Christian Platonist, whose theology was, as Hedley says, 'rooted in the English seventeenth century'[105] and the teaching of the Cambridge Platonists, although it went back beyond them to the Fathers, and, further still, to the Middle Platonists, whom, even as a boy, Coleridge was reading at Christ's Hospital.[106]

Another similarity which derived from their shared Platonism was the stress which both Coleridge and Knox laid on the symbolic nature of the world. Coleridge,

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[102] Barth, *Coleridge and Christian Doctrine*, 148.
[103] Hedley, *Coleridge, Philosophy and Religion*, 20. Hedley speaks, of course, of Coleridge after his return to Anglican orthodoxy.
[104] W.G.T. Shedd, 'Coleridge as a Philosopher and Theologian,' in *Literary Essays*, New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1878, 271-344, 321. The essay appeared first as an introduction to Shedd's edition of *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, seven volumes, New York: Harper Brothers, 1853, 9-64.
[105] Douglas Hedley, 'Participation in the Divine Life: Coleridge, the Vision of God and John Henry Newman,' in Vaiss, ed., *From Oxford to the People*, 238-51, 243.
[106] Hedley, 'Coleridge as a Theologian,' 477. For Knox's Platonism, see below, 159-64.

explains Nicholas Reid, 'thinks of nature as ... a (divine) μῦθος , a well-spring and system of symbols expressing the divine nature,'[107] the right reading of which meant, in Coleridge's own words, the 'awful recalling of the drowsed soul from the dreams and phantom world of sensuality to *actual* reality.'[108]

Finally, like Knox, Coleridge had a 'high' ecclesiology;[109] in fact, the revival of the notion of the church as 'first and foremost and above all things essentially a religious society of divine institution' has been ascribed to him.[110] This notion appeared clearly in Coleridge's *On the Constitution of the Church and State* (1830),[111] in which he spoke of the Christian church[112] as being 'no state, kingdom, or realm of this world; nor is it an estate of any such realm, kingdom, or state.'[113] Rather, quite literally, it was a 'God-send.'[114] Its origin, in other words, was supernatural and divine, although Coleridge was at pains to point out that this did not make it a hidden, unseen society. On the contrary, the church was 'visible and militant under Christ,' he insisted.[115]

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[107] Nicholas Reid, *Coleridge, Form and Symbol, or The Ascertaining Vision,* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, 3.
[108] Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, 407. Emphasis in the original.
[109] For Knox's ecclesiology, see below, 369-80.
[110] Church, *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years: 1833-1845*, 129.
[111] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State, according to the idea of each, with aids toward a right judgment on the late Catholic Bill*, London: Hurst, Chance and Co., 1830. Quotations in this thesis are from the edition by John Colmer, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, volume 10, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.
[112] Coleridge made a clear distinction between the Christian church, which was a supernatural entity, and the national church, which was a political one, an 'estate' of the kingdom. See *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, 114.
[113] Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, 114.
[114] *Ibid.*, 55.
[115] *Ibid.*, 116.

For Coleridge, as for Knox, the church was the proper interpreter of scripture.[116] As Barth remarks, Coleridge was very 'Anglican ... in his insistence on the need for the church in the understanding of scripture.'[117] As Coleridge commented: 'My fixed principle is that a Christianity without a church exercising spiritual authority is vanity and dissolution;'[118] and, like Knox, he condemned in no uncertain terms:

> the pretended right of every individual, competent and incompetent, to interpret scripture in a sense of his own, in opposition to the judgment of the church ... in contempt of uninterrupted tradition, the unanimous consent of the Fathers and Councils and the universal faith of the church in all ages.[119]

According to Nockles, Knox has been 'credited with anticipating Coleridge's famous distinction between the reason and the understanding.'[120] This distinction is as follows. Coleridge defined 'understanding' as 'the science of phænomena,'[121] knowledge about objects of sense-experience.[122] This he distinguished from 'reason,' which he termed 'the organ of the super-sensuous,'[123] which had as its object, 'truths above sense.'[124] The attainment of these truths was, according to Coleridge, a three-step process. The first step was the exercise of the imagination, which reached out to embrace the world beyond the senses. The second step was the exercise of the

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[116] For Knox's position, see above, 69; and, below, 220-2.
[117] Barth, *Coleridge and Christian Doctrine*, 81.
[118] Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, 298.
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] Nockles, 'Knox, Alexander (1757-1831), *O.D.N.B.*, 32, 4.
[121] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Statesman's Manual: or, The Bible the best guide to political skill and foresight: a lay sermon, addressed to the higher classes of society, with an appendix, containing comments and essays connected with study of the inspired writings*, London: Gale and Fenner, 1816, v. The spelling is that of the original.
[122] See Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, 215.
[123] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Friend*, edited by Barbara E. Rooke, two volumes, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, volume 4, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969, (1818), 1, 156.
[124] Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, 216.

conscience. For Coleridge, the truth was not only to be apprehended intellectually, it also had to be chosen morally as the good. The third step was action. 'Try it!' as he urged in his *Aids to Reflection* (1825).[125] Ultimately for Coleridge the 'truths above sense' could only be known by experience. This included the truths of Christianity, which he thus defined as being not 'a theory or a speculation, but a life; not a philosophy of life, but a life and a living process.'[126]

Knox held that there are 'two perceptive faculties,' which he termed 'the understanding and the imagination.'[127] His treatment of the latter resembled Coleridge's teaching about 'reason,' in that it demanded action. 'Devotion,' Knox wrote, is not 'a mere business of the imagination;'[128] it calls also for 'a supreme attachment of the heart.'[129] Knox differed from Coleridge, however, because for Knox the understanding and the imagination were not focused on different objects, the sensible and the 'super-sensuous.' Rather, they were both means of attaining knowledge of the same objects, only in different ways. Thus, for example, old castles were an object of the imagination as well as of the understanding; similarly, divine truths were the object of the understanding, as well as of the imagination.[130]

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[125] *Ibid.*, 202.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] *Remains*, 4, 435.
[128] *Ibid.*, 1, 476.
[129] *Ibid.*, 477.
[130] See, for example: *Remains*, 4, 78; 84; 633.

2.1.4. Knox and Schleiermacher

Having examined the similarities between Knox and Coleridge, I turn next, in this sub-section, to investigate the similarities between Knox and Schleiermacher. [131]

Friedrich Schleiermacher was, like Coleridge, Knox's contemporary, although, apart from *A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St Luke* (1825),[132] his theological writings were not translated into English prior to Knox's death, [133] and there is not indication that Knox knew his work. He was, however, like Knox, a Romantic theologian, [134] one in whom, moreover, as Crouter observes, 'the elements of his romanticism mix with his roots in the Enlightenment.'[135] Despite this, Knox and Schleiermacher are in many ways very different theologians. Had they not been contemporaries, and Schleiermacher the most important theologian of the epoch, one would not automatically think of making a comparison between them. Schleiermacher is routinely referred to as 'the founder of the liberal protestant tradition,' and 'the father of modern theology.' 'His theology,' as Crouter explains, 'has the avowed task of reconciling the substance of Biblical and creedal teaching with a distinctively modern account of Christian consciousness.'[136] In this task, it was the latter which

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[131] For a bibliography for Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), see Jacqueline Mariña, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Friedrich Schleiermacher*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 319-24.

[132] Friedrich Schleiermacher, *A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St Luke*, with an introduction by the translator [Connop Thirlwall], London: John Taylor, 1825. The original, *Über die Schriften des Lukas*, appeared in 1817, published in Berlin by G. Reimer.

[133] Claude Welch, 'Schleiermacher on Christ and Religion: A New Introduction, by Richard R. Niebuhr,' *Theology Today*, 22, 4, (January 1966), 550-3, 550.

[134] Reardon hails Schleiermacher as: '*par excellence* the theologian of the [Romantic] movement in its emphasis on subjectivity and inwardness as the mirror of the infinite' (*Religion in the Age of Romanticism*, 29-30). One may note, however, that Schleiermacher became less Romantic with the passage of time.

[135] Crouter, *Schleiermacher*, 7.

[136] *Ibid.*, 208.

Schleiermacher took as his starting-point, and it is this which constitutes his radical innovativeness as a theologian. By contrast, Knox was an avowed traditionalist. 'A primitive churchman,' is how he described himself, one for whom the starting-point of theology was the constant doctrine of the catholic church.[137]

A further problem of comparison is presented by the fact that not only did Schleiermacher's thought evolve, but this evolution led him to make substantial changes in the different editions of his writings. For example, if one looks at the successive editions of the speeches *On Religion*, 1799, 1806, and 1821, one finds, as Crouter notes,' a number of significant alterations and explanations ... intended to give his thought a more orthodox Christian and less Romantic cast.'[138] For this reason, the basis of my comparison between Knox and Schleiermacher will be the first edition of the speeches, that of 1799,[139] in which Schleiermacher appeared at his most Romantic, although I will also note how his thinking subsequently progressed.

Knox and Schleiermacher moved along different theological trajectories. Nonetheless, there are points of comparison and these arise from their shared Romanticism. Both stressed the subjective element in Christianity, defining it in terms of experience. Thus in the speeches *On Religion*, Schleiermacher rejected both a cerebral theology, which he characterised as 'cold argumentation,'[140] and a religion

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[137] See above, 65.

[138] Richard Crouter, 'Rhetoric and Substance in Schleiermacher's Revision of *The Christian Faith* (1821-1822),' *The Journal of Religion*, 60, 3, (1980), 285-306, 289. Crouter notes elsewhere, with reference to Schleiermacher: 'It is indeed confusing, if not bewildering ... following a writer's editing revisions' (*Schleiermacher*, 201).

[139] [Friedrich Schleiermacher], *Ueber die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*, Berlin: Unger, 1799. The text used in this thesis is Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*, hereafter, *On Religion*, edited by Richard Crouter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

[140] Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 13.

that was merely moral, 'a system of duties,' as he termed it.[141] 'Religion's essence,' he maintained, 'is neither thinking nor acting but intuition and feeling.'[142] Using similar vocabulary, [143] Knox declared 'religion' not to be 'a scheme of notional principles to be believed and of practical rules to be obeyed;'[144] rather, it involved 'feelings.' [145] These 'feelings' were the awareness of 'the internal energies of Christianity,'[146] the experience of God at work within the life of the believer.[147] Schleiermacher's 'feeling,' in the speeches, was 'sensibility and taste for the infinite,'[148] although later on in the *Glaubenslehre*[149] he came to define it as the 'the consciousness of our absolute dependence, or, which is the same thing, of being in relationship with God.'[150] Both writers therefore speak of religion primarily in terms of a relationship; and both make this relationship the 'essence' of Christianity.[151]

Because both authors viewed the essence of Christianity in experiential terms, rather than focusing on doctrinal issues, they shared a tolerant spirit towards dogmatic differences and rejected what Schleiermacher called the 'malicious spirit of

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[141] *Ibid.*, 20.
[142] *Ibid.*, 22
[143] On the level of vocabulary one may also note that both Knox and Schleiermacher in the speeches speak about Christianity primarily in terms of religion, *Religion*, and piety, *Frömmigkeit*.
[144] *Remains*, 3, 284.
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] See below, 232-3.
[148] Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 23.
[149] *Glaubenslehre* was the short-title which Schleiermacher used for his *Christliche Glaube: Nach den Grundsäzen der evangelischen Kiche*, two volumes, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1821-22. The text used in this thesis is Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith in Outline*, translated with an introduction by D.M. Baillie, Edinburgh: W.F. Henderson, 1922.
[150] Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith in Outline*, 6.
[151] For Knox's teaching on the 'essence of Christianity,' see below, 194-5.

sectarianism and proselytising, which always leads further away from the essence of religion.'[152]

Livingston comments: '[L]ike his fellow Romantics, Schleiermacher emphasises our social nature … Religion [for him] begins in the innermost recesses of the individual, but it is essentially social.'[153] To quote Schleiermacher himself: 'Once there is religion, it must necessarily also be social.'[154] For Schleiermacher, this social nature of religion found expression in the church, where, for him, as Terence Tice remarks, 'the feeling [of piety] is best fed, tested and perfected, for this is where Christ continues to be at work.'[155] This emphasis on the social nature of Christianity was therefore a further point of similarity between Schleiermacher and Knox.

Both theologians were also Platonists.[156] As Julia Lamm has noted:

> Schleiermacher had on more than one occasion uttered such a declaration as, 'There is no author who has affected me as much and who has initiated me into the holiest of holies, not only of philosophy but of all humanity, than this divine man.' And Dilthey argued that Plato, along with Spinoza and Shaftesbury, was a determining philosophical force in Schleiermacher's thought. [157]

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[152] Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 91. For Knox's views on doctrinal differences, see above, 134; and, below, 191-8.
[153] Livingston, *Modern Christian Thought*, 98.
[154] Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 73.
[155] Terrence N. Tice, 'Editor's General Postscript,' to Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Brief Outline on the Study of Theology*, translated by Terrence N. Tice, Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1966, 115-25, 123.
[156] To speak of Schleiermacher simply as a Platonist would, however, be an understatement. Schleiermacher was a classical scholar of considerable importance, his contribution to the study of Plato equal to his contribution to theology. See Julia A. Lamm, 'Schleiermacher as Plato Scholar,' *Journal of Religion*, 80, 2, (April 2000), 206-39.
[157] Lamm, 'Schleiermacher as Plato Scholar,' 208.

This said, as Crouter has observed, to declare 'straight out that Schleiermacher is a Platonist is misleading.'[158] In the speeches *On Religion* Schleiermacher combines both realism and idealism.[159] Nonetheless, there is a clear Platonic element. To quote Frederick C. Beiser: 'If we carefully read Schleiermacher's analysis of religious experience in the second speech of the *Reden*, its Platonic roots soon reveal themselves.'[160] '[T]he *act* of intuiting the universe ... is Platonic,' Beiser affirms.[161] Nor is this all. For Schleiermacher, as Beiser affirms, 'the object [of intuition] was no less [Platonic]. What we perceive when we intuit the universe, Schleiermacher ... explains ... is its intelligible structure.'[162] Nonetheless, Schleiermacher's Platonism differed greatly from Knox's. Knox's Platonism was that of the Neo-Platonic tradition. Schleiermacher, by contrast, stripped away this tradition to return to Plato himself, as he appears in his dialogues.[163]

Finally, like Knox, and like all the Romantics, Schleiermacher gave a place of great importance to the imagination. 'The highest and most original element in us,' is how he termed it in the speeches *On Religion*. [164] The reason for this was that, as Schleiermacher remarks, 'it is our imagination that creates the world.'[165] The word which here is translated as 'imagination' is *Fantasie*, which, as Prickett maintains,

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[158] Richard Crouter to David McCready in a private communication, 17th February 2012.
[159] *Ibid.*
[160] Frederick C. Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative: The Concept of Early German Romanticism*, Harvard, CT: Harvard University Press, 2003, 70.
[161] *Ibid.* Emphasis in the original.
[162] *Ibid.*
[163] On this point, see E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Decline and Fall of the Neo-Platonic Interpretation of Plato: An Outline and Some Observations*, Helsinki: *Societas Scientiarum Fennica*, 1974.
[164] Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, 53.
[165] *Ibid.*

should not be confused with 'the synthetic imagination of the philosophers.'[166] The philosopher of whom Prickett is thinking in particular is Kant, for whom the imagination formed a kind of bridge between the data of sense-perception and the understanding.[167] This Kantian understanding does not seem to be how Schleiermacher was thinking of imagination in the speeches *On Religion*; there his concept of *Fantasie* appears to correspond more closely to Knox's 'mind's eye.' If this is so, there was still, however, a difference between Knox and Schleiermacher. In the speeches *On Religion* the imagination stood alone; for Knox imagination was always joined to the understanding. 'The understanding and the imagination are,' Knox affirmed, 'the two perceptive faculties and an adequate vehicle of religion must proportionally consult both.'[168]

2.1.5. Short Conclusion

This section has examined the intellectual context in which Knox constructed his theology, addressing the question of his relationship to the Enlightenment and to Romanticism, as well as comparing him to the two major theologians of the era, Coleridge and Schleiermacher. From what has been seen, Knox appears clearly as a Romantic theologian, although, as such, he has roots in the Enlightenment. This is not, however, the whole picture, as I will proceed to demonstrate in the ensuing section.

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[166] Stephen Prickett, 'Literature and Religion,' in Robert A. Segal, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, 69-90, 73.
[167] On this point, see Jacqueline Mariña, 'Schleiermacher, Realism, and Epistemic Modesty: A Reply to My Critics,' in Brent W. Sockness and Wilhelm Gräb, eds, *Schleiermacher, The Study of Religion and the Future of Theology: A Transatlantic Dialogue*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010, 121-34. Mariña takes the opposite view to Prickett and maintains that, with regard to the imagination, Kant 'clearly influenced Schleiermacher' (129).
[168] *Remains*, 4, 435-6.

2. The Spiritual Context of Knox's Theology

Besides being a Romantic theologian, Knox must also be seen as an instance of heart religion, and, in particular, of Christian Platonism. The present section explores the nature of heart religion, then gives an overview of the Platonic tradition, before examining in detail those whom Knox held up as its exemplars: the Greek Fathers, the Anglican moderates of the seventeenth century, and finally Wesley.

2.2.1. Knox and Heart Religion

Speaking of the Tractarians, James Pereiro cautions: 'The Oxford Movement was more than the churching of Romanticism.'[169] The dictum applies similarly in the case of Knox. If he was a Romantic theologian, that is not all he was. He belonged also to the third 'broad movement of thought' mentioned by Welch in the quotation at the start of the present chapter. Welch designates this movement as 'pietism.' Knox, however, who exemplified it, called it heart religion.

'True religion is that of the heart,' Knox proclaimed in the *Brief Confutation*,[170] and the phrase 'heart religion' or 'religion of the heart' occurs extensively in his writings.[171] Even when these phrases are absent, however, there is a constant stress on the affective and the experiential aspects of Christianity, the two characteristics which define heart religion. Such affective and experiential religion has always existed in the church, but it came to enjoy particular prominence in the eighteenth

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[169] Pereiro, *Ethos and the Oxford Movement: At the Heart of Tractarianism*, 79-80. Pereiro is alluding to Gilley's article, 'John Keble and the Victorian Churching of Romanticism.'
[170] *Brief Confutation*, 26. See, also, *Remains*, 4, 359: 'Christianity is, essentially, the discipleship of the heart.'
[171] See, for example: *Remains*: 3, 288; 362; 4, 43; 118; 154; 172; 190; 301; 510; 563; 625; *Correspondence*, 1, 29.

century, being found alike in protestantism, Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy, while, at the same time, an analogous phenomenon is to be seen in Judaism, in the form of the Hasidic movement.[172] Wesley was one of its primary representatives.[173] Not only did he frequently speak of the 'the religion of the heart,' but his whole conception of religion was concerned with what he called 'the renewal of our heart after the image of him that created us.'[174]

That such a type of religion should exist seems inevitable, given the central role which the heart plays in the Christian scriptures; the prominence these scriptures give to emotion and experience; and their ability, as Augustine put it, to 'strike the heart.'[175] There are, however, four particular reasons why heart religion became so prevalent during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One was the reaction, already noted, which Enlightenment religion provoked against its rationalism. Second, as L. Ernest Stoeffler says: 'The rise of pietism ... must be seen against the background of the so-called wars of religion.'[176] The period 1616-48 witnessed the Thirty Years' War, which pitted the Catholic League against the Protestant Union; 1642-51 saw the in many ways religiously-motivated English Civil War; in France, the Huguenots under Henri de Rohan (1579-1638) engaged in a series of rebellions during the 1620s against their Catholic king. Heart religion provided an opiate to the

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[172] See, for an overview of the subject, Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*: Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. See also, Walton, *Jonathan Edwards*, 221-3.
[173] On the subject of Wesley and heart religion, see Richard B. Steele, ed., *Heart Religion in the Methodist Tradition and Related Movements*, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 2001, and, more recently, Gregory S. Clapper, *The Renewal of the Heart is the Mission of the Church: Wesley's Heart Religion in the Twenty-First Century*, Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010.
[174] Wesley, *Journal*, 2, 275, entry for 13th September 1739.
[175] Augustine speaks of the '*cor pulsatum verbis sanctae scripturae*,' 'the heart struck by the words of holy scripture,' *Confessions*, 12, 1, *P.L.* 32, 825. Knox has a similar doctrine; see below, 215.
[176] F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965, 180.

miseries engendered by these conflicts; at the same time, the view that doctrinal disputes were, nominally at least, the causes of so much pain and suffering led to a premium being laid on holiness of life rather than orthodoxy of dogma. The words which Robert Crocker uses of the Cambridge Platonists in England, may be applied to groups across the European continent: '[I]nfluenced by … turbulent religious wars and conflicts … [they took] the conscious step of rejecting the dogmatism of their upbringing and education.'[177] Third, heart religion was motivated by 'an earnest desire for reform,' against what its adherents saw as the decline of piety in society. [178] As Hartmut Lehmann remarks, the various movements of seventeenth-century piety 'represented the first attempts to re-christianise European societies threatened by de-christianisation.'[179] Finally, one may cite what I would call the 'mobility of ideas.' The printed word carried the doctrines of heart religion across not only geographical boundaries but also denominational ones. German pietists, for example, were nourished by puritan classics printed in England;[180] in turn, the teaching of the pietists was widely disseminated in books produced on the presses of Halle and Salzburg.[181]

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[177] Robert Crocker, *Henry More, 1614-1687: A Biography of the Cambridge Platonist*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003, xviii.

[178] The phrase 'an earnest desire for reform' comes from the sub-title of Philip Jakob Spener's, *Pia Desideria oder herzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Besserung der wahren evangelischen Kirche.* The work first appeared as in 1675 a preface to Spener's edition of Johann Arndt's *Postille,* before being published in its own right in 1680 at Frankfurt by J.D. Zuner. In this work, Spener (1635-1705) launched a call for a religion not of the head but of the heart, which is commonly seen as inaugurating the pietist movement. For an introduction to Spener's life and teaching, see W.R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670-1789*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, chapter 2, 'Spener and the Origins of Church Pietism,' 24-39.

[179] Hartmut Lehmann, 'Pietism in the World of Transatlantic Religious Revivals,' in Jonathan Strom, Hartmut Lehmann, and James Van Horn Melton, eds., *Pietism in Germany and North America, 1680-1820*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, 13-21, 16.

[180] For the impact of English puritan literature on Germany, see Peter Damrau, *The Reception of English Puritan Literature in Germany*, London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2006.

[181] See James Van Horn Melton, 'Pietism, Print Culture and Salzburg Protestantism on the Eve of Expulsion,' in Strom *et al., Pietism in Germany and North America*, 229-49.

The period was also one of mass migration; populations from the areas touched by pietism carried their renewed religion throughout Europe and America.[182]

All four of these factors were still present in the early nineteenth century and are illustrated in the case of Knox. Reaction to the Enlightenment has already been mentioned; so, too, have the sectarian tensions between Catholic and protestant. At the same time, religion itself was widely disregarded. To quote from a sermon preached by Jebb in 1806: '[M]any ... regard Christianity with a sort of supercilious scorn ... [and] despise it in their hearts;'[183] a situation which Knox believed could only be remedied by heart religion.[184] Finally, Knox was an inveterate reader; in the *Remains* and *Correspondence* he included numerous references to works of heart religion: puritan texts, such as those of Baxter and Edwards;[185] Jansenist treatises, such as those of Pierre Nicole (1625-95) and the abbé de St. Cyran (1681-1643);[186] and pietist writings, such as those of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) and Johann Arndt (1555-1621).[187] These four factors help to explain Knox's heart

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[182] See on this point, W.R. Ward, 'Power and Piety: The Origins of Religious Revival in the Early Eighteenth Century,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 63, 1, (Autumn 1980), 231-52.

[183] John Jebb, *Practical Theology: comprising discourses on the liturgy and principles of the United Church of England and Ireland; critical and other tracts; and a speech delivered in the House of Peers in the year 1824*, hereafter, *Practical Theology*, two volumes, London: James Duncan and John Cochran, 1830, 1, 244.

[184] See, for example, *Remains*, 1, 6; 4, 145.

[185] For Knox's appreciation of Baxter and Edwards, see above, 82.

[186] Knox had a high regard for the Jansenists, whose heart-religion he admired. (As Hannah More remarked to him: 'Jansenism is only Methodism in French,' Hannah More to Knox, letter, 21st January 1806, in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 3, 235-40, 238). Knox refers to the Jansenists a number of times in his writings. See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 444-6; 2, 297; 3, 48; 140; 190-1; 198; 200; 4, 249; 512; *Correspondence*, 1, 135-6; 2, 376-7. For the Jansenists Pierre Nicole (1625-95) and Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbé de St. Cyran (1581-1643), see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 1160; 1450.

[187] For references to pietist writings in Knox, see, for example: *Remains*, 3, 108; *Correspondence*, 1, 308; 2, 376. For the pietists August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), and Johann Arndt (1555-1621), see Cross and Livingstone, eds., *O. D.C.C.*, 639-40; 110.

religion, although the single most decisive factor lay in his up-bringing: the piety of his parents and the influence of John Wesley.

From what has been said so far, it should be clear that there was no one tradition of heart religion. Although they are united by the common themes of the primacy of love and the importance of experience, the puritanism of Baxter and Edwards, the Jansenism of Nicole and St. Cyran, and pietism of Francke and Arndt were all distinct. Distinct, too, was the tradition to which Knox belonged: 'the Platonic Christian school,' as Hannah More described it.[188]

2.2.2. Knox and the Christian Platonic Tradition

The origin of the 'Platonic Christian school' lies in the declaration of Plato's dialogue *Theaetetus*, that the goal of human life is 'ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν,'[189] something which meant 'δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι.'[190] This relatively obscure text was picked up by Eudorus of Alexandria (first century B.C. E.) and the Middle Platonist school,[191] who developed a whole

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[188] '[Knox] is of the Platonic Christian school, a disciple of Cudworth, Lucas, Whichcote, Scougal, Worthington and Joseph Mede,' Hannah More to William Wilberforce, letter, 24th September 1804, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 1, 322-3, 323. For the existence of this school within Anglicanism, see: A.M. Allchin, *Participation in God: A Forgotten Strand in Anglican Tradition*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1988; and, especially, W.R. Inge, *The Platonic Tradition* in *English Religious Thought: The Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge, 1925-1926*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1926.

[189] Plato, *Theaetetus*, 176b, 'assimilation to God as much as is possible' (my translation). For the text, see Lewis Campbell, ed., *The Theaetetus of Plato, with a revised text and English notes*, second edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883, (1861), 127-8. For an analysis and translation, see Myles Burnyeat, *The Theaetetus of Plato*, with a translation of Pato's *Theaetetus* by M.J. Levett, revised by Myles Burnyeat Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1990. For Levett's translation of the passage in question, see 304.

[190] Plato, *Theaetetus*, 176b; 'to become righteous and holy and wise' (my translation).

[191] See John M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: A Study of Platonism, 80 B.C.-A.D. 220*, London: Duckworth, 1977. Norman Russell sums up Middle Platonism by saying that the goal of this Platonism

doctrine of deification or assimilation to God, which was subsequently adopted by a number of patristic writers, more specifically those of the Alexandrian and Cappadocian traditions, who saw it as corresponding to the teaching of the Bible, especially 2 Peter 1, 4, which speaks of Christians being made 'partakers of the divine nature.' The teaching of these patristic authors is encapsulated by Gregory of Nyssa (c.335- c.394) in his formula: 'The end of the virtuous life is likeness to God.'[192] This God-likeness, or θέωσις, as it eventually came to be called, was achieved, the Fathers taught, by the Holy Spirit dwelling in the hearts of believers.[193] The doctrine continued to be maintained in the Christian east, but gradually disappeared in the west, until undergoing a revival in the sixteenth century. Amongst the promoters of this revival were several English scholars, especially at Cambridge, and it was there that the tradition was revived again in the seventeenth century by the Cambridge Platonists.[194] Through their writings it was mediated to John Wesley,[195] from whom it was passed to Knox.

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was to be like God so far as possible (*The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, hereafter, *Doctrine of Deification*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 123).

[192] Gregory of Nyssa, *Homily 1 on the Beatitudes*, 6, in J.P. Migne *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, hereafter, *P.G.*, one hundred and sixty-one volumes, Paris: Migne, 1857-66, 44, 1200. There is a fairly extensive literature on the subject of θέωσις; for this thesis I have used, besides Russell, *Doctrine of Deification*: Michael J. Christensen and Jeffery A. Wittung, eds, *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Traditions*, hereafter, *Partakers of the Divine Nature*, Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007; Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *One with God: Salvation as Deification and Justification*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004; Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys*, hereafter, *Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981. Older, but still useful, are: Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, hereafter, *Mystical Theology*, second English edition, Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976, (1944); and Myrrha Lot-Borodine, *La Déification de l'Homme selon la Doctrine des Pères Grecs*, Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1970.

[193] For examples of this doctrine of indwelling in the Greek Fathers, see below, 164-71.

[194] See below, 171-7.

[195] For Wesley's links to the Platonic tradition, see below, 177-8; 185-6.

Knox referred to this tradition several times. Already we have seen how he portrayed Wesley as having 'formed his views in the school of the Greek Fathers ... and the Platonic divines of the Church of England.'[196] As he wrote to Jebb in a letter dated 19th July 1804:

> In John Wesley's views of Christian perfection are combined, in substance, all the sublime morality of the Greek Fathers, the spirituality of the mystics, and the divine philosophy of our favourite Platonists. Macarius, Fénelon, Lucas, and all their respective classes, have been consulted and digested by him, and his ideas are, essentially, theirs.[197]

A further reference to the tradition appears in the *Eclectic Review* of May 1810, where in discussing the works of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Knox classed him together with 'Clemens Alexandrinus ... Chrysostom ... Lucas, Scougal, Smith, Worthington, [and] More.'[198] The most important discussion of the Christian Platonic tradition is to be found, however, in Knox's 'Letter to Mrs Hannah More On the Design of Providence Respecting the Christian Church,' dated 27th December 1806.[199] In this letter he traces the history of the tradition, beginning with 'Clemens Alexandrinus.' Clement was the first, he suggests, to bind 'the tender vine of Christian spirituality to the deeply-rooted elm of Platonism,'[200] although the greatest patristic exemplar of this synthesis was, in his view, Chrysostom.[201] After Chrysostom, 'Platonic

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[196] See above, 89-90.
[197] *Correspondence*, 1, 145.
[198] *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), 394. For Jeremy Taylor (1613-67), see below, 174. The 'More' mentioned is the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More (1614-87); see Crocker, *Henry More, 1614-1687: A Biography of the Cambridge Platonist.* More is mentioned only twice in Knox's writings: the passage from the *Eclectic Review*, just cited, and *Remains*, 4, 146.
[199] *Remains*, 3, 103-230.
[200] *Ibid.*, 141-2.
[201] *Ibid.*, 143-4.

Christianity' was, Knox held, obscured and, to use his word, 'disfigured' by mysticism.[202] 'At length,' however, 'the Cambridge men arise,' by which he meant the Cambridge Platonists.[203] Knox described them as a 'band of Chrysostomians, not avowedly such, I grant, but more substantially agreeing to this character than any who had preceded them.'[204] Like Chrysostom, they '[kept up] the alliance between Christianity and [Platonic] philosophy;'[205] but also, at the same time, they advanced 'the progress which began … in the school of Clemens Alexandrinus.'[206] For Knox, this progress reached a peak in Wesley, whom he saw as perfecting the Platonic tradition. In Knox's judgement, Wesley's teaching manifested:

> the very spirit of Macarius and Chrysostom, of Smith and Cudworth, of de Sales and Fénelon, simplified, systematised, rationalised and evangelised.[207]

Knox then added: '[T]hat which I thus commend, I think I am more indebted to than to any other means of information, except the holy scripture,'[208] so showing his own attachment to the tradition.

The Christian Platonic tradition is a type of heart religion because, as Knox explained, it is not 'a scheme of external conduct,'[209] but concerns a change which comes from within, 'a real and internal change,'[210] 'a change of heart,'[211]

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[202] *Ibid.*, 145: 'I conceive … that mysticism is Platonic Christianity … disfigured.' See, also, 127; 198-9. For Knox's views on mysticism, see below, 244-6.
[203] *Remains*, 3, 199.
[204] *Ibid.*, 194. Knox uses the term 'Chrysostomian' as a synonym for 'Christian Platonist;' a usage which one finds also in Jebb: see *Correspondence*, 1, 294.
[205] *Remains*, 3, 149.
[206] *Ibid.*, 150. On Knox's understanding of the progressive nature of the Platonic tradition, see below, 178; 184-6.
[207] *Remains*, 3, 138.
[208] *Ibid.*
[209] *Correspondence*, 1, 17.
[210] *Ibid.*, 18.

accomplished through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, which Christians receive as an 'inward principle of ... moral rectitude.'[212] As Knox proclaimed in a letter to Jebb:

> [R]ight dispositions are the only source whence right actions proceed. And in order to the attainment of those right tempers ... [we need] God's Holy Spirit ... Christianity implies (I use the words of Scougal), 'a real participation of the divine nature, the very image of Christ drawn upon the soul, or, as it is in the Apostle's phrase, Christ formed within us.'[213]

The prominence which Knox attached to this belief in the transformation of the Christian through the work of the indwelling Spirit is the main argument for seeing him as a Platonist, although I will also show in the following chapters that in terms of its general characteristics and its treatment of individual topics, Knox's theology reflected that of the Fathers, the moderates, and Wesley: those, in other words, whom he portrayed as exemplifying the Platonic tradition.

There are three arguments against viewing Knox as a Christian Platonist. First, he never spoke of himself as such.[214] This was, however, because he thought of himself simply as a 'catholic Christian,' without any other modifier, 'slave to no sect;'[215] it is thus no argument against our classifying him in a particular category. Second, Knox never used the word θέωσις or spoke of 'deification' or 'divinisation.' The reason he did not do so, however, was that such language would have appeared strange and

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[211] *Remains*, 1, 48.
[212] *Correspondence*, 1, 17. See, also, below, 288.
[213] *Correspondence*, 1, 25; 31. The quotation comes from Henry Scougal, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, London: Charles Smith and William Jacob, 1677, 5. The Biblical allusion is to Galatians 4, 19. For Henry Scougal (1650-78), see below, 173.
[214] See, however, *Remains*, 4, 101 were Knox described himself as the 'humble disciple' of the Anglican moderates.
[215] *Remains*, 3, 172.

outlandish to his contemporaries, a peception which he perhaps shared.[216] Nonetheless, the doctrine which it signifies is not just present but central to his writings.

The third objection to classing Knox as a Christian Platonist is his apparent suggestion that the alliance between Christianity and Platonism was intended by providence to be temporary, that Platonism:

> should serve as a support to Christian holiness until the latter should be able to stand by its own strength, through the full development of the true philosophy of the Gospel.[217]

What Knox meant by this, was that Christianity should not have to rely on pagan philosophy as a stimulus to holiness, but should see the call to sanctification as an integral part of the Biblical message, 'the philosophy of the Gospel itself.'[218] This, however, was 'a state of things ... certainly not yet come,'[219] a sentiment which indicates that Knox believed the alliance between Christianity and Platonism still to be necessary. More fundamentally, Knox's views do not preclude an objective classification of him as belonging to the tradition of Christian Platonism.

2.2.3. 'The Greek Fathers'

Having examined the idea of the Christian Platonic tradition in general, I will now look in greater detail at those whom Knox depicts as examples of this tradition, beginning in this sub-section with Clement of Alexandria, Pseudo-Macarius, and

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[216] Knox taxes the Fathers with using extravagant language, and it may well have been their use of deification terminology was one of his reasons for doing so. See below, 166-7.
[217] *Remains*, 3, 141.
[218] *Ibid.*, 150.
[219] *Ibid.*, 141.

John Chrysostom. These were by no means the only Fathers whom Knox invoked in his writings,[220] but it was to these three that he appealed in a special way for the central tenets of his teaching.

Knox held that Platonism was 'prepared providentially ... as a preliminary to Christian piety ... [and] as a kind of fermenting principle to act occasionally to re-invigorate it.'[221] We have seen that Knox postulated that the first to introduce this 'fermenting principle' into the church was Clement of Alexandria,[222] an assessment with which modern scholarship concurs.[223] Eric Osborn, for example, demonstrates that Clement was the first writer, after the New Testament, to deal at length with Christian spiritual life;[224] and that in so doing he was also the first Christian writer to expound the doctrine of God-likeness in a sustained fashion. As Osborn notes: 'The veritable leitmotif of Clement's moral teaching is assimilation to God.'[225]

For Clement, Osborn writes, Christians are called to fulfil the ideal of Genesis 1, 26 and become like God.[226] Thus the true Christian or, in Clement's terminology, the gnostic, is one who serves the Lord in ceaseless love, assimilated to God as far as is

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[220] See below, 220, note 206.
[221] *Correspondence*, 1, 300-1.
[222] See above, 161.
[223] For Clement, see: John Ferguson, *Clement of Alexandria,* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974; Salvatore Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971; and Eric Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Much that is useful in Osborn's book, from the point of view of this thesis, is summarised in his essay, 'The Bible and Christian Morality in Clement of Alexandria,' in Paul M. Blowers, ed., *The Bible in Greek Christian Antiquity*, Indianapolis, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997, 112-130. More specific treatments of Clement's 'practical theology,' which is where Knox has most affinity with him, are: John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement* , Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, especially chapter five, 'Rebirth and Christian Life,'152-84 and chapter six, 'The Higher Christian Life: *Gnosis*, *Apatheia*, *Agape*,'185-208; and Peter Karavites, *Evil, Freedom and the Road to Perfection in Clement of Alexandria*, Leiden: E.J. Brill,1999, especially chapter five, 'Clement's Gnostic,'139-74.
[224] Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, 258.
[225] Osborn, 'The Bible and Moral Theology in Clement of Alexandria,'114.
[226] *Ibid.* Genesis 1, 26 refers to the creation of human beings in the image and likeness of God.

humanly possible, through the practice of virtue.[227] As Clement declares: 'Perfected according to the image of the master, the gnostic becomes divine while still living in the flesh.' [228] This divinisation is accomplished, first, through the reading of scripture, where, according to Clement, Christ continues 'to make human beings divine by heavenly teaching, putting his laws into their minds, and inditing them upon their hearts.'[229] For Clement, as Osborn comments, it is in the Bible that Christians learn how to be disciples, and imitate the life of Christ;'[230] although, as Russell notes, this learning demands that the Bible be interpreted according to the church's teaching.[231] As Russell puts it, for Clement, '[i]t is divine knowledge received in accordance with the church's rule of faith that deifies.'[232] Knowledge alone, however, is not enough, according to Clement. Divine help is needed: the aid of the Spirit, which is bestowed in baptism. [233] In the font, according to Clement, a new life begins, in which the Christian, heeding the call of scripture to go ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα,[234] must grow in holiness towards perfection.[235]

All this teaching appeared in Knox. His chief difficulty with Clement was with his language.[236] It was in relation to his 'expressions' rather than in terms of any substantive error that Knox claimed Clement's 'assertions cannot always be

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[227] See Russell, *Doctrine of Deification*, 14.
[228] Clement, *Stromateis*, 7, 16, *P.G.,* 11, 549.
[229] Clement, *Protrepticus*, 11, *P.G.*, 8, 233. Clement is alluding to Jeremiah 31, 33.
[230] Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, 234.
[231] Russell, *Doctrine of Deification*, 126.
[232] *Ibid.*
[233] *Ibid.* See, also, 129.
[234] Hebrews 6, 1, 'on to perfection.'
[235] See Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, 42.
[236] *Remains*, 1, 351.

defended.'[237] Knox thus differed from Wesley, who, although at one time strongly influenced by Clement, grew to have doubts about Clement's doctrine of ἀπάθεια.[238] This was a key-concept in Clement's writings, and Wesley came to understand it as meaning the complete subjection of the passions.[239] Knox, by contrast, gave the term a more restrained interpretation. 'The ancient mystic insisted only on apathy as opposed to perturbation,' he argued; what was meant by the word was no more than spiritual peace and calm.[240]

Knox's teaching likewise mirrored that of Pseudo-Macarius, or Macarius, as Knox called him.[241] Knox, like virtually all his contemporaries, believed this Macarius to have to have been 'an Egyptian monk of the fourth century.'[242] Today, however, while still located in the fourth century, he is usually identified as an ascetic from north-eastern Syria, although one linked to the Alexandrian tradition of Clement through the Cappadocian Fathers, especially Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335-94),

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[237] *Ibid.* See, also, 352-3, where Knox speaks of 'hyperbole' and 'mere exaggeration of ... statement' in relation to the 'ancient spiritualists' such as Clement. See, also, *Wesley*, 460, where Knox speaks of the 'overcharged, though still beautiful draught of a *perfect Christian* by Clemens Alexandrinus.'

[238] For Clement's doctrine of ἀπάθεια, see below, 325.

[239] John Wesley to Miss March, letter, 30th November 1774, *Letters*, 6, 129-30, 129.

[240] *Remains*, 1, 352.

[241] Having established his identity, 'Macarius' is the designation which I shall hereafter use in this thesis. On Macarius, see, especially, George A. Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius: The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter*, hereafter, *Pseudo-Macarius*, Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1992. See, also: Alexander Golitzin, 'A Testimony to Christianity as Transfiguration: The Macarian Homilies and Orthodox Spirituality,' hereafter, 'A Testimony to Christianity as Transformation,' in S. T. Kimbrough, ed., *Orthodox and Wesleyan Spirituality*, Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002, 129-56; Marcus Plested, *The Macarian Legacy: The Place of Macarius-Symeon in the Eastern Christian Tradition*, hereafter, *Macarian Legacy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Columba Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart: The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts and Language to A.D. 431*, hereafter, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

[242] B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 65, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 20th March 1805. See, also, *Remains*, 1, 351.

Christianity having been established in Cappadocia by the disciple of Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus (c. 213-70). [243]

Marcus Plested sums up the teaching of Macarius as 'the progressive sanctification and deification of the Christian.'[244] To quote Columba Stewart:

> In [Macarius's] view the goal of the Christian life is victory in the battle waged within the 'inner person.' The progress is from a heart possessed by evil (because of Adam's disobedience), to a heart indwelt by both sin and grace, and then, finally, to a heart from which sin has been cast out by the co-operative triumph of human will and divine Spirit. Such a heart now belongs to God alone. [245]

Thus, in the words of Kallistos Ware:

> Christianity, as Macarius understands it, involves much more than assent to reasoned arguments or outward obedience to a moral code. It consists above all in the awakening of our spiritual senses, so that we attain a direct, palpable awareness of God's Holy Spirit dwelling in our hearts.[246]

Knox hailed Macarius as being among 'the most excellent of the Fathers.'[247] His greatest admiration, however, was reserved for 'the incomparable Chrysostom.'[248]

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[243] On the specific issue of Macarius's links with the Alexandrian tradition, see: Golitzin, 'A Testimony to Christianity as Transfiguration,' 131; 133; Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, 3, 9-11; Plested, *Macarian Legacy*, chapter 3, 'Macarius and the Cappadocians,' 46-58.

[244] Plested, *Macarian Legacy*, 2-3. For Macarius's teaching on sanctification and deification see, also, below, 297; 325-6.

[245] Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 74-5. Note the mention of the 'divine Spirit.' It is only through the Spirit's inhabitation that the Christian is enabled to obey God 'spotlessly and perfectly' (80).

[246] Kallistos Ware, 'Preface' to Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, xi-xviii, xiv.

[247] *Remains*, 4, 333. See, also, 3, 281, where Knox observes: 'Macarius … is a wonderful spiritualist; no Greek Father is so, strictly speaking, experimental.' By this, Knox means that no other Father is so concerned with what Maloney calls 'the personal experience of God's grace working in [Christians'] lives' (*Pseudo-Macarius*, 27).

[248] *Remains*, 4, 333. See, also, *Correspondence*, 1, 302: 'I love Macarius … but I rejoice in Chrysostom.' See, too: *Remains*, 3, 45-7; 4, 438; and Hannah More to Knox, letter, 30th November 1809, in Roberts, *Memoirs*, 4, 302-7, 306, in which More speaks of 'your own Chrysostom.' For an

Born around 349 in Antioch, Chrysostom became Bishop of Constantinople in 398, dying in exile in 407. He was a noted preacher, whence the soubriquet or Χρυσόστομος or 'Golden Mouth.' His sermons show him to have been, in J.N.D. Kelly's phrase, 'much more a practical than a dogmatic theologian,'[249] a judgment with which Chrysostom would, no doubt, have agreed, since this was how he saw Christ. Christ, observed Chrysostom, 'discoursed of doctrine only seldom, but often, indeed always, of life.'[250]

Holding Chrysostom to be the 'patriarch' of the theologians he most esteemed,[251] Knox believed that he 'finished what Clement began,' completing the alliance between Christianity and Platonism.[252] The idea is not immediately compelling, since there is no direct link to be discerned between the Alexandrian Clement and the Antiochene Chrysostom,[253] in whom the language of deification is by no means explicit.[254] Nonetheless the idea is present.[255] To quote Pak-Wah Lai, Chrysostom envisaged the process of human salvation as becoming divine. In fact, Lai states,

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introduction to Chrysostom, see J.N.D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom: Ascetic, Preacher and Bishop*, hereafter, *Golden Mouth*, London: Duckworth, 1995.

[249] Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 195.

[250] Chrysostom, 'Homily 64 on Matthew,' 4, *P.G.* 58, 614.

[251] *Remains*, 3, 75; 127.

[252] *Ibid.*, 143-4. Modern scholarship would perhaps prefer to accord this accolade to Maximus the Confessor. See Russell, *Doctrine of Deification*, 296; Plested, *Macarian Legacy*, 213. For an introduction to Maximus (c. 580-662), see Andrew Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, London: Routledge, 1996.

[253] One should note, however, that the theological divide between Alexandria and Antioch was not perhaps so great as is sometimes assumed. See, on this point, Andrew Louth, 'Why did the Syrians Reject the Council of Chalcedon?' in R.M. Price and Mary Whitby, *Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils, 400-700*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 107-16, 108-9.

[254] Russell notes that the great Antiochene Fathers never use the term 'deification' at all (*Doctrine of Deification*, 237).

[255] See on this point, Pak-Wah Lai's 2010 thesis, written partly under the supervision of Andrew Louth, 'John Chrysostom and the Hermeneutics of Exemplar Portraits,' accessed at http://etheses. dur.ac.uk /425, 20th December 2010, especially, 143-52.

'Christian salvation, for Chrysostom, is understood primarily in terms of deification, that is, the attainment of divine likeness.'[256]

Chrysostom desired to inculcate in his hearers nothing less than what Kelly calls 'a total commitment to the Gospel.' [257] As Gus George Christo expresses it, for Chrysostom the whole of the Christian life was to be a continual process of μετάνοια, 'a complete change and renewal of heart and mind, from the heart and mind of sin to the heart and mind of Christ.'[258] In this process, Chrysostom stressed the importance of the human subject, yet never to the exclusion of the Holy Spirit. For example, preaching on Romans 5, 20, where Paul says that 'grace has super-abounded,' Chrysostom remarked:

> Paul says not 'abounded' but 'super-abounded,' for not only has God freed us from punishment, but has also granted us the forgiveness of sins, and life, and the other benefits of which we have so often spoken. It is as if someone not only cured a sick person from their illness, but also gave them beauty and strength and honour, too; or, as if someone not only fed a hungry person, but also endowed them with riches and set them up in a position of authority. [259]

Included in 'the other benefits of which we have so often spoken' was 'the abundant out-pouring of the Holy Spirit.'[260] Expounding Romans 8, 11, where Paul writes of 'the Spirit that dwells in you,' Chrysostom commented: 'He does not say the Spirit

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[256] Lai, 'John Chrysostom and the Hermeneutics of Exemplar Portraits,' 143.
[257] Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 35; 43. See, also, Young, 'God's Word Proclaimed,' 143. For Knox's own comments, see *Remains*, 3, 80.
[258] Gus George Christo, 'Introduction' to *St John Chrysostom: On Repentance and Almsgiving*, translated by Gus George Christo, Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1998, xi-xviii, xiv.
[259] Chrysostom, 'Homily 10 on Romans,' 3, *P.G.*, 60, 478.
[260] Chrysostom, 'Homily 51 on Matthew,' 4, *P.G.*, 57, 197.

that dwelt in you, but the Spirit that dwells in you, signifying an abiding presence.'[261] This presence served for the sanctification of believers. They were 'not only the temple but the instruments of the Spirit,' [262] which Chrysostom described as 'the Lord of our lives, leading us as a helmsman guides a ship or a driver a chariot.'[263]

It can be seen, therefore, that central to the teaching of the three Fathers, Clement, Macarius, and Chrysostom, is the doctrine that, by the working of the Holy Spirit, human beings can be changed and transformed and made holy and perfect, and thus God-like: in other words, the doctrine of deification. This doctrine, Knox took as his own, although, as I will show, it was not the only point on which he and these three Fathers agreed.

2.2.4. The Anglican Moderates

We have seen above that Knox made a special appeal to those whom he called 'our friends the Platonists.'[264] These were the Cambridge Platonists, a group from whom Knox cited four figures in particular: Ralph Cudworth (1617-88);[265] John Smith

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[261] Chrysostom, 'Homily 13 on Romans,' 9, *P.G.*, 60, 520.
[262] Antoine Wenger, ed., *Jean Chrysostome: Huits Catechèses Baptismales Inédites*, Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1957, 153.
[263] Chrysostom, 'Homily 14 on Romans,' 2, *P.G.*, 60, 525.
[264] *Correspondence*, 1, 122. Although the Cambridge Platonists are the subject of a fairly extensive literature, scholars have tended to concentrate on their philosophical views rather than their religious teaching. For this teaching, see: Tod E. Jones, ed., *The Cambridge Platonists: A Brief Introduction: With Eight Letters of Dr Antony Tuckney and Dr Benjamin Whichcote*, hereafter, *The Cambridge Platonists*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005; C. A. Patrides, ed., *The Cambridge Platonists*, second edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, (1969); W.C. de Pauley, *The Candle of the Lord: Studies in the Cambridge Platonists*, London: S.P.C.K., 1937; and Charles Taliaferro and Alison J. Teply, eds, *Cambridge Platonist Spirituality*, Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2004.
[265] For Ralph Cudworth (1617-88), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101006864/Ralph-Cudworth, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Cudworth in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 44; 153-5; 224; 225; 469, note; 3, 75; 109; 224; 4, 146; 330; *Correspondence*, 1, 259.

(1618-52);[266] Benjamin Whichcote (1609-83),[267] and John Worthington (1618-71).[268] Because of their importance for Knox it is on these four that attention will be focused throughout this thesis. Nonetheless, together with them Knox also associated a number of other figures, who, while not belonging to the Cambridge Platonist group, shared a similar theological outlook. They are: the scientist, Robert Boyle (1627-91);[269] Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), Bishop of Salisbury;[270] Mathew Hale (1609-76), Lord Chief Justice of England and man of piety;[271] Robert Leighton (1612-84), Archbishop of Glasgow;[272] Richard Lucas (1648/9-1715), Canon of Westminster and President of Sion College;[273] Joseph Mede (1586-1638), a Cambridge divine, who

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[266] For John Smith (1618-52), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101025838/John-Smith, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Smith in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 77; 105-6; 154; 155, note; 270; 3, 75; 80; 109; 221-2; 223; 469; 4, 91; 146; 158; 330; *Correspondence*, 1, 28-9; 259; *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), 394.

[267] For Benjamin Whichcote (1609-83), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101029202/Benjamin-Whichcote, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Whichcote in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 73; 4, 146; *Correspondence*, 1, 259.

[268] For John Worthington (1618-71), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101029992/John-Worthington, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Worthington in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 103-5; 154; 3, 469, note; 4, 146-7; 158; *Correspondence*, 1, 27; 2, 89-93; *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), 394.

[269] For Robert Boyle (1627-91), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101003137/Robert-Boyle, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Boyle in Knox's writings, see: *Remains* 1, 447-8; 3, 201-3; 4, 142-4; 590; *Correspondence*, 1, 27; 'Preface to the First Dublin Edition,' xliii; xlv. Knox included Boyle's funeral sermon in his editions of Burnet's *Lives*.

[270] For Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101004061/Gilbert-Burnet, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Burnet in Knox's writings, see, besides the prefaces to Knox's editions of his *Lives*: *Remains*, 2, 340-1; 4, 141-2; 335-6; *Correspondence*, 1, 27-8.

[271] For Mathew Hale (1609-76), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101011905/Mathew-Hale, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Hale in Knox's writings, see: *Remains* 1, 40-2; 3, 74-5; 4, 142-3; *Correspondence*, 1, 27, 'Preface to the First Dublin Edition,' xliii- xliv; 'Preface to the Second Dublin Edition,' xlviii-lvi. 'The Life and Death of Sir Mathew Hale' was one of the pieces published by Knox in Burnet's *Lives*.

[272] For Robert Leighton (1612-84), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101016402/Robert-Leighton, accessed 22nd June 2011.For references to Leighton in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 271; 3, 108-9; 112-3; 4, 158; 509; 532; *Correspondence*, 1, 27; 28; 382; 440; 544; 2, 11-13; *Wesley*, 500-1.

[273] For Richard Lucas (1648/9-1715), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101017136/Richard-Lucas, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references

has been seen as a kind of precursor of the Platonists;[274] the Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore, Jeremy Taylor (1613-67);[275] and the Scottish writer, Henry Scougal (1650-78).[276] To refer to the whole group, the Cambridge Platonists and those whom Knox associated with them, a convenient designation is 'the Anglican moderates of the seventeenth century,' a term which I owe to John C. English.[277]

Knox made a firm distinction between those whom he identified as 'our well-known friends,'[278] and those whom he regarded as more liberal. This latter group had, in Knox's eyes, reduced Christianity to nothing but a mere moralism,[279] the blame for which Knox laid on 'Episcopius and the other Dutch Remonstrants,'[280] whom he accused of having 'spoil[ed] English theology,'[281] through their corrupting influence on such leading Churchmen as John Wilkins (1614-72) and John Tillotson (1630-

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to Lucas in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 153; 154; 270; 3, 75; 80; 221-2; 469; 4, 145; 158; 178; *Correspondence*, 1, 27; 29; 122; *Wesley*, 457; 459-61.

[274] For Joseph Mede (1586-1638), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101018465/Joseph-Mede, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Mede in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 153; 155, note; 3, 44; 'Appendix,' 390.

[275] For Jeremy Taylor (1613-67), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101027041/Jeremy-Taylor, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Taylor in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 102-3; 359-60; 3, 108-10; 223-4; 469; *Correspondence*, 1, 138; 2, 514-6; 518-22; *Wesley*, 457-9; *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), 385-95.

[276] For Henry Scougal (1650-78), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101024941/Henry-Scougal, accessed 22nd June 2011. For references to Scougal in Knox's writings, see: *Remains*, 1, 153-4; 4, 91; 158; *Correspondence*, 1, 27; 29; 31; *Wesley*, 500; *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), 394.

[277] John C. English, 'John Wesley and the Moderates of the Seventeenth Century,' *Anglican Theological Review*, 51, 3, (July 1969), 203-20.

[278] *Correspondence*, 1, 259.

[279] *Ibid.* See, also, 26.

[280] *Correspondence*, 1, 26. The Remonstrants were the Dutch Arminians of the seventeenth century, a group whose views became increasingly more liberal with the passage of time. Simon Bisschop (1583-1643), whose name was Latinised to Episcopius, was their leader. See Mark A. Ellis, *Simon Episcopius' Doctrine of Original Sin*, New York: Peter Lang, 2006, especially chapter 1, 'Arminius and Episcopius in Historical Context,' 25-41.

[281] *Correspondence*, 1, 259.

94).[282] A subsequent designation for such theologians is 'latitudinarian,' but the term is fluid and imprecise.[283] Knox himself used it to designate the Cambridge Platonists,[284] to whom it had, in fact, originally been applied.

The Cambridge Platonists were, for the most part, associated with Emmanuel College, a puritan foundation, which for the sixteenth- and much of the seventeenth-century had been dominated by a strict Calvinism. It was in reaction to this that the Platonists sought for a different theology. Although often seen as liberals, they were in many ways high churchman, something made apparent by 'S.P.,' usually understood as Simon Patrick (1626-1707),[285] in his *Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude-Men* (1662). In it he cautions:

> [L]et no man accuse them of harkening too much to their own reason, since their reason steers by so excellent a compass: the ancient Fathers and the councils of the church.[286]

Describing the Platonists theological position, 'S.P.' writes that it derives:

> not from the *spinose school-men* or *Dutch systematicks*, neither from *Rome* nor *Geneva*, the Council of *Trent* nor Synod of *Dort*, but from the sacred writings of the apostles and evangelists, in interpreting whereof they carefully attend to the sense of the antient church, by which they conceive the modern ought to be guided,

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[282] *Ibid.* For John Wilkins (1614-72), the polymath Bishop of Chester, 1668-72, and John Tillotson (1630-94), Archbishop of Canterbury, 1691-94, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101029421/John-Wilkins; and http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101027449/John-Tillotson, both accessed 22nd June 2011.

[283] See Martin I.J. Griffin, junior, *Latitudinarianism in the Seventeenth Century Church of England*, annotated by Richard H. Popkin, edited by Lila Freedman, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992; W. M. Spellman, *The Latitudinarians and the Church of England, 1660-1700,* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1993.

[284] *Correspondence*, 1, 170, 'my own favourite latitudinarians.'

[285] For Simon Patrick (1626-1707), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101021568/Simon-Patrick, accessed 1st August 2011.

[286] 'S.P. of Cambridge,' *A Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude-Men together with some reflections upon the new philosophy*, hereafter, *Brief Account*, London: no publisher given, 1662, 10.

> and they are very conversant in all the genuine monuments of the antient Fathers, those especially of the first and purest ages.[287]

These 'antient Fathers' were above all those of the east, particularly those of Alexandria, such as Clement.[288] From these Fathers the 'latitude-men' learned that Christianity was, as John Smith described it, a 'divine life,' rather than a 'divine science,'[289] a religion in which one is called, in Whichcote's words, 'to imitate God ... in holiness, in righteousness, in truth, and faithfulness.'[290] As Cudworth expressed it: '[We must not judge our knowing Christ by our skill in books and papers, but by our keeping of his commandments.'[291] This one is enabled to do, the Cambridge Platonists taught, through the Holy Spirit dwelling in the heart. To quote again from Smith:

> When the divinity united itself to human nature in the person of our saviour, he then gave mankind a pledge and earnest of what he would further do therein, in

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[287] S.P., *Brief Account*, 9. Emphasis in the original. 'Spinose' means 'thorny;' the Dutch 'systematicks' refers to the Calvinist theologians of the Dutch Reformed Church, and maybe also to the Arminian Remonstrants; the Synod of Dort (1619) is where the two parties clashed, the Synod upholding a strict Calvinism. For Dort and the contending parties, see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 505-6.

[288] For the links between the Cambridge Platonists and the Fathers, see: D.W. Dockrill, 'The Fathers and the Theology of the Cambridge Platonists,' *Studia Patristica*, 17, 1, (1982), 427-39; George A. Panichas, 'The Greek Spirit and the Mysticism of Henry More,' *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 1, 2, (Christmas 1956), 41-61.

[289] John Smith, Discourse 1, 'Of The True Way or Method of Attaining to Divine Knowledge,' in *Select Discourses, by John Smith, late Fellow of Queens College in Cambridge, to which is added a sermon by Symon Patrick, D.D., then Fellow of the same College, afterwards Lord Bishop of Ely, containing a brief account of his life and death,* hereafter, *Select Discourses*, third edition, London: Rivingtons and Cochran, 1821, (1660), 1-25, 3.

[290] Benjamin Whichcote, Discourse 24, 'The Practice of those who are Improved,' in *The Works of the Learned Benjamin Whichcote, D.D., Rector of St Lawrence Jewry, London*, hereafter, *Works*, four volumes, Aberdeen: Alexander Thompson, 1751, 1, 373-96, 382.

[291] Ralph Cudworth, 'Sermon One: Preached before the Honourable House of Commons at Westminster, March 31st 1647,' hereafter, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' in *The Works of the Reverend Ralph Cudworth, D.D., containing The True Intellectual System of the Universe, Sermons, &c.: a new edition with references to the several quotations in the Intellectual System, and a life of the author*, hereafter, *Works*, edited by Thomas Birch, second edition, four volumes, Oxford: D.A. Talboys, 1829, (1820), 4, 289-350, 296.

> bringing it into as near a conjunction as might be with himself, and in dispensing and communicating himself to man in a way as far correspondent and agreeable as might be to that first copy. And therefore we are told of 'Christ being formed in us'[Galatians 4, 19], and 'the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us'[1 Corinthians 3,16] ... and the like, because indeed the same Spirit that dwelt in him, extends itself in its mighty virtue and energy through all believing souls, shaping them more and more into a just resemblance and conformity to him as the first copy and pattern ... And all this is done for us by degrees, through the efficacy of the eternal Spirit ....[292]

What the Cambridge Platonists taught, therefore, was the doctrine of the Platonic Fathers, the doctrine of deification, the same doctrine that is found in Knox.

Knox regarded the Platonic tradition as dynamic. He believed that the 'Cambridge men' had improved on the Fathers by being more 'sober,'[293] by which he meant that they were more restrained in their language, the Fathers being guilty in his eyes, as we have seen, of 'excess' in some of their expressions.[294] Knox lauded the Cambridge Platonists as:

> [proving] the fact of progression, for they are such writers as had never before existed, none before having been so learned, so philosophical, so sober, so solid.[295]

The Cambridge Platonists were not, however, perfect in Knox's eyes. He judged that they were, as he expressed it, 'too much philosophical' and 'not enough evangelical.'[296] '[T]he excesses of some of the puritanical men of [their] age led them

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[292] John Smith, Discourse 7, 'Of Legal Righteousness and of the Righteousness of Faith, *Select Discourses*, 307-70, 368.
[293] *Remains*, 3, 150.
[294] *Ibid.*, 77. See, also, above, 166-7.
[295] *Remains*, 3, 199.
[296] *Ibid.*, 149-50. See, also: 1, 77; 100; 3, 109; 4, 146; 158; *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), 389. See further on this point below, 184-5.

to be much on the reserve as to some of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity,' he alleged.[297] More concerned to stress the importance of good works, 'the Christian μετάνοια ['repentance'] and its most precious fruits,'[298] they were, 'respecting the Christian πίστις ['faith'], its nature and its exercise … perhaps somewhat deficient.'[299]

Knox held, too, that the Cambridge Platonists did not take sufficient account of the 'depth of depravity' caused by original sin.[300] The two points went together, because Knox believed that human beings had been so debilitated by the fall that they could do nothing to save themselves: they needed the grace which comes through faith.[301] Nonetheless, these two points of difference were outweighed by the similarities which Knox and the Cambridge Platonists shared. As I will demonstrate below, he and they also agreed on a large number of other issues.

2.2.5. Wesley as a Theological Influence on Knox

Knox claimed, as we have seen, that Wesley 'formed his views in the school of the Greek Fathers and … the Platonic divines of the Church of England,'[302] and this is something that modern scholarship has confirmed. Wesley's relationship with the moderates has been analysed by English, who cogently argues that the correspondence between Wesley's thought and theirs indicates that 'Wesley was

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[297] *Correspondence*, 1, 29.
[298] *Ibid.* There is, I think, an allusion here to the Prayer Book Catechism, which speaks of the importance of faith and repentance to the Christian life, see *B.C.P.*, 215.
[299] *Correspondence*, 1, 29.
[300] *Ibid.*, 170. See, also, *Wesley*, 473.
[301] See below, 280-1.
[302] See above, 89-90.

dependent upon the moderates for a portion of his ideas.'[303] Given both this and Knox's proximity to Wesley, it seems plausible to suggest that Knox's first contact with the moderates came through Wesley, although there is no clear evidence of this. The same is true with regard to the Fathers. It seems plausible to suggest that Knox's initial acquaintance with them came *via* Wesley, whose affinity with Greek patristic thought, to which Knox points several times,[304] has been noted by a number of modern scholars.[305] This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that a number of studies have demonstrated the important role in the articulation of Wesley's theology played by the three Fathers to whom Knox made a particular appeal: Clement of Alexandria, Macarius, and John Chrysostom.[306]

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[303] English, 'Wesley and the Anglican Moderates,'206. For the influence of the moderates on Wesley, see, also, John C. English, 'The Cambridge Platonists in Wesley's *Christian Library*,' *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 36, (October 1968), 161-8.

[304] See, for example: *Remains*, 3, 134-5; 138; 152; *Wesley*, 419.

[305] On the link between Wesley and the Greek Fathers, see: Randy L. Maddox, 'John Wesley and Eastern Orthodoxy: Influences, Convergences, and Differences,' *Asbury Theological Journal*, 45, 2, (1990), 29-53, as well as the three volumes edited by S.T. Kimbrough, and published by St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, NY: *Orthodox and Wesleyan Spirituality* (2002); *Orthodox and Wesleyan Scriptural Understanding and Practice* (2005) and *Orthodox and Wesleyan Ecclesiology* (2007). Wesley did not follow the Fathers without reflection, but revised and adapted their teachings: see Ted A. Campbell, *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity: Religious Vision and Cultural Change*, hereafter, *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity,* Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1991. See, also, Maddox, *Responsible Grace* and Albert C. Outler, *John Wesley*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, (1964), both of whom make this a central theme of their books. Knox had already made the same link; see, for example: *Remains*, 3, 134-5; 138; 152; *Wesley*, 419.

[306] The fullest treatment of the relationship between Wesley and Clement is given by Neil D. Anderson, *A Definitive Study of Evidence concerning John Wesley's Appropriation of the Thought of Clement of Alexandria*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004. This includes a section on Knox, 210-16. The clearest evidence for the influence of Clement's influence on Wesley appears in Wesley's *Character of A Methodist* (Bristol: Felix Farley, 1742), which is a reworking of chapter seven of Clement's *Stromateis*; see Wesley, *Journal*, 5, 197, entry for 5th March 1767, copy of a letter to *Lloyds' Evening Post*. Knox comments of Wesley that 'to realise in himself the *perfect Christian of Clemens Alexandrinus* was the object of his heart' (*Wesley*, 419, emphasis in the original). For the influence of Macarius on Wesley, see: David C. Ford, 'St Makarios of Egypt and John Wesley: Variations on the Theme of Sanctification,' *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 33, 3, (1988), 285-312; Outler, *John Wesley*, 9, note 26; 368-82; 435-36; Howard A. Snyder, 'John Wesley and Macarius the Egyptian,' *Asbury Theological Review*, 45, 2, (Fall 1990), 55-60. Note also Wesley's own remark, that he 'read Macarius and sang' (*Journal*, 1, 254, entry for 30th July 1736). For the influence of Chrysostom on Wesley, see: Kelley Steve McCormick, 'John Wesley's Use of John Chrysostom on the Christian Life:

Whether or not Wesley introduced Knox to the Fathers and the moderates, it is clear that Wesley himself was an important influence on Knox's theological thought. 'What do I not owe, subordinately, to [Wesley]?' Knox remarks;[307] and I will demonstrate in chapters three and four both that Knox appealed expressly to Wesley on a number of points. Even when such an appeal is lacking, however, the similarities between the two men are clear.

The earliest evidence of Wesley's influence on Knox are Wesley's letters to him.[308] In these letters one finds several themes which were later to become prominent in Knox's theology. One is the central tenet of God's love, felt and acted on. It was this love, Wesley wrote, which lay behind Knox's childhood sickliness. His ill-health was providential, Wesley argued, 'a proof of God's watchful care,'[309] by which 'Alleck' was being taught to 'seek all [his] happiness in God.'[310] A second feature of the letters is their anti-Calvinist tone. One letter urged 'Alleck' to be wary of 'predestinarians;'[311] another warned him against being seduced by even 'moderate Calvinism.'[312] (Not that there can be any such thing as 'moderate' Calvinism, Wesley added.) [313] More positively, the letters emphasised the cooperation of God and the individual in the process of salvation. 'God works,' Wesley affirmed, 'and man

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Faith filled with the Energy of Love,' Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1983; and Frances Young, 'Grace and Demand: The Heart of Preaching,' *Epworth Review*, 12, 2, (1985), 46-55; 'Inner Struggle: Some Parallels between John Wesley and the Greek Fathers,' in Kimbrough, ed., *Orthodox and Wesleyan Spirituality*, 157-72; 'God's Word Proclaimed: The Homiletics of Grace and Demand in John Chrysostom and John Wesley,' in Kimbrough, ed., *Orthodox and Wesleyan Scriptural Understanding and Practice*, 137- 48.

[307] *Remains*, 4, 159.

[308] For these letters, see above, 27.

[309] *Remains*, 4, 1.

[310] *Ibid.*, 2.

[311] O.C.M.C.H., B/Wes/J 8, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 5th December 1776.

[312] O.C.M.C.H., B/Wes/J 9, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 19th March 1777.

[313] *Ibid.*

believes. The power is God's; the act is man's.'[314] This act is free, Wesley made clear: God may offer the gift of saving faith, but the individual 'may or may not receive that gift. He can so resist, as to prevent God from working.'[315]

Another fundamental idea is that of spiritual growth and development. At present, Wesley told 'Alleck,' he had only 'a small spark' of love,[316] the love of a servant, not yet of a son.[317] What he needed was 'to have the love of God fully shed abroad in [his] heart,'[318] to which end Wesley exhorted him to the practise of private prayer and the reading of scripture.

Wesley likewise encouraged Knox to study history, poetry, and philosophy, as well as theology, or 'divinity,' as he called it, suggesting for this that Knox use 'Bishop Pearson.'[319] The mention of Pearson is important. The high church John Pearson (1613-86) held various academic posts before becoming Bishop of Chester in 1672.[320] His *Exposition of the Creed*, first published in 1659,[321] was, to quote Outler, 'one of Wesley's most important [theological] sources,'[322] and it likewise proved influential on Knox, who described it as 'the most perfect theological work that has ever come

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[314] O.C.M.C.H., B/Wes/ J 38, Wesley to Knox, letter, 7th December 1783. The words are one of Wesley's favourite aphorisms: see Lycurgus M. Starkey Junior, *The Work of the Holy Spirit: A Study in Wesleyan Theology*, New York: Abingdon Press, 1962, 50.
[315] O.C.M.C.H., B/Wes/J 8, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 5th December 1776; B/Wes/J 9, John Wesley to Knox; 19th March 1777; B/Wes/J 39, John Wesley to Knox, letter, 7th February 1784.
[316] *Remains*, 4, 14.
[317] *Ibid.*, 6. The distinction 'servant/son' is 'a Wesleyan commonplace;' see Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 1 250, note 4.
[318] *Remains,* 4, 14. Wesley alludes to Romans 5, 5.
[319] *Remains*, 4, 8.
[320] For John Pearson (1613-86), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101021717/John-Pearson, accessed 22nd June 2011.
[321] John Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed*, London: Roger Daniel, 1659. The edition used in this thesis is that edited by James Nichols, London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1854.
[322] Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 1, 83. Outler refers specifically to Pearson's pneumatological teaching.

from an English pen.'[323] Pearson insisted strongly on the catholicity of the Church of England, citing the Fathers in abundance, especially Chrysostom.[324] He also emphasised the importance of sanctification as the work of the Holy Spirit.[325] These were both major doctrines in Knox's theology, and one may suppose that the early influence of Pearson had a part to play in Knox's development of them. In fact, with regard to the doctrine of the church, Knox invoked Pearson explicitly.[326]

In the light of the argument that Knox's theology was dependent on Wesley, it is disconcerting to find that on a number of occasions Knox insisted on his autonomy from Wesley. 'I never called Mr Knox Rabbi,' he trenchantly affirmed.[327] Nonetheless, if one examines the points on which Knox distanced himself from Wesley one will find that, for the most part, they concerned what Knox called 'circumstantial extravagances.'[328] These Knox explicitly distinguished from 'the substance of John Wesley's teaching' [329] 'I as much love the one, as I should shrink back from the other,' he stated. [330]

As far as doctrine was concerned, there were only three major differences between Knox and Wesley.[331] Two of these were recognised by Knox: Wesley's teaching on

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[323] *Remains*, 4, 339. See, also, *Correspondence*, 2, 306.
[324] '[His] exposition of the creed, and particularly his incomparable selection of authorities, proves that Vincentius could not have had a more active disciple,' says the 'Appendix' of 'the admirable Pearson' (382).
[325] See below, 291.
[326] See below, 382.
[327] *Remains*, 1, 79. The allusion is to Matthew 23, 8. See, also: *Remains*, 1, 275; 3, 78; 443; 4, 278; 280; 282; *Wesley*, 418-9; 481.
[328] *Wesley*, 462. See, also: *Remains*, 4, 278; 280.
[329] *Remains*, 4, 279.
[330] *Ibid.*
[331] Knox also criticised Wesley for some of the statements he made about justifying faith during his 'middle' period; see above, 90.

sudden conversion to instant perfection;[332] and his appeal to the interior witness of the Holy Spirit.[333] There was also a difference on the atonement, which Knox did not acknowledge. These points will be dealt with in detail below.[334]

These points apart, the differences between Knox and Wesley were minor. When it came to what Knox designated 'the very pith and marrow of Mr Wesley's views, and ... those matters which through life he most prized, most dwelt upon, and which lay nearest his heart,'[335] it was Knox's persuasion that 'there is not one of his own nominal followers who agrees with him more identically than I do.'[336]

The reason for this was that Knox saw Wesley's theology as the epitome of genuine Christianity. 'I know no other instance, ancient or modern, of the philosophy of the Gospel being so distinctly and impressively exhibited,' Knox declared. [337] It was a 'philosophy' which Knox summed up thus:

> John Wesley was anxious about one thing only: the animating of the heart with love. He knew this to be 'the end of the commandment,' the vital purpose of the whole Gospel.[338]

It was because Wesley was so concerned for the Gospel, that Knox regarded him as having developed the Platonic tradition: to a 'philosophical mind' he had added 'no

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[332] *Remains*, 1, 275-6; 3: 468; 4: 278; 282; *Wesley*, 483-6.
[333] *Wesley,* 481-3.
[334] For the differences between Knox and Wesley with regard to instant perfection, see below, 322; for their divergence on the interior witness of the Spirit, see 223-4; for the question of the atonement, see 282-3.
[335] *Remains*, 1, 80.
[336] *Ibid.*
[337] *Remains*, 1, 278. Knox qualifies this by saying that he makes the remark 'in the freedom and confidence of private correspondence,' and that it is not necessarily his 'settled judgment' (*ibid.*, note). This *caveat* must, however, be balanced against the many references in his writings to the high value which he placed on Wesley's teaching.
[338] *Remains*, 4, 280. Knox quotes 1Timothy 1, 5.

less an evangelically subdued heart.'[339] On one level what this meant was that, in Knox's view, Wesley based his doctrine of holiness not on an appeal to pagan philosophers such as Plotinus, as one finds the moderates doing, but on the demands of the Gospel.[340] To understand fully what Knox meant, however, one must take into account the distinction which ran throughout his work between what he called 'teachers of justification,' or 'teachers of grace' and 'teachers of sanctification,' or 'teachers of holiness,' the one group exemplified by Augustine, the other by Chrysostom, '[t]he former teaching how to become Christians, the latter what Christians should become.'[341]

This distinction first appeared in a letter to Jebb dated 21st June 1804, where, differentiating between Augustine and Chrysostom, Knox declared: 'Austin's department seems, rather, on the whole, to have been the laying a deep foundation of practical religion, than the raising of a high superstructure.'[342] Thereafter the distinction became a standard trope in Knox's writings. Because the 'foundation-layers' had been concerned with conversion they had, Knox claimed, concentrated on the human condition prior to conversion, emphasising the sinfulness of human nature and the consequent necessity for grace to restore it. By contrast, the 'super-structure men' dealt with the virtue that can be acquired 'when the immortal mind of man has

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[339] *Remains*, 3, 150.
[340] See above, 164.
[341] *Remains*, 1, 77. For examples of this distinction, see: 100-2; 3, 77-80; 123-7; 148; 170; 226; 482-3; *Correspondence*, 1, 134-7. Knox also speaks of the distinction between the two groups as corresponding more generally to the differences between the Greek and Latin churches in the patristic period: *Remains*, 3, 142.
[342] *Correspondence*, 1, 134-5. Knox thus speaks of the two types of teachers as 'foundation-layers' and 'superstructure-men.' See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 77; 100; 132.

obtained new life and new wings from the omnipotent spirit of God.'[343] Consequently, in Knox's view, they had neglected the fact of 'human depravity and human weakness,'[344] with the result that they failed to teach the absolute need of grace. They were, as Knox put it:

> too little aware that we are not sufficient so much as to think anything as of ourselves, but that it is God that worketh in us of his own good pleasure both to will and to do.[345]

One must be clear as to what exactly Knox was claiming. It was not that Chrysostom and the moderates denied the *existence* of grace. This was evidently not the case, given the role which the Spirit plays in their theology. What Knox was claiming was, rather, that they did not teach the *necessity* of grace, because they did not take into account the extent to which the fall had vitiated human nature.

Although Knox believed that the existence of the two types of teacher was providential, he also held that the division would eventually be 'superseded by a more perfect plan, that of complete unity.'[346] This unity had been achieved by Wesley, he maintained. '[N]ever elsewhere,' he told Joseph Butterworth, 'except in the apostles themselves, and in the sacred books they have left, were the true foundation and the sublime superstructure of Christianity so effectually united.'[347]

Wesley had thus, in Knox's view, remedied a deficiency which before him had marred the Platonic tradition. Prior to Wesley, the tradition had neglected conversion,

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[343] *Remains* , 3, 483.
[344] *Ibid.*, 79.
[345] *Ibid.* Knox conflates 2 Corinthians 3, 5 and Philippians 2, 13. Knox elsewhere makes a similar charge both against Chrysostom (*Correspondence*, 1, 135) and the Cambridge Platonists (*Remains*, 1, 100).
[346] *Remains*, 1, 173-4.
[347] *Ibid.*, 1, 83. See, also, for examples of this theme: 179-82; 3, 78-9; 134-5; 152-3; 170; 483.

'how to become a Christian,' as Knox expressed it. Its attention was directed uniquely to the spiritual advancement of those who were already Christians. Now Wesley had added to this insistence on 'progress and perfection of holiness,'[348] the preaching of 'the necessity of converting grace.'[349] Not only did he seek the sanctification of those who were already believers, but he was also 'zealous ...in pursuing the conversion of his fellow-creatures.'[350]

In spite of what Knox maintained in his *Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley*, it would be difficult to uphold the position that Wesley was simply a Christian Platonist, formed uniquely by the Anglican moderates and the Fathers of the Greek Church. It is patent that Wesley drew the materials for his theology from what Hempton calls 'a bewildering array of Christian traditions.'[351] Nonetheless, as we have just seen, the influence of the Platonic tradition on Wesley, in the form of the Fathers and of the moderates, has been clearly established, above all by the fact that he made their cardinal doctrine of deification central to his teaching. He did not use the term; even so, to quote Michael J. Christensen:

> what John Wesley taught as Christian perfection, holiness, or entire sanctification is both historically and theologically *derivative* and *dependent* on the more ancient doctrines of deification as taught by theologians in the Greek patristic tradition of the first four centuries.[352]

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[348] *Ibid.*, 3, 152.
[349] *Ibid.*
[350] *Wesley*, 476. See, also, *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), where Knox speaks more generally of those who focus on 'guiding men from a state of sin to a state of grace' (390).
[351] Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 56.
[352] Michael J. Christensen, 'John Wesley: Christian Perfection as Faith Filled with the Energy of Love,' in Christiansen and Wittung, *Partakers of the Divine Nature*, 219-30, 223. Emphasis in the original.

It is a judgment with which I would readily concur. Wesley summed up his teaching on sanctification in section eight of his *Letter to a Roman Catholic* (1749). His words are a perfect definition of what deification means in the Platonic tradition:

> [The Holy Spirit is] the immediate cause of all holiness in us, enlightening our understandings, rectifying our wills and affections, renewing our natures, uniting our persons to Christ, assuring us of the adoption of sons, leading us in our actions, purifying and sanctifying our souls and bodies to a full and eternal enjoyment of God.[353]

As Knox comments:

> [A]ll [Wesley] says of the operation of divine grace on the heart from first to last is but an expansion of that single position of St Peter: 'Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by them we might become partakers of the divine nature' [2 Peter 1, 4].[354]

2.2.6. Short Conclusion

This section has analysed the spiritual context in which Knox's theology is set, the context of 'heart religion,' and more especially of the Christian Platonic tradition, of which I have argued that Knox was a part. I described the nature of this tradition and examined the three main instances of it given by Knox: the Greek Fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Macarius, and Chrysostom; the Anglican moderates; and Wesley.

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[353] John Wesley, *A Letter to a Roman Catholic*, Dublin: S. Powell, 1749, 8. Text in Outler, *John Wesley*, 493-99, 495.
[354] *Remains*, 3, 162.

3. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to consider the intellectual and spiritual context of Knox's theology. At the start of the chapter, three intentions were stated. The first was to show that, with regard to the intellectual context, Knox was a Romantic theologian, although included in this definition was the fact that he was influenced by the Enlightenment, which, rather than being the antithesis of Romanticism, was the soil in which it was rooted.

In a sense, Knox can be seen as reacting to the Age of Reason, and its reduction of religion to what he described as 'dry details of meagre morality.'[355] Nonetheless, several characteristics of his theology mark him out as being influenced by the Enlightenment. These include: the value which Knox placed on the scientific method, and his optimism about progress in knowledge; his concern with 'man' and the belief that human beings could achieve perfection; the premium he placed on the idea of happiness; and the desire for tolerance and religious peace. These characteristics do not mean that Knox's theology was created by the Enlightenment, in the sense of being dependent on it for its existence. Nonetheless, they do show that his thinking was shaped by his intellectual environment.

Although the definition of Romanticism is contested, there are certain 'family resemblances' which enable one to talk about it in a meaningful way.[356] As a theologian, Knox displayed a number of these traits. He balanced the stress of the Enlightenment on reason alone by emphasising the affections and the imagination,

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[355] See above, 130.
[356] See above, 136.

defined in the Romantic sense of 'seeing-as-symbolic.'[357] His theology thus had an important subjective element: it was not simply an exercise of the intellect, but something which he lived out and experienced. This subjective element was matched, however, by a firm ecclesiology, which included in it a strong attachment to the tradition of the church, something which corresponded to the Romantic concern with community. At the same time, Knox's interest in the Greek Fathers and their Platonic Christianity mirrored the Romantic return to Hellenism generally and Platonism in particular. Knox was therefore, a Romantic theologian, something which is confirmed by comparing him to the two great theologians of the epoch, Coleridge and Schleiermacher, with both of whom he shared Romantic characteristics.

My second intention in this chapter was to show that Knox was not only a Romantic theologian, but also an exemplar of heart religion. He spoke frequently of 'heart religion' or 'the religion of the heart,' while his work is marked throughout by the defining characteristic of such religion, which is the primacy of the affective and experiential over the cerebral and doctrinal.

My third intention was to show that, in the words of Hannah More, Knox was 'of the Platonic Christian school.'[358] Knox spoke of this school or tradition several times, and those whom he portrayed as its exemplars were the authorities to whom he made a particular appeal: the Greek Fathers, the Anglican moderates, and Wesley. Central to the tradition was the doctrine of deification, and, although Knox did not employ this term, the idea which it represented, the sanctification and perfection of the

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[357] See above, 138.
[358] See above, 159.

Christian through the indwelling Spirit, was one of the most fundamental tenets of his teaching.

In the next two chapters I will develop the points that Knox was influenced alike by the age in which he lived, and by the tradition to which he belonged, showing the impact which both had on his theology in general, and on his treatment of particular doctrinal topics.

CHAPTER 3

Knox's Theology: General Characteristics and Methodology

The last chapter examined the intellectual and spiritual context of Knox's theology. In this chapter I deal with two general questions concerning his thought, before exploring his treatment of individual points of doctrine in chapter four. The present chapter has two main aims. The first is to survey the characteristics of Knox's theology; this is done in section one. The second aim is to describe his methodology, and this is analysed in section two. In both sections I intend to underline the instances, where they occur, in which Knox's theology reflects the age in which he lived; relates to the teaching of Wesley and the seventeenth-century moderates; demonstrates the roots of his thinking in the patristic period; and corresponds to his understanding of Anglicanism.

1. General Characteristics of Knox's Theology

This section analyses the general characteristics of Knox's theology, which I shall describe as: coherent; practical; consensual; eclectic; 'philosophic;' and consistent.

3.1.1. A Coherent Theology

Knox's thought is sometimes described, by himself, and by others, as his 'system.'[1] The term denotes what Knox in a letter to George Schoales called a 'particular way of

[1] For the description of Knox's thought as a system, see, for example: *Correspondence*, 2, 61; 63; 101; 353; *British Critic*, 23, 45, (January 1838), 14; Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox,' 469; Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' cxvii.

thinking,'[2] or, to use a phrase from the *British Critic*, a 'theological panorama.' [3] 'System' also implies a certain order and cohesion, and from this point of view it appears as something of a misnomer when applied to Knox's untidy *oeuvre*.

Knox professed to believe in the desirability of a 'clear, definite, unprejudiced view of the plan of Christianity,'[4] and he lamented that there was no 'single book which directly and distinctly, simply and comprehensively, introduces an inquirer to the sacred science of Christianity.'[5] '[W]e have,' he complained, 'no adequate guide to theological studies; nor any competent key to the understanding of holy scripture.'[6] Despite these complaints, he never seems to have thought of producing such a work himself. Everything that he produced was of an occasional nature. Much of it was unintended for publication in its actual state, being rather a noting down of his thoughts, at times with some confusion.[7] Yet, in spite of this, one can apply to Knox's writings what he said of the scriptures: they may appear as a 'miscellaneous assemblage,' [8] but in reality they constitute 'a most regular system, in which one part is strictly dependent on another, and all the parts meet together in one grand central principle,'[9] like a plant, whose seemingly disparate roots and branches are all connected by a single stem.[10] One may thus conclude that, if Knox's theology was not

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[2] *Remains*, 4, 117.
[3] *British Critic*, 23, 45, (January 1838), 3.
[4] *Remains*, 4, 208-9.
[5] *Ibid.*, 3, 278. Knox was not alone in voicing such a complaint. For similar remarks made by his contemporaries, see Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934, 108. Compare, also, Newman's statement: 'We have a vast inheritance, but no inventory of our treasures. All is given us in profusion; it remains for us to catalogue, sort, distribute, select, harmonise, and complete'(John Henry Newman, *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, viewed relatively to Romanism and popular Protestantism*, hereafter, *Lectures on the Church*, London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1837, 30).
[6] *Remains*, 4, 336.
[7] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface,' vii; 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' ix; x; *Remains*, 1, 369; *Correspondence*, 2, 532.
[8] *Remains*, 3, 1.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid*, 3-4. See, also, 1, 184, where Knox applies the metaphor of 'inward vegetation' to his own thinking.

systematic, his disparate writings can, nonetheless, readily be systematised to produce a clear and coherent structure.[11] Knox hinted at such a structure in the *Remains*, when he commented:

> [W]hat I generally insist upon is the victory of divine grace over human depravity; the filial access to God and delight in him which flows therefrom; the divine faith (or knowledge of God and of him whom he hath sent) which is the root of this religion; and the true virtue and genuine happiness which are its fruits.[12]

For this reason, if one were to ask what the 'one grand central principle' of Knox's theology was, the answer would be the doctrine of justification, which is what 'the victory of divine grace over human depravity' signifies.[13] This is not to say that Knox focused uniquely on justification. As he asserted in a letter to the *Christian Observer*: 'A science is not composed of one truth but many truths, and to fix upon one of them is to destroy the proportion, beauty and perfection of the whole.'[14] Nonetheless, almost all Knox's teaching can be related to justification.[15] The exception is the doctrine of providence, which Knox viewed as analogous to justification, but distinct from it, as having a different object. 'By divine grace, God influences our minds and hearts.' Knox taught. 'By divine providence, he disposes and arranges all our circumstances as inhabitants of this world.'[16] In other words, for Knox providence concerned God's action in the world; justification concerned God's action in the soul.

This aspect of Knox's theology matches what one finds in Wesley and the moderates. Despite the unsystematic nature of his teaching, Wesley's thought

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[11] Compare *Remains*, 3, 137-8, where Knox expresses a similar view of Wesley's thought. Properly edited and arranged it would form an excellent compendium of theology, he writes.
[12] *Remains*, 4, 136.
[13] For the importance of justification to Knox and for his understanding of this term, see below, 295.
[14] *Christian Observer*, 15, 2, (February 1816), 78. The letter from which this quotation comes, 76-80, is signed 'Talmidon.' Its style and content suggest that it is the 'paper' mentioned by Jebb, *Correspondence*, 2, 279.
[15] For the development of this idea, see below, 252-3.
[16] *Remains*, 2, 286.

possesses what Outler terms an 'organic unity,'[17] which allows it to be systematised. At the centre of this system lies the doctrine of justification, considered not abstractly but practically, as 'the religion of the heart, the faith which worketh by love.'[18] The same is true for the moderates. The place they gave to the doctrine of justification, or, more exactly, to the doctrine of deification, has already been discussed.[19] Around this doctrine their theology can be systematized, although in its actual state it is scattered through sermons and tracts, discourses and treatises.

3.1.2. A Practical Theology

Knox's theology may be described as practical because it was concerned above all with Christian living. It was a type of theology which Knox contrasted to 'dogmatic ratiocination,'[20] by which he meant merely abstract speculation. His opposition to the latter did not mean that he rejected an intellectual approach to religion *per se*. This was evidently precluded by his being a theologian, or, as he presented himself, a 'Christian philosopher,'[21] someone whose days were devoted to rational reflection on what he believed.[22] Nor did Knox reject the idea of dogma, although this was not a term he used. Instead he spoke of the 'catholic verities,' which he defined as the doctrines which 'the universal church holds in common.'[23]

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[17] Outler, *John Wesley*, 27.
[18] John Wesley, 'Preface' to *Sermons On Several Occasions,* three volumes, London: T. Trye, 1746, 6. Text in *Works,* 1, 103-7, 106. Wesley is alluding to Galatians 5, 6, in the Authorised Version.
[19] See above, 175-6.
[20] *Remains*, 3, 38. For other examples of the same distinction between 'dogmatic' and practical, see: 1, 435; 3, 3; 4, 292-3.
[21] *Remains*, 3, 151. See, also, Jebb, 'Introduction to Burnet's *Lives*, xxix.
[22] See below, 209.
[23] *Remains*, 4, 302. See, also, 2, 358, where Knox comments that certain 'verities … have been denominated catholic' from 'agreement of the church concerning them.' The phrase 'catholic verities' is interesting. It was apparently coined by William of Occam (c. 1288-c. 1348); see Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility: 1150-1350: a study on the concepts of infallibility, sovereignty, and tradition in the middle ages*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972, especially, chapter six, 'Anti-Papal Infallibility: William of Ockham,' 205-37. Its use subsequently was, however, rare until Knox, who employed it routinely. (For examples, see, in addition to the passages already cited: *Remains* 2, 317; 341; 3, 301;

For Knox, the 'catholic verities' had of necessity to be accepted, because, 'few as they are,'[24] they were 'fundamentals,'[25] belonging to 'the essence of vital Christianity.'[26] The 'essence of Christianity' had become a topic of much debate in the eighteenth century, due to the development of an historical consciousness and the realisation that Christianity was not fixed and static. If Christianity changed, as people came to see that it did, was there, they asked, an essence than remained unchanged? It is what Stephen Sykes calls 'the problem of continuity and identity in Christianity.'[27] This problem may be in the background to Knox's use of the term. It is not, I would argue, in the forefront. The question which concerned Knox was what was necessary for 'vital Christianity,'[28] a living relationship between the Christian and God. This for

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Correspondence, 2, 161; 189.) Thereafter, it became a standard feature of Anglo-Catholic discourse, beginning with the *Tracts for the Times*, something which is suggestive of Knox and Jebb's influence on the Tractarians.

[24] *Remains,* 2, 341.

[25] *Ibid.*, 3, 43. See, also: 3, 8; 4, 244. For the doctrine of fundamentals in Anglicanism, see S.W. Sykes, *Unashamed Anglicanism*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1995, chapter two, 'The Fundamentals of Christianity,' 64-80. See, also, Paul Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church: theological resources in historical perspective*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989, throughout which the doctrine of fundamentals is a running theme. Prior to Knox, there were two major works on the topic. One was Daniel Waterland's *Discourse of Fundamentals: being the substance of two charges delivered to the Middlesex-clergy, at the Easter-visitations of 1734 and 1735*, London: Cornelius Crownfield, 1735, which dealt with fundamentals in terms of qualifications for church membership and communion between churches. The same idea of fundamentals had already appeared in John Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures*, London: Awnsham and Churchill, 1695, although Locke was also interested in what was to be believed for salvation. This usage is nearer to Knox's concerns, but it is hard to see any direct link between Locke's teaching and Knox's. For Daniel Waterland (1683-1740), see http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101028815/Daniel-Waterland, accessed 23rd June 2011.

[26] *Remains*, 2, 341. For examples of Knox's treatment of the 'essence of Christianity:' see *Remains*, 3, 43; 108; 4, 237; 259-60.

[27] Stephen Sykes, *The Identity of Christianity: Theologians and the Essence of Christianity from Schleiermacher to Barth*, London: S.P.C.K., 1984, 81. The term 'essence of Christianity' appears to have originated in the *milieu* of medieval German mysticism. See Hans Wagenhammer, *Das Wesen des Christentums: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Mainz: Matthias Grűnewald, 1973. Its use prior to the eighteenth-century debate to which Sykes refers is not unknown in English theological writers, including Waterland in his *Discourse of Fundamentals*, as well as Wesley, for example in the 'Minutes' of the 1746 Methodist Conference, where he speaks of salvation by faith as constituting 'the very vitals, the essence of Christianity.' See Outler, *John Wesley*, 159-60.

[28] For the phrase 'vital Christianity,' see, for example: *Remains*, 2, 341; 351; 3, 280; 4, 326; 586.

him was 'the one thing needful,' to quote a New Testament phrase he often employed.[29] As he proclaimed:

> [A] consistent and cordial belief in the catholic verities implies the essence of vital Christianity ... [T]o aspire to the life, the health and the happiness of the inner man, which God incarnate imparts from himself, and so to have the Holy Spirit dwelling in the mind and heart, as to be effectually purified by his inspiration, and daily and hourly to be strengthened by his might, is to seek the life and substance of Christianity.[30]

Knox thus defined the catholic verities as:

> The Trinity in Unity, the incarnation of the Second Person, the efficacious grace of the Third, together with the undeniable results of those two latter verities in the salvation of man.[31]

As long as these:

> supreme and essential matters, which must not be compromised by anything ... be left unimpaired, then, I would say, let the individual Christian make his best use of the particular views which he may have been providentially led to entertain.[32]

Knox's concern with praxis rather than dogma reflected the attitude displayed by Wesley. Wesley, in his own words, abstained 'from all nice and philosophical speculations [and] all perplexed and intricate reasonings,'[33] to concentrate instead on 'one thing: the way to heaven, how to land safe on that happy shore.'[34] This is not to say that Wesley disdained all theological reflection, but rather that he wished such reflection to serve a practical purpose, to be subordinated to soteriological concerns.

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[29] Luke 10, 42; see, for examples of its use by Knox: *Remains*, 1, 7; 248; 269; 461; 474; 4, 226; 259; 331; 401; 416.
[30] *Remains*, 2, 341.
[31] *Ibid.*, 317. See, also, *Answer to Duigenan*, 60. Compare, too, Jebb, *Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical*, 299-300, where he enumerated the Triune God, the fallen nature of humanity, the restorative grace of Christ, the transforming work of the Spirit, the joy of a holy life and the bliss of heaven as the essential constituents of Christian preaching.
[32] *Remains*, 2, 315.
[33] Wesley, 'Preface' to *Sermons On Several Occasions*, 3, *Works*, 1, 104.
[34] Wesley, 'Preface' to *Sermons On Several Occasions*, 5, *Works*, 1, 105.

As he put it in his sermon on 'The Danger of Riches' (1781): '[W]hat avails the clearest knowledge even of the most excellent things … if it go no farther than speculation, if it be not reduced to practice?'[35]

Like Knox, Wesley also limited the scope of dogma to a few essentials. For Wesley, as Gerald Cragg explains: '[A]n essential doctrine was one vital to salvation. Everything else represented speculative theory and therefore held a very marginal place in his interest.'[36] Similarly, for the moderates, to quote one of Whichcote's aphorisms: 'Vitals in religion are few.'[37] These 'vitals,' the moderates distinguished from the mass of what they viewed as merely speculations.[38] Religion was not primarily a question of doctrine but practice, they insisted.[39]

In limiting the scope of the 'catholic verities' to what he termed 'a few radical truths,'[40] Knox believed that he was following the example of the primitive church, maintaining that in the patristic period the 'fire of divine love [glowed] without the smoke of dark dogmas.'[41] At first sight, this contention might seem somewhat misjudged. As Maurice Wiles recalls, however, it would be wrong to think of the Fathers as 'academic theologians, whose concern was the construction of detailed schemes of intellectual orthodoxy, bearing only the most remote relation to the

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[35] John Wesley, Sermon 87, 'The Danger of Riches,' 2, 1. Text in *The Works of John Wesley: Volume 3: Sermons 3: 71-114*, hereafter, *Works*, 3, edited by Albert C. Outler, Bicentennial Edition, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1986, 227-46, 236.

[36] *The Works of John Wesley, Volume 11: The Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion and Certain Related Open Letters*, hereafter, *Works*, 11, edited by Gerald R. Cragg, Bicentennial Edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, 23.

[37] Benjamin Whichcote, Aphorism 1008, in *Moral and Religious Aphorisms collected from the manuscript papers of the reverend and learned Doctor Whichcote, and published in MDCCIII by Dr Jeffery, now republished with very large additions, from the transcripts of the latter*, hereafter, *Aphorisms*, edited by Samuel Salter, London: J. Payne, 1753, clx.

[38] See, on this point, English, 'Wesley and the Anglican Moderates,' 214-9.

[39] See above, 175.

[40] *Remains*, 4, 240.

[41] *Ibid.*, 3, 108.

realities of the spiritual life.'[42] Rather, Wiles remarks, the Fathers were 'passionately concerned … to propagate the gospel of salvation.'[43] This was true even when the Fathers seemed to be at their most speculative. To borrow Nicholas Lossky's words:

> One of the first and main characteristics of [the] patristic approach to theology is that it is 'practical' not speculative. This, of course, is not to say there is never any speculation in the writings of such theologians, but the speculative elements always aim at redirecting people's attention to the central truth of the Christian faith, which is Christ himself and the salvation offered in him. Patristic theology is 'practical,' one might even say 'utilitarian,' in that it is salvational.[44]

Knox believed that in prioritising practice over dogma he was not only following the Fathers, but also the genius of Anglicanism, which he described as 'so undogmatic, so purely devotional and spiritual a system;'[45] and certainly, historically, Anglicanism has been, in Paul Avis's words, 'a practical not a speculative faith.'[46] As such, the Prayer Book Catechism, in contradistinction to similar documents in other denominations, limits itself to a short list of 'supreme and essential matters,' to use Knox's phrase, reducing the Christian *Credo* to a statement of belief in:

> God the Father, who hath made me, and all the world … in God the Son, who hath redeemed me, and all mankind … [and] in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God.[47]

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[42] Maurice Wiles, *The Christian Fathers*, second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982, (1966), 83.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Nicholas Lossky, 'The Oxford Movement and the Revival of Patristic Theology,' in Vaiss, ed., *From Oxford to the People*, 76-82, 77-8.
[45] *Remains*, 3, 131. In a letter written in 1789 to the *Dublin Chronicle*, Knox suggested that there should be no doctrinal test at all for Church membership, but that one 'allow everyone to be of the Church who conscientiously attends its worship and receives the sacraments' (*Dublin Chronicle*, 27th-30th June 1789, 207).
[46] Paul Avis, 'Keeping Faith with Anglicanism,' in Robert Hannaford, ed., *The Future of Anglicanism: Essays on Faith and Order*, Leominster: Gracewing, 1996, 1-17, 15.
[47] *B.C.P.*, 212-3.

3.1.3. A Consensual Theology

A third characteristic of Knox's theology is its consensual nature, by which I mean that in his theology Knox aimed at achieving an agreement between opposing views. Speaking of Knox, Gladstone declared:

> his religion is very much individualized ... It has intercourse with the Almighty, but the communication is with his own mind alone. It has no witnesses nor partners ... [It is] an isolated method of religion.'[48]

This was not so. Not only did Knox seek to anchor his theology in the context of Anglicanism, he was also someone who discussed his thought with others. '[U]ntil my notions have been examined strictly by some competent judge, I have no right to esteem them more than probable conceptions,' he observed to Jebb.[49] Similarly, to Parken he affirmed: 'I am ready to hope that some of my conceptions may not be wholly useless, but I can have no assurance on this, unless they pass the trial of other minds.'[50] Nor were these minds simply those of people who agreed with him. Knox was keen to engage in discussion with people of other opinions.[51] 'It is always my wish to look at both sides of a question,' he declared,[52] thus belying the assertion of the *British Critic* that Knox avoided 'the intercourse and collision of mind with mind,'[53] preferring to share his views only with 'a chosen circle of admiring hearers.'[54]

Knox sought to show that most differences in theology were verbal rather than substantial, and that therefore they could, and should be, resolved. As he explained to

[48] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fol. 74, 'memorandum,' 24th March 1835.
[49] *Correspondence*, 2, 532. The same letter from which this statement is taken also appears in the *Remains*, 4, 459-60.
[50] *Remains*, 1, 369.
[51] *Correspondence*, 1, 141.
[52] *Remains*, 4, 505.
[53] *British Critic*, 17, 34, (April 1835), 295.
[54] *Ibid.*

Jebb, when dealing with people of different opinions to his own, he would seek 'to show how far [those opinions] … might be reconciled with those I wished to inculcate.'[55] Knox illustrated this for Jebb with the case of 'an old Methodist preacher'[56] with whom he had had a disagreement over the doctrine of perfection. Knox told Jebb that their argument had nothing to do with 'substance,'[57] but was 'a dispute of words.'[58]

The *Correspondence* furnishes two further instances of Knox's conciliatory approach. In a letter dated 12th November 1805, Knox related to Jebb how he had sought to show the dissenting minister, Samuel Greatheed (1759-1823),[59] editor, at that time, of the *Eclectic Review*, that their differences 'were in words chiefly'[60] Despite 'a good deal of verbal and circumstantial dissonance,' there was, Knox argued, 'much substantial agreement' between Greatheed and himself.[61] The point at issue was not mentioned, but two years later, in October 1807, one finds Knox informing Jebb about his discussions with 'honest Calvinists'[62] concerning 'the indispensable necessity of divine grace and the distinctness of its results,'[63] discussions which habitually resulted in an agreement being reached between both sides. Even if others did not accept his views, however, Knox was not prepared to condemn them automatically. If people erred doctrinally, this, he held, could simply be a sincerely-made intellectual mistake. '[T]hey may be upright in their affections,

[55] *Correspondence*, 1, 141.
[56] *Ibid.*, 142
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Samuel Greatheed, (1759-1823), Congregationalist minister at Newport Pagnell, and co-founder of the *Eclectic Review*, which he edited 1805-6. See *Notes and Queries*, 11th series, v, (27th January 1912), 71-3. The name is spelled 'Greathead' in the *Remains*.
[60] *Correspondence*, 1, 217.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid.*, 381.
[63] *Ibid.*

and however dark in their understandings, they may have the substance of divine love in their hearts,' he wrote.[64]

In spite of his eirenicism, Knox did not avoid controversy. Not only did he receive censure for his views, but he was outspoken in his criticism of the theological positions he opposed. Nonetheless, as Gunstone observes, Knox's work was 'dialectical not polemical ... [H]e strove to find a place for opposing schools of thought,'[65] 'to combine apparently opposite truths,' as Knox himself put it.[66] Thus, for example, in relation to justification he did not deny that righteousness was imputed to the sinner by faith, but sought to extend and enlarge that view, by saying that righteousness was both imparted and imputed.[67] Similarly, he argued that we are justified by faith, but that true faith is always inseparable from good works.[68] Likewise, he did not deny the supreme authority of scripture, but argued that scripture needed to be interpreted by reference to catholic tradition.[69]

Knox's open and tolerant attitude to doctrinal difference was a reflection of his age, a point which has already been made above.[70] It also reflected the position adopted by Wesley. The axiom 'think and let think,' a 'slogan for theological pluralism,' as Outler terms it,[71] occurs a number of times in Wesley's works. One example is given in his sermon on the death of George Whitefield, in which Wesley exhorted:

> And, first, let us keep close to the grand scriptural doctrines which [Whitefield] everywhere delivered. There are many doctrines of a less essential nature, with regard to which even the sincere children of God (such is the present weakness of human understanding) are

[64] *Ibid.*, 2, 352.
[65] Gunstone, 'Alexander Knox,' 469.
[66] *Correspondence*, 1, 170.
[67] See below, 301.
[68] See below, 301-2.
[69] See above, 69.
[70] See above, 134.
[71] Albert C. Outler, 'John Wesley, Folk Theologian,' *Theology Today*, 34, 2 (July 1977), 150-60, 156.

> and have been divided for many ages. In these we may think and let think; we may agree to disagree. But, meantime, let us hold fast the essentials of the 'faith which was once delivered to the saints' [Jude 3] and which this champion of God so strongly insisted on at all times and in all places![72]

'However confused their ideas may be,' Wesley proclaimed, with regard to those from whom he differed theologically, 'however improper their language, may there not be many of them whose heart is right towards God and who effectually know the Lord our righteousness?'[73]

Wesley was not simply tolerant of doctrinal difference; like Knox, he also sought to unite opposing views. This is something which is seen pre-eminently in what George Croft Cell has famously termed Wesley's 'synthesis of the protestant ethic of grace with the Catholic ethic of holiness.'[74] Another example is Wesley's teaching on baptism, in which he strove to combine the high church doctrine of regeneration with the evangelical concern for personal conversion.[75]

The moderates likewise rejected what Henry Moore termed 'that wolfish and ferine humor of persecuting others.'[76] They desired, as English says, 'peace and unity among Christians,'[77] believing that, in Whichcote's words, 'those who are united by

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[72] John Wesley, *A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Mr George Whitefield: preached at the chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road, and at the Tabernacle near Moorfields, on Sunday, November 18, 1770*, London: J. &.W. Oliver, 1770, 3, 1. Text in *The Works of John Wesley: Volume 2: Sermons 2: 34-70*, hereafter, *Works*, 2, edited by Albert C. Outler, Bicentennial Edition, Nashville, TN: 1985, 325-47, 341.

[73] Wesley, Sermon 20, 'The Lord our Righteousness,' 2, 16, *Works*, 1, 461.

[74] Cell, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*, 347.

[75] See below, 337.

[76] Henry Moore, *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness, or A True and Faithfull Representation of the everlasting Gospel of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, London: Flesher and Morden, 1660, x, 14, 176.

[77] English, 'Wesley and the Anglican Moderates,' 219.

religion should be united by charity,' [78] a position which he aphorised as: 'I must not be dogmatical.'[79]

3.1.4. An Eclectic Theology

'I am an eclectic,' Knox declared. 'I seem to myself to enjoy a most pleasant liberty of mind, ranging without restraint, *apis Matinae more modoque*.'[80] Describing his approach to theology as an 'unfettered plan,'[81] Knox felt free to use profitable material wherever he found it, drawing inspiration from a wide variety of sources. His eclecticism was not, however, random or whimsical: 'the light of scripture' was, he proclaimed, his constant guide,[82] together with 'the *semper creditum est*,' the rule laid down by Vincent of Lérins in his 'canon.' [83]

Wesley's eclecticism is a commonplace among scholars. Of the sources from which Wesley drew, Hempton lists:

> the church Fathers, monastic piety, and ancient liturgies; continental mystics, such as Jeanne-Marie Guyon [and] François Fénelon ... Byzantine traditions of spirituality ... the English and Scottish puritan divines; the Moravians ... classics of devotional spirituality ... and the canon of Anglican writers from Hooker to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century high churchmen.[84]

Eclecticism was likewise a characteristic of the moderates' theology. For them, to quote Whichcote: 'Truth is truth, whosoever hath spoken it.'[85] It was their 'general

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[78] Whichcote, Aphorism 103, *Aphorisms*, li.
[79] Whichcote, Aphorism 130, *Aphorisms*, liv.
[80] *Remains*, 4, 147. The Latin quotation comes from Horace, *Odes*, 4, 2, 27-8: 'following the method and custom of the Apulian bee' (my translation).
[81] *Remains*, 4, 147.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Correspondence*, 2, 297, 'that which has always been believed' (my translation).
[84] Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 56-7.
[85] Benjamin Whichcote, 'Second Letter to Dr Tuckney,' *Aphorisms*, 41-65, 57, spelling modernised.

intention,' to borrow Whichcote's words, 'to entertain and submit to all truth whatsoever, whensoever it shall appear.'[86]

3.1.5. A 'Philosophic' Theology

Knox's eclecticism meant that he felt able to criticize those with whom he disagreed, no matter their eminence. He refused to call any human being his theological master.[87] 'To think for himself is the hereditary right of every man born into the world,' he declared at the start of his *Free Thoughts*,[88] and it was in this spirit that he conducted his theological enquiries. His, as he liked to say, was a 'philosophic' religion, something which he contrasted to 'dogmatic' religion, 'dogmatic' being taken here to mean that which was imposed by external authority. As he explained:

> Knowledge can be communicated but in two methods: the dogmatic and the philosophic. In the dogmatic method, propositions are authoritatively pronounced, and implicitly adopted; in the philosophic, principles are rationally developed, and received on conviction. Our divine religion has made use of both methods ... [b]ut the Gospel is essentially philosophical, as implying liberty (Galatians 5, 1), maturity of understanding (1 Corinthians 14, 20), unreserved communication (St John 15, 15), and the giving of a reason of the hope which is in us (1 St Peter 3, 15), which implies that the hope itself has been rationally conceived.[89]

Knox's philosophical theology was characteristic of the post-Enlightenment period, which, while adding to the appeal to reason, by no means repudiated it.[90] It also mirrored the approach taken by Wesley. Wesley admitted 'no method of bringing any

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[86] Benjamin Whichcote, Discourse 25, 'That those who are truly Religious will be Delivered from All Dangerous Errors about Religion,' *Works*, 2, 1-20, 6.
[87] *Remains*, 1, 79; 153; 4, 163; *Correspondence*, 1, 29; Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' xxxiii.
[88] *Free Thoughts*, 2.
[89] *Remains*, 3, 138-9.
[90] See above, 136-7.

to the knowledge of the truth, except the methods of reason and persuasion,'[91] for, he maintained, the religion which he proclaimed was 'founded on reason and every way agreeable thereto.'[92]

This appeal to reason was matched by the seventeenth-century moderates, who invoked it in reaction to the dogmatism of Calvinism and the bitterness of the English Civil War.[93]

As Cudworth declared in his sermon to the House of Commons:

> [L]et us strive with all meekness to instruct and convince one another ... This was the way by which the Gospel at first was propagated in the world ... Sweetness and ingenuity will more command men's minds than passion, sourness and severity.[94]

As Whichcote expressed it:

> The longest sword, the strongest lungs, the most voices are false measures of truth ... God applies to our faculties, and deals with us by reason and argument. Let us learn of God, to deal with one another in meekness, calmness and reason, and so represent God.[95]

Rather than simply being a reflection of the Enlightenment, or the trait of a particular thinker or group, Knox presented the 'philosophic' method as a characteristic of Anglicanism itself. '[T]he Church of England encourages all her competent children to make inquiry for themselves,' he wrote,[96] contrasting this liberty with what he believed to be the 'mental tyranny' of the Roman Catholic Church.[97] Unlike it, Anglicanism is balanced, he argued. It is, he wrote:

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[91] John Wesley, Sermon 112, 'On Laying of the Foundation of the New Chapel,' 2, 11, *Works*, 3, 577-92, 588.
[92] John Wesley, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: John Gooding, 1743, 28. Text in *Works*, 11, 41-94, 55.
[93] See above, 157; 174.
[94] Cudworth, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' 335-6.
[95] Whichcote, 'Aphorism 500;' 'Aphorism 572,' *Aphorisms*, xcviii; cviii.
[96] *Remains*, 3, 297. See, also, 317-22.
[97] See above, 103.

> a combination of mental freedom and mental discipline, of adherence to all that has received the concurrent stamp of times that are past, and of an openness to all those intellectual improvements with which the goodness of providence may yet be pleased to bless posterity.[98]

3.1.6. A Consistent Theology

One of the most striking features of Knox's thought is its consistency. '[A]s far as man can be immutable, I am,' he told Jebb in 1811,[99] affirming two years later: 'The whole tissue of my writing and talking has been one and the same.'[100] It is a characteristic which Hornby likewise noted. 'If ever there was unbroken consistency of opinion, it existed in the case of Mr Knox,' he remarked. [101]

This claim of consistency is surprising, given that Knox spent more than thirty years reflecting on theological subjects, constantly reading authors of many different backgrounds and approaches. It also seems to be contradicted by several statements in his writings. One of these is the confidence to Joseph Cooper Walker, that he did not want to publish anything, because while his writings were in manuscript he could still revise them, but once they were 'fixed in print,' he would not be able to correct their 'inaccuracies and imperfections.'[102] This may refer to changes of theological opinion, although, given Knox's self-doubts about his prose,[103] it could refer to issues of style. There was no such ambiguity, however, when Knox informed Jebb: 'My thoughts grow; new lights seem, every now and then, to open upon me, and to show some fresh

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[98] 'Appendix,' 368. Knox does not seem to have considered the question of a possible conflict arising between his appeal to 'mental freedom' and his appeal to 'mental discipline.' He appears to have believed that reason pointed infallibly to an acceptance of antiquity which no right-minded person could conscientiously refuse.
[99] *Correspondence*, 2, 35.
[100] *Ibid.*, 139.
[101] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' lxxiv. See, also, 'Editor's Preface,' viii-xi.
[102] T.C.D., Ms 1461, volume 7, Correspondence of Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810), fol. 144, Knox to Joseph Cooper Walker, letter, 18th- 19th May 1802.
[103] See above, 59.

object of admiration in the great temple of truth.'[104] 'My mind,' he assured Jebb in another letter, 'has moved onward and seen things, as I have proceeded, in something of a different light.'[105]

How are Knox's seemingly contradictory statements to be resolved? If one examines Knox's writings attentively, one finds that he displayed a remarkable stability with regard to principles: the substance of what he believed remained constant. One can, however, discern an expansion or unfolding of these basic principles, or, as Knox put it, 'the growth of … principles, as multiplied branches grow from one and the same main stem.'[106] As he wrote in 1808, with respect to the perusal of his past correspondence:

> From some such records I am now able to ascertain to myself that, though I have been as busy a thinker as most people, my mind has always adhered to the same radical principles, and that changes in me have either been circumstantial or merely progressive; I should also say, perhaps, expansive. But certainly in no essential point do I seem to myself to have veered about from the age of eighteen to the present hour. My conduct varied much from that time until I was thirty-nine; but not my principles: and yet I was ever, I believe, open to conviction and ready to have embraced whatever could have been proved true.'[107]

One finds a similar statement in a letter to Knox from Jebb. Looking back in 1812 over their past exchanges, Jebb reflected:

> It has brought before me the gradual development of your system, and shown you always at unity with yourself, though happily progressive in your views, your mental horizon enlarging itself on all sides as you advance. I am particularly interested by observing in the earlier parts not inconsistency, but deficiency of view, which, however, is always amply supplied, either from

[104] *Correspondence*, 1, 491.
[105] *Ibid.*, 2, 370. See, too, Hornby's remarks, 'Editor's Preface,' viii-ix.
[106] *Remains*, 1, 184.
[107] *Ibid.*, 183-4.

> more advanced stages of correspondence, or from recollections of our many conversations.[108]

If Knox's theology was consistent, therefore, it was not static. It developed, but this development was harmonious and organic; not a substantial change, but an explanation and unfolding of his principles. It is to this that he was referring to in his letters to Jebb, when he spoke of growth and movement in his thought.

In the 1811 letter already cited, where Knox declared that 'as far as man is immutable, I am,' he accounted for his constancy by saying: '[N]othing can be more settled than the grounds and reasons of my being what I am.'[109] Hornby offers an explanation of what this might mean, when he writes of Knox:

> [H]is views were not singular or his own, but held in common with the primitive and universal church. There could be nothing of fluctuation in a mind that was anchored on catholic principles.[110]

In other words, Knox's views did not change, because they were fixed and settled by what he believed to be the teaching of catholic tradition.

3.1.7. Short Conclusion

This section has examined the general characteristics of Knox's theology. In so doing I have indicated, where this is the case, how his thought corresponds to the concerns of the post-Enlightenment period; to the teaching of Wesley and the seventeenth-century moderates; and to his understanding of the Fathers and of Anglicanism. Having done this, we may turn to the second general question which one can raise with respect to Knox's thought: the topic of his methodology.

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[108] *Correspondence*, 2, 63.
[109] *Ibid.*, 35.
[110] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' lxxv.

2. Knox's Theological Methodology

This section examines Knox's methodology. I explore, first, the basic assumption underlying his theology, namely that it is a science, understood in post-Enlightenment terms as a quest for truth; second, I analyse the elements he employed to do his theology: scripture, tradition,[111] and experience. Annexed to the topic of experience are a discussion of Knox and mysticism, and a discussion of the language which he used to describe the Christian life. Throughout the section I will once again underline, where relevant, the correspondences between Knox's theology and the intellectual concerns of his age; the relationship between his thinking and that of Wesley and the moderates; the roots of his doctrine in the patristic period; and the ways in which he saw his views as expressing the spirit and teaching of Anglicanism.

3.2.1. 'The Science of True Piety'

In discussing the Enlightenment background to Knox's thought, we saw that he spoke of theology as a science, 'the science of true piety,' no different in its methodology from astronomy, chemistry or mathematics.[112] In the post-Enlightenment era, the presupposition of these disciplines was the existence of objective truths, which the scientific method could permit to be known and verified. Knox shared this presupposition with regard to the 'science' of theology, which is why one may define theology for him as a quest for religious truth.

This quest was intellectual, an exercise of the reason; the 'application of the mind to religion,' to quote Knox's own words.[113] 'Whatever views I entertain are,' he wrote,

[111] On this term, see below, 228-30.
[112] See above, 131.
[113] *Remains*, 1, 240.

'the result of the deepest and most dispassionate thought of which I am capable.'[114] His goal, however, was not knowledge for its own sake: for Knox theology was a means of growing spiritually. It is this which explains the paradox of a man who so frequently denounced 'notions' engaging in theological speculation. Knox's attitude was not contradictory: his pursuit of knowledge was for practical purposes.[115]

Knox's quest for religious truth was carried out on two levels. At times, he was concerned with the more restricted question of what constituted 'the true doctrine of the Church of England.' [116] What, for example, he asked, was the true doctrine of the Church of England concerning baptism?[117] What was the true doctrine of the Church of England concerning the eucharist?[118] To answer these questions, he examined the Anglican formularies, and especially the Prayer Book, seeking to discover from them the official position of the Church. But he also went beyond these formularies to examine the authorities to which they appealed, namely scripture and the doctrine of the catholic church.

The other level on which Knox sought for religious truth was universal and general. What, for example, he asked, was the nature of Christ's salvific work?[119] What was the nature of providence? [120] In this broader search for truth Knox adopted what many scholars would see as a classically Anglican method, combining scripture, tradition,

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[114] *Ibid.*, 392. See, also, on the importance of rational reflection for Knox: 1, 185-7; 239-43; 252; 277; 375-7; 3, 42; 72; 231; *Correspondence*, 1, 491. There is in the *Correspondence* a charming vignette of the philosopher wandering through Dublin, lost in contemplation: 'Yesterday, as I was walking in the streets, I asked myself, what is Christianity?' (1,104). The passage was reproduced by Jebb in his *Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical* (97), a little, one senses, to Knox's *chagrin* (*Correspondence*, 2, 252).
[115] *Remains*, 1, 186; 240; 375.
[116] *Ibid.*, 1, 485.
[117] *Ibid.*
[118] *Ibid.*, 2, 183.
[119] *Ibid.*, 13
[120] *Ibid.*, 286.

and reason.[121] Assuming that the truth had been revealed by God in scripture, Knox made the Bible the principal subject of his theological reasoning. The Bible, however, needed interpretation, he maintained; and this interpretation he saw as being provided by the *consensus omnium*, the doctrine held 'always, everywhere and by all,' which he habitually narrowed to focus on the *consensus patrum*, the doctrine taught unanimously by the Fathers. Knox wanted more than a merely academic knowledge, however, and for this reason he added to the 'classical' Anglican triad a fourth element, that of experience. Experience, for him, verified the understanding of scripture in the most literal sense of making this understanding real, transforming it from something abstract into an existential truth.

I will now proceed to examine each of the elements which Knox used as sources for his theology: the Bible; tradition; and experience. I will not examine his use of reason, which was not an authority to which he appealed, but the instrument which he employed to study these sources.

3.2.2. The Bible

Charles Dickinson summed up Knox's theology by saying that he 'studied the sacred scripture with a depth and minuteness of observation.'[122] Knox himself speaks of 'studying the New Testament with the closest application of which my mind was capable.'[123] References to the authority of scripture are thus scattered throughout his writings. The most extended treatment is the undated essay 'Reflections on 2 Timothy 3, 15.'[124]

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[121] See below, 230.
[122] *Christian Examiner*, 11, 73, (July 1831), 563.
[123] *Remains*, 2, 57. See, also, *Correspondence*, 1, 101-2.
[124] *Remains*, 3, 368-408. 2 Timothy 3, 15 says: '... from infancy you have known the holy scriptures, which are able to make you wise for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus.' In this thesis, unless

Knox took for granted that 'the divine word'[125] was God's 'immediate work.'[126] He spoke of the scripture as being 'the transcript of eternal rectitude, wisdom and goodness;[127] 'the written word proceeding from inspiration;[128] the 'written dictates of Omniscience;'[129] 'the sacred word;'[130] 'the revealed word of God;'[131] 'the written oracles of God;'[132] 'the word of inspiration.'[133] 'The apostle wrote,' Knox observed of Paul's epistles, 'and the Spirit dictated.'[134] Such language makes it impossible to agree with Storr's assertion that Knox held a low view of inspiration.[135] To defend his claim, Storr cites only a single passage, *Correspondence* 1, 41:

> It is my conjecture that the idea usually entertained of the holy scripture being θεόπνευστος ['inspired by God,' 2 Timothy 3, 16], in, perhaps, a different sense from what the apostle meant, has kept very many back from exercising their judgments on its structure and composition.

The remark occurs just after a discussion of the work of Robert Lowth (1710-87),[136] one of whose leading ideas was that, while the scriptures '*Divini Spiritus afflatui vere tribuuntur*,' they should nonetheless be the subject of critical analysis, [137] and it is no more than this that Knox is saying.

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otherwise stated, all Biblical quotations are from the New International Version of the Bible (N.I.V.), Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan/ Biblica, 1984.

[125] *Remains*, 1, 248.

[126] *Ibid.*

[127] *Correspondence*, 1, 82.

[128] *Remains*, 2, 410.

[129] *Ibid.*, 57.

[130] *Ibid.*, 141.

[131] *Ibid.*, 309.

[132] *Ibid.*, 315.

[133] *Ibid.*, 420.

[134] *Remains*, 2, 417 See, also, 416, where Knox speaks of Paul writing under the guidance of the Spirit.

[135] Storr, *Development of English Theology*, 90. A similar suggestion is made by Reardon, who cites the same 'proof-text' as Storr (*From Coleridge to Gore*, 41).

[136] For Robert Lowth (1710-87) and his contribution to Biblical studies, see Rudolph Smend, *From Astruc to Zimmerli: Old Testament scholarship in three centuries*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, chapter 2, 'Robert Lowth, 1710-87,' 15-29. Lowth was to have a profound influence of Jebb as a Biblical scholar.

[137] Robert Lowth, *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum: praelectiones academicae Oxonii habitae*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1753, 20: 'truly ascribed to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit' (my translation).

Connected to the idea of inspiration was that of revelation. Richard Niebuhr has argued that at the end of the eighteenth century, due to difficulties inherent in the concept, 'revelation' was a 'word used sparingly, however much scriptures and Christian history were employed in the preaching of the Gospel.' [138] Whatever the truth of this assertion, it was not the case with Knox, who used the word 'revelation' frequently.[139] He saw this revelation, however, primarily in non-propositional terms, as concerned not so much with 'abstract propositions ... [but] penetrating, vital facts.'[140] For him, the Bible recorded 'God's gracious revelation of himself.'[141] 'The holy scripture is itself nothing else but a display of God,'[142] he asserted. 'In every part,' he wrote, 'it unfolds deity.'[143]

Regarding scripture as the intimations of 'the unerring Spirit,'[144] Knox conceived it to be the 'polar star of truth and safety,'[145] the 'one supreme standard'[146] by which all religious teaching was to be judged. He held that it contained 'radically and essentially'[147] all the truths of the Christian faith, and nothing was to be admitted as essential to Christianity which was not found there. 'Fundamentals,' he affirmed, 'must have holy scripture for their basis and nothing is, or can be, fundamental, which is not to be proved from the sacred Word.'[148]

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[138] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Meaning of Revelation*, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006, (1941), 2. Niebuhr refers explicitly to 'Wesley, Whitefield, Edwards and their associates' (*ibid.*).
[139] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 11; 264; 275; 2, 115; 250; 327; 4, 548.
[140] *Remains*, 4, 209. Compare also his statement that 'the Gospel is a manifestation of divinely impressive facts and not a notification of doctrinal theory' (593).
[141] *Remains*, 2, 422.
[142] *Ibid.*, 3, 377.
[143] *Ibid.*, 2, 292.
[144] *Remains*, 2, 421.
[145] *Ibid.*, 4, 147.
[146] *Ibid.*, 1, 246.
[147] *Ibid.*, 244.
[148] *Remains*, 3, 43. Knox is stating here the position of the Thirty-Nine Articles: 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation' (Article six, *B.C.P.*, 397). For the term 'fundamentals,' see above, 194.

Knox thus declared that he valued his own thoughts only insomuch as they were 'subordinate to, harmonising with, and illustrative of [scripture].'[149] It is for this reason that Knox claimed his doctrine to be, quite simply, 'the New Testament view of Christianity,'[150] drawn from the plain teaching of the original text,[151] read without the distorting lens of preconceived party prejudice.[152] The words he used to describe his soteriological teaching thus apply to his theology as a whole:

> I have endeavoured to admit of no human theory whatever, but to derive all my conclusions from the representations of holy scripture.[153]

By holy scripture, Knox meant both the Old and New Testament. As he wrote:

> [T]o conceive aright of the holy scriptures we must consider both Testaments as making up one grand connected manifestation of God to man ...[T]he Old Testament is, in fact, introductive of the New, and the New perfective of the Old ...The New Testament therefore always supposes the Old.[154]

Despite this sentiment, it was to the New Testament above all that Knox looked in his theological studies. Hornby has provided an analysis of the scriptural quotations in the *Remains*,[155] and this analysis shows that Knox quoted the New Testament roughly four times more than he did the Hebrew scriptures, his favourite source being the Gospels, with John predominating. Knox alluded to, or quoted from, all the books of the New Testament, except 2 Thessalonians, Philemon, and 2 and 3 John. Forster, for

[149] *Remains*, 4, 147.
[150] *Correspondence*, 1, 17.
[151] *Remains*, 4, 379; 454; *Correspondence*, 2, 262.
[152] *Remains*, 3, 3; 4, 209; 210; 454; 460; 593; *Correspondence*, 1, 16; 2, 532.
[153] *Remains*, 4, 505.
[154] *Ibid.*, 3, 395-6. Part of the quotation recalls the celebrated dictum: '*In vetere novum latet; in novo vetus patet*,' 'in the Old Testament, the New lies latent; in the New, the Old becomes clear.' The origin of the phrase is Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchem.* 2, q. 73, *P.L.*, 34, 623. For other references to the unity of the two Testaments in Knox's writings, see, *Remains*, 3, 383; 401; *Correspondence*, 1, 71.
[155] *Remains,* 2, 523-5; 4, 655-9.

his part, has tabulated the Biblical quotations in the *Correspondence*.[156] Here again the New Testament predominated. All the books were cited or mentioned, except Mark, Acts, 2 Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Revelation. Luke was the most quoted Gospel; John the least. The majority of texts came from Romans and 1 Corinthians, with Romans 7, 14-25 being the most cited passage, seven times in all. In the whole of the *Remains* and the *Correspondence*, the Apocrypha was cited only four times.[157]

The main reason which Knox gave for concentrating on the New Testament was the fact that 'God as manifested in scripture [is] especially and eminently … manifested to us in the person of the divine Emmanuel.'[158] '[I]t is in the Word made flesh that the perfections of the divine nature are fully prepared and fitted for the contemplation of such frail intelligences as ours,' he maintained.[159] Thus, within the New Testament, Knox concentrated his attention 'above all [on] the four Gospels.'[160] Their teaching being that of 'our Redeemer himself,' they held, in Knox's estimation, 'an incommunicable pre-eminence over all else which was ever delivered.'[161] '[T]he mirror in which we see [Jesus Christ, God incarnate] as he was, and as he is,'[162] they furnished the reader with 'the immediate lessons of incarnate Godhead,' Knox maintained.[163] Therefore, he exhorted:

> Let us, then, as we are most bounden, be ever mindful of what was written for our learning by the apostles of our Lord and saviour. But still let it be our highest and holiest care to sit, as it were, with Mary at the feet of

[156] *Correspondence*, 2, 608-9.
[157] *Remains*, 2, 292; 3, 372 ; 4, 323; *Correspondence*, 1, 230.
[158] *Remains*, 4, 211.
[159] *Ibid.*, 3, 406.
[160] *Ibid.*, 2, 292.
[161] *Ibid.*, 375.
[162] *Ibid.*, 351-2.
[163] *Ibid.*, 374-5.

> him who spake as never man spake ... Let us ... endeavour to learn from our redeemer's own words.[164]

According to Knox, the purpose of God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ was that human beings might be attracted and drawn back to God, from whom they had become separated by sin.[165] As Knox wrote:

> [T]he records of the Gospel respecting our saviour's life, miracles, discourse, death, resurrection, and ascension; what he did, taught, and suffered; and what his inspired followers have written concerning him and the end of his coming into the world in that divine volume, the New Testament, has in it a certain ineffable energy of the divine wisdom and goodness, by which the heart of every serious reader will be attracted, engaged and quickened.[166]

As this quotation indicates, for Knox it was not just the portrayal of Jesus in the Gospels which was designed to draw human beings back to God. For him the whole of scripture was:

> God's own most divine contrivance for effectually manifesting himself to all, in all ages, who will hear his voice, and for leading them by the sweetest and most suitable attractions to their own true happiness, here and hereafter.[167]

'[T]hroughout the scripture,' Knox observed, 'there is a divine magnetism fitted by the author of all things to all the deepest sensibilities of the human heart.'[168] 'All that philosophy has been seeking for is in the Bible,' he believed;[169] and, therefore, he held believed that if the Bible were understood properly and properly presented, the conversion of humanity would automatically follow.[170]

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[164] *Ibid.*, 375. See, also, 3, 385.
[165] On this point, see, also, below, 278-9.
[166] *Remains*, 3, 406.
[167] *Ibid.*, 3, 397-8. See, also, *Remains*, 1, 275, and *Correspondence*, 1, 60, where Jebb speaks of Knox's 'ideas of scripture operating on the heart.'
[168] *Remains*, 3, 388.
[169] *Ibid.* See, also, *Correspondence*, 1, 81.
[170] *Remains*, 1, 244.

But how was the Bible to be understood properly? 'Mere reading' was not sufficient, Knox argued.[171] 'There must be labour,' he wrote, 'there must be study.'[172] One must 'attentively examine' the text,[173] fulfilling the dominical command to *explore* the scriptures.[174] This concern was motivated by his Enlightenment-inspired belief that the Bible was a mine with many riches still to be discovered.[175] The belief was by no means unique to Knox. As Owen Chadwick writes:

> Many divines of the eighteenth century ... looked to find...a fuller understanding of the once-given revelation ... Better texts, better linguistic apparatus, better knowledge of antiquity – the possibility of a more accurate understanding of the text or context of the New Testament could not be denied. It was an easy passage from the idea of improvement in scholarship to the idea of an improved understanding of revelation.[176]

Knox stated that he was particularly indebted for his idea of a progressive understanding of scripture to Robert Boyle.[177] Although Boyle is today remembered chiefly as a scientist, he was also a theologian, one whose thinking brought him very close to the Cambridge Platonists.[178] Knox held him to be 'among the brightest examples of Christianity that ever the church afforded,'[179] and recommended his writings to Jebb as 'part of your first studies.'[180]

The need for the attentive investigation of scripture was also a commonplace in John Chrysostom, especially in the *Homilies on John*. 'It is necessary for us,' Chrysostom

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[171] *Correspondence*, 1, 39.
[172] *Ibid.*, 38.
[173] *Remains*, 2, 253.
[174] *Ibid.*, 1, 448.
[175] See above, 131.
[176] Owen Chadwick, *From Bossuet to Newman: The Idea of Doctrinal Development*, hereafter, *From Bossuet to Newman*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957, 77; 79.
[177] *Remains*, 1, 448. Knox cites Boyle's *Some Considerations touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures: extracted from several parts of a discourse, concerning divers particulars belonging to the Bible, written divers years since to a friend*, London: H. Herringman, 1661.
[178] See above, 172. For Boyle's theological views, see Reijer Hooykaas, *Robert Boyle: A Study of Science and Christian Belief*, translated by H. Van Dyke, with a foreword by John Hedley Brooke and Michael Hunter, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997, (1943).
[179] *Correspondence*, 1, 27.
[180] *Ibid.*

writes, for example, 'to explore the scripture in depth. If we are idle and indolent we will not be able to perceive its meaning. It is necessary, by continual scrutiny and assiduous prayer, to penetrate a little the sacred word.' [181]

Behind both Boyle and Chrysostom stands the text, John 5, 39, 'ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς,' ἐρευνάω indicating, according to Boyle, in words cited by Knox, 'the searching for hid treasure.'[182]

3.2.3. Universal Consent

Knox believed the Bible to be the 'supreme standard' of religious truth.[183] The Bible read on its own, however, 'naked scripture,' as he called it,[184] led to the risk of 'incalculable misapprehension and error.'[185] 'I … become more and more assured,' he maintained, 'that the Bible is not sufficient, and was never meant to be sufficient, for the interpretation of itself.'[186] Therefore, he argued:

> though all religious truth is, radically and essentially, contained in holy scripture, yet in order to attain a competent knowledge and distinct apprehension of that truth, other aids appear to be indispensable.[187]

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[181] Chrysostom, 'Homily 21 on John,' 1, *P.G* 59, 127.
[182] *Remains*, 1, 448. The Authorised Version follows the *Textus Receptus* in giving the imperative: 'search the scriptures.' For the passage from Boyle cited by Knox, see *Treatises on the High Veneration Man's Intellect Owes to God on Things above Reason and on The Style of the Holy Scriptures, by the Honourable Robert Boyle*, edited , with an introductory essay, by Henry Rogers, London: John Hatchard and Sons, 1835, 164-5.
[183] *Remains*, 1, 246.
[184] *Ibid.*, 3, 290. This phrase may well have inspired Jebb's neologism, 'gymno-biblism' (*Correspondence*, 2, 545). The phrase is not, however, original to Knox, being found in Hooker (*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 2, 7, 1; text in *The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine, Mr Richard Hooker, with an account of his life and death by Isaac Walton*, edited by John Keble, three volumes, Oxford: At the University Press, 1836, 1, 400).
[185] *Correspondence*, 2, 502.
[186] *Remains*, 1, 244.
[187] *Ibid.*

Amongst these aids Knox enumerated philology, history and philosophy, all of which he employed.[188] For him, however, the most important aid was the study of God's activity in the lives of believers. As he put it in a letter to Wilberforce, one must 'recur to God's *work* for the elucidation of his *Word*.'[189] Knox held that this was the 'master-key' which would unlock the meaning of the Bible.[190] As he told Daniel Parken: 'To study God's continued operation in his church [is] the truest commentary on what he has declared in his Word.'[191]

Unfortunately, Knox's description of this 'master-key' was, to use his own phrase, 'very obscure.'[192] 'I fear it may not be easy to convey a clear idea of the duty I wish to urge,' he lamented.[193] He began clearly enough, speaking, in language redolent of his post-Enlightenment background, about the whole history of the church as a 'divine laboratory' in which God's 'experiments' were displayed.[194] These experiments, the theologian could not ignore. As Knox asked:

> Would any man of good sense account himself a chemist merely because he had studied and could quote the best books of chemistry? No. He would hold himself but a novice till he had either made or attended a course of experiments in which he saw the laws of chemistry practically exemplified ... Is this less true respecting that divine chemistry by which God's divine Spirit purifies and sublimates our minds and hearts? [195]

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[188] *Ibid.*, 244-5; 4, 380; 587.
[189] Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 31st August, 1818, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 397-410, 408-9. Emphasis in the original.
[190] *Remains*, 3, 284.
[191] *Ibid.*, 1, 432-3.
[192] *Ibid.*, 3, 286.
[193] *Ibid.*, 1, 248.
[194] The metaphor of the church as a laboratory is employed a number of times by Knox: *Remains*, 1, 247; 409; 435; 3, 63; 283; 4, 251; *Correspondence*, 2, 36; *Wesley*, 492.
[195] *Remains*, 1, 246-7.

Knox explained that these 'experiments' were to be discovered in the lives and teaching of 'those who were at once the wisest and holiest men,'[196] a 'cloud of witnesses'[197] whom, varying his scientific metaphor, he called a 'multitude of specimens.'[198] But what were these specimens designed to show? It is here that Knox appears unclear. In some passages he seems to suggest that the way in which one sees scripture being applied and lived out in the history of the church will yield an explanation of what the Bible means.[199] More often, however, Knox suggests that from a study of the wise and holy one can 'learn from their concurrent sentiments what it is of vital consequence for us to prefer, retain, and pursue.'[200] As he wrote to Hannah More:

> If only they are fairly questioned, their collective answer will tell us what the truths are which we should, above all supposed truths, lay up in our hearts.[201]

This 'collective answer' constituted what Knox termed the *consensus omnium*, universal consent,[202] so-called because the 'wise and holy' from whom it was drawn were not limited to one particular age or place but 'were brought together from the ancient church as well as from the modern, from the Greek church as well as from the Latin, from the unreformed as well as the reformed church.'[203] Once discovered, this *consensus* provided a rule by which the Bible could be interpreted.

One should note that Knox's concern was practical. He sought to discover what:

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[196] *Ibid.*, 249.
[197] *Ibid*, 434. See, also, 252-3. The phrase comes from Hebrews 12, 1.
[198] *Remains*, 1,435.
[199] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 246-8; 432-3; Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 31st August, 1818, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 397-410.
[200] *Remains*, 1,249.
[201] *Ibid.*, 4, 236.
[202] The phrase occurs several times in Knox's writings. See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 390; 3, 65-7; 284; 297; 322.
[203] *Remains*, 4, 236. See, also, 1, 249. The 'unreformed church' is the Roman Catholic Church, which Knox distinguishes from the primitive church of the Latin Fathers.

> points of belief are to be relied upon as essential, or, at least, highly *conducive to Christian excellence*, and what may be justly considered unessential, or, perhaps, cumbrous.[204]

In other words, he was interested in the question of which truths were most helpful to a life of holiness. He was seeking not simply to learn what the 'wise and holy' thought, but 'what were the ideas in the mind, which kept up the steadiest and deepest warmth in the heart, and the most absolute purity and charity in conduct.'[205]

3.2.4. The Consensus Patrum

If Knox spoke of the *consensus omnium*, he habitually narrowed his focus to the *consensus patrum*, the agreement of the Fathers, sliding from an appeal to universality to an appeal to antiquity. [206] He spoke of interpreting 'the sacred scripture as interpreted by the ancient church;'[207] of seeking 'to understand the scriptures as they were understood by the ancient Christians;'[208] of '[imbibing the Fathers'] views,

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[204] *Remains*, 1, 434-6. Emphasis added.
[205] *Ibid.*, 1, 435.
[206] Citations from or allusions to the Fathers abound in Knox's writings. Examples simply from the *Remains* and *Correspondence* include: Ambrose, *Remains*, 1, 282-3; 350; 2, 355; *Correspondence*, 2, 213; Athanasius, *Remains*, 3, 66; 281; 292; Augustine, *Remains*, 1, 102; 283; 331-2; 392-4; 350; 356; 390; 392; 410-12; 486; 526, note; 2, 132; 322; 355; 3, 49; 77-9; 127; 133; 142-5; 191-3; 195-8; 281; 4, 281; 368; 551-2; 585; *Correspondence*, 1, 130-8; 419; 543; 2, 213; Basil the Great, *Remains*, 1, 286-8; 402; 3, 211; 282; *Correspondence*, 1, 511; 543; 552; Bede, *Remains*, 2, 82; 152-3; Bernard, *Remains*, 1, 331; 3, 127; 144; 288; *Correspondence*, 1, 127-8; 135; 357; 2, 27; Boethius, *Correspondence*, 1, 98; Clement of Alexandria, *Remains*, 1, 350-3; 3, 141-2; *Correspondence*, 1, 419; Clement of Rome, *Remains*, 1, 284-5; Cyprian, *Remains*, 3, 126; 288; *Correspondence*, 1, 547-9; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Remains*, 1, 486; 2, 156; 4, 464; *Correspondence*, 1, 596; Ephraem , *Correspondence*, 1, 302; 471; Gregory the Great, *Remains*, 1, 65; 356-7; 392-3; 2, 357; 3, 287-8; 4, 551; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Remains*, 3, 211; 282; Ignatius of Antioch, *Remains*, 1, 348; *Correspondence*, 1, 493; Irenaeus, *Remains*, 1, 288; 2, 177-8; Jerome, *Correspondence*, 1, 134; John Chrysostom, *Remains*, 1, 102; 347; 402; 2, 136; 3, 45-6; 75- 80; 109; 127; 129; 132-3; 143-4; 211; 279-82; 287; 4, 333; 412; 438-9; *Correspondence*, 1, 76-7; 135; 137-8; 302; 491; 493-4; 545; 596; John Climacus, *Remains*, 1, 351; John Damascene, *Remains*, 2, 156; Justin Martyr, *Remains*, 2, 176-77; 355; Macarius, *Remains*, 1, 350; 353; 3, 109; 211; 281-2; 4, 333; *Correspondence*, 1, 543; 2, 12; Origen, *Remains*, 2, 486; 3, 145; *Correspondence*, 2, 528; Tertullian, *Remains*, 3, 126; 4, 169-70; 462; Vincent of Lérins, *Remains*, 3, 292; 322-3; 4, 463; *Correspondence*, 2, 125; 564-5.
[207] *Answer to Duigenan*, 10.
[208] *Remains*, 4, 376.

sentiments and divine enthusiasm and then [pouring] it forth in one's own words.' [209] 'I am,' he declared, 'neither Roman Catholic nor protestant, but a Christian of the first six centuries;'[210] his teaching a 'little system of revived catholicity.'[211] I thus disagree with Reardon statement that Knox 'preferred, for all his deep regard for the traditions of the church catholic, to think for himself.'[212] Knox believed himself bound to follow the *consensus* of antiquity.

That Knox should have given pride of place to the Fathers is not surprising, on two counts. First, because of his attachment to Anglicanism, which he saw as giving a special role to antiquity,[213] second, because he felt a spiritual affinity with the Fathers, believing that 'they thought of nothing, comparatively, but the religion of the heart.'[214] Thus, he declared, 'when they treat of piety … they rise above all, except the sacred writers.'[215]

This helps explain why Knox found no contradiction in moving from the *consensus omnium* to the *consensus patrum*. With their concern for 'practical' religion,' the Fathers stood in his estimation pre-eminent among the 'wisest and holiest men,' the study of whose teaching he believed would yield the knowledge of which doctrines were essential to Christianity.[216] Nor did he see any contradiction between his appeal to the Fathers and his stated desire to read the Bible free from party prejudice.[217] Knox did not perceive of his position as partisan, in the sense of being high church as

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[209] *Correspondence*, 1, 298.
[210] *Remains*, 4, 402. Knox argues that this is 'as true of the Church of England as of me, her humble and attached member' (403).
[211] *Correspondence*, 2, 101.
[212] Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore*, 38.
[213] See above, 70-1.
[214] *Remains*, 1, 250. On this point, see above, 197.
[215] *Remains*, 1, 257. See, also: 2, 355-6; 3, 282-3. Compare Jebb, who speaks of the 'superiority [of] the Fathers' as coming from their 'deep acquaintance with religion, not in lifeless theory, but in the full experience of its glorious effects,' (*Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical*, 321).
[216] *Remains*, 3, 283.
[217] See above, 213.

opposed to evangelical, since for him to be 'catholic' was to 'be above all such things as, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos.'[218] The 'wholeness' and 'universality' which the word 'catholic' implies, were, in his mind, the very antithesis of individualism or particularity.[219]

For Knox the unanimous consent of the Fathers was what constituted the catholic faith.[220] Their collective testimony showed what the church had always and everywhere believed from the beginning, and thus it served as the test against which all subsequent teaching was to be judged. The catholic faith was found taught and lived throughout the whole of Christian history; but it could only be recognised it as such if it conformed to the *consensus patrum*, Knox held.

The Fathers as individuals were, in Knox's eyes, no different from any other religious writers. As such, he felt entitled to disagree with them, if he thought that they have deviated from the catholic norm, the *consensus* of their peers. As he told Jebb, he would not 'bow down to the Fathers,'[221] meaning the Fathers as individuals, something which one discovers especially in the case of Augustine, of whom Knox could be critical.[222] Yet, despite this, he found in the individual Fathers much to aid his life of piety and nourish his theological reflection.

Amongst the Fathers, Knox's predilection was for those of the Greek church, which he lauded as the 'noblest portion of ancient Christianity.'[223] The chief reason for this was that the Greek Fathers were the source of the Platonic doctrine which he shared with Wesley and the moderates. But other factors may also have bolstered this

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[218] *Remains*, 4, 138. The reference is to 1 Corinthians 1, 12 and 3, 4.
[219] See, for example, *Remains*, 3, 49; 172.
[220] See above, 69.
[221] *Correspondence*, 1, 460. See, also, *Remains*, 1, 346; 390-1.
[222] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 390-1; 4, 368; *Correspondence*, 1, 132.
[223] *Remains*, 3, 210. On Knox's preference for the Greek Fathers, see Rowell, 'Theological Forerunners,' 43-4.

preference. One was the Hellenism of the Romantic era;[224] another was the renewed contact between the Church of England and Orthodoxy brought about by the alliance with Russia in the Napoleonic wars.[225] Third, the Greek Fathers offered an arsenal of arguments against the tenets of evangelicalism while, at the same time, providing a balance to the Latin tradition, to which Roman Catholicism made a particular appeal.

How did Knox know the Fathers? Some of his patristic knowledge was second-hand, derived from summaries and quotations in more modern writers. Patristic quotations would have occurred in many, if not all, the authors Knox read, but there are a number of writers whom he mentions whose specific focus was on the Fathers. These writers form an eclectic mix, both nationally and denominationally: French, German, Italian and English authors are all cited, Huguenots, Lutherans, Roman Catholics and Anglicans. The work which Knox most frequently referenced, although he often did so critically, was Joseph Milner's *History of the Church of Christ* (1794-97).[226] Other sources to which Knox referred include: Cesare Baronius's *Annales* (1588-1607);[227] Richard Baxter's *Church History* (1681);[228] Roberto Bellarmine's *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* (1613);[229] Louis Ellies Dupin's *Nouvelle Biliothèque des Auteurs*

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[224] See above, 139.
[225] *Remains*, 3, 209-12.
[226] Joseph Milner, *The History of the Church of Christ*, three volumes, volume one, York: George Peacock, 1794; volumes two and three, Cambridge: John Burges, 1795-97. For references to the work in Knox, see: *Remains*, 1, 91-3; 282-91; 296-7; 300; 397; 433; 436; 2, 59-60 354-7; 3, 46-50; 120-2; 126-7; 288; 4, 252; 376. For Joseph Milner (1745-97), Anglican evangelical schoolmaster-clergyman, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101018792/Joseph-Milner, accessed 23rd June 2011. The *History* was subsequently revised and continued by Milner's brother, Isaac. For Isaac Milner (1750-1820), Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, and Dean of Carlisle see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101018788/Isaac-Milner, accessed 23rd June 2011.
[227] Cesare Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, twelve volumes, Rome: *Ex Typographiis Congregationis Oratorii, apud Sanctam Mariam in Vallicella*, 1588-1607, referred to by Knox: *Correspondence*, 1, 596. For Cesare Baronius (1583-1607), see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 161-2.
[228] Richard Baxter, *Church History of the Government of Bishops and their Councils Abbreviated*, London: Thomas Simmonds, 1681, cited by Knox, *Remains*, 1, 426; 433.
[229] Roberto Bellarmine, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis Liber Unus, cum adiunctis indicibus vndecim, & breui chronologia ab orbe condito vsque ad annum M.DC.XII*, Rome: B. Zannetti, 1613, referred to by

Ecclésiastiques (1686-1715);[230] Claude Fleury's *Moeurs des Chrétiens* (1682) and *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (1690-1720);[231] Johann Lorenz von Mosheim's *Institutionum Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libri IV* (1755),[232] as well as its English translation by Archibald Maclaine (1765);[233] and Charles de Villers's 'Short View of Church History' (1804).[234] Knox also mentioned the Presbyterian Nathaniel Lardner (1684-1768), probably referring to his *Credibility of the Gospel History* (1727-55).[235]

Apart from these general works, Knox mentioned three particular studies: Matthieu de l'Arroque's *Histoire de l'Eucharistie* (1669);[236] Jean Nicolas Grou's *Morale Tirée des Confessions de Saint Augustin* (1786); [237] and John Kaye's *Ecclesiastical History*

Knox, *Remains*, 2, 162. For Roberto Bellarmine (1542-1621), see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 182-3.

[230] Louis Ellies Dupin, *La Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, contenant l'histoire de leur vie, le catalogue, la critique et la chronologie de leurs ouverages* , forty-seven volumes, Paris: André Pralard, 1686-1715, referred to by Knox : *Remains*, 3, 193; 287. For Louis Ellies Dupin, or Du Pin (1657-1719), see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 519.

[231] Claude Fleury, *Les Moeurs des Chrétiens*, Paris: Clouzier, 1682, cited by Knox, *Correspondence*, 2, 284-5; *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, twenty volumes, Paris: Le Mercier, 1691-1720, referred to by Knox : *Remains*, 3, 323-4; 4, 486. For Claude Fleury (1640-1723), see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.C.C.D.*, 621-2.

[232] Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Institutionum Historiae Ecclesiasticae antiquae et recentioris Libri IV*, Helmstedt: Weygand, 1755, referred to by Knox, *Remains*, 1, 384; 3, 290-1; *Correspondence*, 1, 575-6; 2, 288. For Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1694-1755), see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 1126.

[233] Johnann Lorenz von Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History Antient and Modern: from the Birth of Christ to the Beginning of the Present Century*, translated by Archibald Maclaine, two volumes, London: A. Miller, 1765. Archibald Maclaine (1722-1804), a native of Monaghan, served as a clergyman at The Hague. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101017636/Archibald-Maclaine, accessed 23rd June 2011. Knox was acquainted with him; see, *Remains*, 4, 92-3. This is part of a letter from Knox to George Schoales, which Hornby has dated as 1801. This cannot be the case, since it refers to Maclaine's last days. For references to Maclaine's translation of Mosheim, see *Correspondence*, 1, 574-6.

[234] Charles de Villers, *Esquisse de l'Histoire de l'Eglise*, published as an appendix to his *Essai sur l'Esprit et l'Influence de la Réformation de Luther*, Paris: Henrichs, 1804. Knox is probably referring to the English translation by James Mill, *An Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther*, London: Baldwin, 1805. For references to de Villers by Knox, see *Remains*, 3, 142-3; *Correspondence*, 1, 418-9. For Charles de Villers (1765-1815), see Louis Wittmer, *Charles de Villers, 1765-1815*, Geneva: Georg, 1908.

[235] For Nathaniel Lardner (1684-1768), see Cross and Livingstone, eds., *O.D.C.C.*, 956. His *Credibility of the Gospel History* was published in fourteen volumes, London: John Gray, 1727-55. For references to Lardner in Knox, see: *Remains*, 1, 486; *Correspondence*, 1, 603.

[236] See below, 358-9.

[237] Jean Nicolas Grou, *La Morale Tirée des Confessions de Saint Augustin*, two volumes, Paris: Chez Merigot, 1786, cited by Knox, *Correspondence*, 1, 372. For Jean Nicolas Grou, (1731-1803), see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 722-3.

of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian (1826).[238]

Jebb listed several works [239] which, in all likelihood, were used by Knox as well: Johann Franz Buddeus, *Isagoge Historico-Theologica* (1727);[240] Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1705-28);[241] Pierre Poiret, *Bibliotheca Mysticorum Selecta* (1707);[242] and the *Ecclesiastica Historia* of the Magdeburg Centuriators (1759-71).[243]

Knox also read the Fathers in translation. He mentions the Latin translation of Chrysostom by Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1563),[244] as well as translations of the Fathers into French. With regard to the latter, Knox wrote that the knowledge of French was:

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[238] John [Kaye], Bishop of Bristol, *The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian*, Cambridge: J. Deighton and Sons, 1826, referred to by Knox, *Remains*, 4, 462-3. For John Kaye (1783-1853), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101015200/John-Kaye, accessed 23rd June 2011.

[239] *Correspondence*, 1, 294.

[240] Johann Franz Buddeus, *Isagoge Historico-Theologica ad Theologiam Universam Singulasque ejus Partes*, two volumes, Leipzig: Fritsch, 1727. Johann Franz Buddeus (1667-1729) was a Lutheran scholar, professor of theology at Jena, 1705-27; see Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Historische Kommission, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, *Zweiter Band*, Berlin: Duncker und Humbolt, 1955, 715.

[241] Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca, sive Notitia Scriptorum Veterum Graecorum, quorumcunque monumenta integra, aut fragmenta edita exstant: tum plerorumque e mss. ac deperditis*, fourteen volumes, Hamburg: Libezeit, 1705-28. For Johann Albert Fabricius (1688-1736), a German Lutheran scholar, see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 597.

[242] Pierre Poiret, *Bibliotheca Mysticorum Selecta, tribus constans partibus: theologiae mysticae idea generaliori; auctorum mysticorum characteribus praecipuis; eorumdem catalogo, ac de plerisque judicio*, Amsterdam: Wetsten, 1708. For Pierre Poiret (1646-1719), Huguenot mystic and an important writer on mysticism, see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 1312-13.

[243] The 'Centuriators' were the group of Lutheran scholars, who authored the *Ecclesiastica Historia, integram ecclesiae Christi ideam, quantum ad locum, propagationem, persecutionem, tranquillitatem, doctrinam, hæreses, ceremonias, gubernationem, schismata, synodos, personas, miracula, martyria, religiones extra ecclesiam, & statum imperii politicum attinet, secundum singulas centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens: singulari diligentia & fide ex vetustissimis & optimis historicis, patribus, & aliis scriptoribus congesta*, eleven volumes, Basle: Oporinus, 1559-71. See Cross and Livingstone, eds., *O. D. C. C.*, 316.

[244] *Correspondence*, 1, 493-4. Wolfgang Musculus, *Opera D. Ioannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*, five volumes, Basle: Herwangen, 1539. Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1563), was an early convert to the Lutheran cause, which he promoted in Augsburg and Berne. See Reinhard Bodenmann, *Wolfgang Musculus, 1497-1563: destin d'un autodidacte lorrain au siècle des réformes*, Geneva: Librarie Droz, 2000.

> a substitute for the knowledge of Greek and Latin, because Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church are found translated into French, when they are not to be met and indeed do not exist in English.[245]

As examples of Knox's use of French patristic translations, one finds him twice quoting Chrysostom at length in French.[246] The first time he did so, Knox related that the quotation came 'from what I take to be a Port-Royal translation.'[247] This is certainly a possibility since, between 1664-90, Chrysostom's homilies were translated into French at Port-Royal, and published under the collective pseudonym of Paul-Antoine de Marsilly.[248] Macarius was not translated by *les Messieurs*, but, of the three Fathers to whom Knox most looked for inspiration, Clement was: *Les Oeuvres de Saint Clément d'Alexandrie* appeared in 1696, translated by Nicolas Fontaine (1625-1709).[249]

As far as English translations are concerned, extracts from Macarius were included by Wesley in the first volume of his *Christian Library* (1749),[250] together with the letters of Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Polycarp, as well the accounts of Ignatius's and Polycarp's martyrdom. This may have been Knox's initial introduction to Macarius, although he later discovered Thomas Haywood's *Primitive Morality or the*

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[245] *Remains,* 1, 262.
[246] *Ibid.*, 3, 75-7; 4, 439.
[247] *Ibid.*, 3, 75.
[248] See Pascale Thouvenin, '*La Traduction de Saint Jean Chrysostome à Port-Royal : Nicolas Fontaine et l'accusation d'hérésie nestorienne, d'après des documents inédits*,' *Chroniques de Port-Royal*, 59, (2009), 97-113.
[249] *Les Oeuvres de Saint Clément d'Alexandrie, traduits du grec, avec les opuscules de plusieurs autres pères grecs*, Paris: André Pralard, 1696. For Nicolas Fontaine (1625-1709), writer and theologian, see Thouvenin, '*Nicolas Fontaine et La Légende de M. de Sacy : de la Relation de la Prison (1668) aux Mémoires (1697)*,' in Francine Wild, ed., *Regards sur le Passé dans l'Europe des XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ Siècles,* Bern, Peter Lang, 1996, 277-89.
[250] John Wesley, *A Christian Library, consisting of extracts from and abridgments of the choicest pieces of practical divinity which have been publish'd in the English tongue*, fifty volumes, Bristol: Felix Farley, 1749-55.

Spiritual Homilies of St Macarius the Egyptian (1721) [251] in the Library at Trinity College.[252]

As well as quotations and translations, Knox also read the Fathers in their original languages, which we find him citing on numerous occasions.[253] The *Correspondence* mentions 'the Benedictines,' the edition of the Fathers undertaken by the monks of the French congregation of St Maur, starting in 1679 with Augustine of Hippo and ending in 1778 with Gregory of Nazianzus.[254] Jebb possessed the complete collection of their works.[255] With regard to the Greek Fathers, Knox explicitly referred to the Benedictine editions of Irenaeus (1710) [256] and of Chrysostom,[257] the thirteen-volume work produced between 1718-83 by Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741).[258] For Chrysostom, Knox may likewise have used the eight-volume edition brought out by

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[251] 'A Presbyter of the Church of England' [Thomas Haywood], *Primitive Morality, or, The Spiritual Homilies of St Macarius the Egyptian, full of very profitable instructions concerning that perfection which is expected from Christians, and which it is their duty to endeavour after. Done out of Greek into English, with several considerable emendations, and some enlargements from a Bodleian manuscript, never before printed*, London: W. Taylor, 1721. See *Correspondence*, 1, 294. Thomas Haywood (1678-1746) was a Fellow of St John's College, Oxford. See Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714; their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees. Being the matriculation register of the university, alphabetically arranged, revised, and annotated*, four volumes, Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1891, 2, 683.

[252] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 7), Knox to Charles Brodrick, letter, 'Sunday morning,' undated.

[253] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 284-5, (Clement of Rome, *Letter to the Corinthians*); 286-7, (Basil, *Homily on Humility*); 288, (Irenaeus, *Advesus Haereses*); 331, (Bernard, unidentified); 331-2, (Augustine, unidentified); 356, (Gregory the Great, unidentified); 392-3, (Augustine, *Homilies on 1 John*); 393-4, (Augustine, *De Vera Religione*); 486, (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis*; Origen, *Homilies on Numbers*; Augustine, *De Baptismo*); 2, 136, (Chrysostom, 'Homily 19 on Hebrews'); 152-3, (Bede, unidentified); 3, 279-80, (Chrysostom, 'Homily 1 on Matthew'); 4, 412, (Chrysostom, unidentified); 551-2, (Augustine, unidentified); *Correspondence*, 1, 76-7, (Chrysostom, unidentified); 493, (Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Ephesians*); 511, (Basil, unidentified); 547-8, (Cyprian, 'Epistle 68'); 2, 12, (Macarius, 'Homily 28'); 27, (Bernard, unidentified).

[254] *Remains*, 1, 486; *Correspondence*, 2, 181; 213; 297. For the work of the Maurists, see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 1066-7.

[255] *Correspondence*, 1, 549, note.

[256] *Remains*, 1, 288. The edition of Irenaeus was produced by the Maurist Réné Massuet (1666-1716) : *Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis et Martyris Detectionis et Eversionis Falso Cognominatae Agnitionis, seu Contra Haereses Libri Quinque*, Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1710.

[257] *Remains*, 1, 347.

[258] Bernard de Montfaucon, *Sancti Joannis Chrysostomi Opera Omnia quae exstant vel quae ejus nomine circumferuntur*, thirteen volumes, Paris: L. Guerin, 1718-38. Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741), monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, was one of the foremost of the Maurist translators. See Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 1116.

Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622) between 1610-13,[259] and, for Clement, John Potter's 1715 *Κλήμεντος 'Αλεξανδρήως Τα Εύρισκόμενα.*[260] Hornby notes that for Basil, Knox probably used the 1638 Paris edition.[261] With regard to the Latin Fathers, Knox explicitly mentioned the Benedictine editions of Augustine (1679-1700), [262] Gregory the Great (1705),[263] and Ambrose;[264] John Fell's edition of Cyprian (1682);[265] and the Antwerp edition of Bernard (1616).[266] A number of these works formed part of Knox's personal library: on several occasions he mentions various purchases which he had made. [267] As has been seen, he also used the library at Trinity,[268] as well as Bolton's Library in Cashel.[269]

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[259] Henry Savile, ed., *Του εν αγίοις Πατρός ημών Ιωάννου Αρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Τα Εύρισκόμενα Πάντα*,eight volumes, Eton: John Norton, 1610-13. The edition is cited by Jebb, *Correspondence*, 2, 131. For Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101024737/Henry-Savile, accessed 23rd June 2011.

[260] John Potter, ed., *Κλήμεντος 'Αλεξανδρέως Τα Εύρισκόμενα*, two volumes, Oxford: *E Theatro Sheldoniano*, 1715. Jebb refers to the work (*Correspondence*, 1, 286), and it is not improbable to suppose that Knox knew the text. John Potter (c. 1673/4-1747), was professor of divinity at Oxford, 1708-15, Bishop of Oxford, 1715-37, and Archbishop of Canterbury, 1737-47. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101022612/John-Potter, accessed 23rd June 2011.

[261] *Remains*, 1, 287, second note. The edition was *Sancti Patris Nostri Basilii Magni Opera Omnia, nunc denuo graece et latine conjunctim edita*, three volumes, Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1638. It was produced by the Jesuit Fronton du Duc, or Ducaeus (1559-1624), using the texts established by Erasmus. For du Duc, see Cross and Livingstone, eds., *O.D.C.C.*, 514-5.

[262] *Remains*, 1, 486. This edition was produced by the monks of Saint-Germain-des-Prés: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Opera*, eleven volumes, Paris: François Muguet, 1679-1700.

[263] *Remains*, 1, 356. This edition was *Sancti Gregorii Papae Primi Cognomento Magni Opera Omnia*, four volumes, Paris: Claude Rigaud, 1705.

[264] *Correspondence*, 2, 213. This edition was *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi Opera*, two volumes, Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1696-90. The edition was undertaken by Jacques du Frische (1640-93) and Nicolas Le Nourry (1647-1724). See Jules Doizé, '*L'Oeuvre Erudite des Bénédictins de Saint Maur,*' *Etudes*, 114, (Janvier-Février-Mars 1908), 94-117.

[265] *Correspondence*, 1, 547. The edition was *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani Opera Recognita et Illustra per Joannem Oxoniensem Episcopum*, Oxford: *E Theatro Sheldoniano*, 1682. For John Fell (1625-86), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101009257/John-Fell, accessed 23rd June 2011.

[266] *Correspondence*, 1, 127. This edition was *Sancti Bernardi Claraevellensis Abbatis Primi Opera Omnia*,
Antwerp: J.Keerbegium, 1616, undertaken by Jean Picard, canon regular of St Victor at Paris, died 1617 (Jean- Baptiste Glaire, *Dictionnaire Universelle des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, two volumes, Paris: Poussielgues, 1868, 2, 1780).

[267] For examples, see: *Correspondence*, 1, 546-7; 586; 2, 213.

[268] See above, 52; 227.

[269] John Gunstone to David McCready, letter, 19th March 2008.

Despite his appeal to the Fathers and antiquity, 'tradition' was not a word which Knox generally utilised.[270] It is not entirely absent from his vocabulary, but virtually all the occurrences occur in a single essay, the 'Second Letter to John S. Harford, Esq., On the Fathers of the Church and on Catholic Tradition' (1814).[271] The exception is the 'Appendix,' where it appears eight times.'[272] The word is useful, however, to describe Knox's appeal both to the *consensus partrum* and the *consensus omnium*. The reason for the word's absence from Knox's vocabulary can be explained by the negative connotations which 'tradition' had for reformed Christians. Knox shared this attitude, regarding 'the ... doctrine of tradition taught by the Church of Rome' as 'extravagant.'[273] It made tradition, in his view, 'an authority co-ordinate with scripture.'[274] Even worse, Rome had also, he believed, introduced 'corrupt tradition,' contrary to scripture.[275]

Knox's attitude is a reminder that for him scripture was always the 'primary standard.'[276] In fact, where scripture was unambiguous, it was 'the exclusive standard.'[277] Only when the meaning of the Bible was unclear did tradition come into play, Knox held. Then it formed:

> an invaluable auxiliary to the sacred word, both for the elucidation of what might otherwise remain ambiguous,

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[270] The same is true of Wesley, in the whole of whose works the word appears only twenty-seven times, usually with negative connotations. See Ted A. Campbell, 'The Interpretive Role of Tradition,' in W. Stephen Gunter, ed., *Wesley and the Quadrilateral: Renewing The Conversation*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1997, 63-75, 65, note 6.

[271] *Remains*, 3, 277-313. Apart from this, the word 'tradition' occurs once in the *Correspondence* (2, 361), and twice in the *Remains*. One occurrence there is in the 'Letter to J.S. Harford, Prefatory to the Treatise on the Eucharist' (2, 169); the other is in the 'Letter to Dr Woodward on the Central Character of the Church of England (3, 67).

[272] 'Appendix,' 369; 371; 372; 376; 379; 391; 396; 397. The word also occurs several times in Knox's letter to Wilberforce of 31st August 1818, in which he explains his understanding of the Vincentian canon. See Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 405-7.

[273] *Remains*, 4, 463.

[274] *Ibid.*, 3, 291.

[275] *Ibid.*, 4, 427.

[276] *Ibid.*, 2, 298.

[277] *Ibid.*, 3, 320.

> and for the specification of whatever has been only generally intimated.[278]

As well as 'elucidating fundamentals,'[279] tradition also served for Knox to help determine 'secondary questions, relating not to the essence of Christianity, but to the well-being and right-ordering of a church.'[280] In these 'not essential but subsidiary' matters,[281] tradition was not, however, to be followed automatically. 'Subordinate matters,' Knox wrote, '[are] not only alterable, but from chance of times and circumstances, often [require] alteration.'[282]

3.2.5. Experience

From what has been said so far, it will be seen that Knox's theological method consisted of an appeal to 'the sacred word and the writings of holy men and his own meditations on them,'[283] a method which many scholars would regard as 'classically Anglican.'[284] To this 'classical' triad, Knox added experience, which he thus made a particular feature of his methodology.

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[278] *Ibid.*, 291-2. Compare Maddox's statement that for Wesley: 'The proper role of antiquity was to clarify those aspects of scripture that were ambiguous and to provide specific implications of scripture's general principles' (*Responsible Grace*, 43).
[279] *Remains*, 3, 43.
[280] *Ibid.*
[281] *Ibid.*, 2, 303.
[282] Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 31st August 1818, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 397-410, 407.
[283] *Remains*, 3, 187.
[284] For instances of this view, see, for example: The Anglican Consultative Council, *The Virginia Report: The Report of the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission*, London: Anglican Consultative Council, 1997, 15-16; Stephen Sykes, John Booty, and Jonathan Knight, eds, *The Study of Anglicanism*, revised edition, London: S.P.C.K., 1998, (1988), especially 'Part Three: Authority and Method,' 85-128; Michael Ramsey, *The Anglican Spirit*, edited by Dale Coleman, second edition, New York: Church Publishing Incorporated, 2004, (1991), especially Chapter 2, 'Scripture, Antiquity, Reason,' 13-24. Alternative understandings are possible, see, for example: The Doctrine Commission of the Church of England, *Christian Believing: The Nature of the Christian Faith and its expression in holy scripture and creeds: a report*, London: S.P.C.K., 1976.

Knox used the term 'experience' in several different ways. One was as the designation of what he called 'a settled sensation,'[285] the consciousness of our religious 'affections:'[286] one is, for example, conscious of loving God.[287] This was not, however, the primary meaning of experience for Knox. Rather, by experience he meant primarily 'a heart-knowledge of Christianity,'[288] a 'knowledge from trial,'[289] achieved when the truths derived intellectually from the study of scripture become known as lived realities, 'matter,' as Knox put it, 'not of theoretical apprehension, but also of felt experience.'[290]

The 'spiritual and experimental knowledge of the holy scriptures'[291] was for Knox something of fundamental importance. '[S]tudying the scripture will not do,' he declared, 'except our hearts and affections are engaged by the truths it contains.'[292] Not only had the mind to be enlightened, but, also, 'the heart must be made to feel what the understanding comprehends,' he maintained.[293] Only then, he held, could 'the facts of religion as recorded in scripture' be 'apprehended as facts:'[294] only then, 'through the teaching of the heart,'[295] could one have 'the surest knowledge' of the Bible's meaning.[296] Knox gave as an example of this 'surest knowledge' Paul declaration in 1 Corinthians 1, 30, that Christ has become 'our wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.' We can know this theoretically,

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[285] *Remains*, 2, 50.
[286] *Ibid.*
[287] *Ibid.*
[288] *Correspondence*, 1, 105. A little before, in the same letter, Knox speaks of feeling 'vitally in your own heart' what 'our Lord and his apostles taught' (102).
[289] *Remains*, 1, 441, note 1.
[290] *Ibid.*, 2, 50.
[291] *Remains*, 4, 556.
[292] *Ibid.*, 3, 388.
[293] *Ibid.*, 391. Compare the prayer with which the *Remains* close: 'Open my understanding that I may understand the scriptures; and quicken my heart that I may feel their power' (4, 633).
[294] *Ibid.*, 1, 30. See, also: 1, 31; 3, 420; *Correspondence*, 1, 21.
[295] *Remains*, 4, 458.
[296] *Ibid.* Compare Jebb's remark that no one 'can do justice to the Gospel who is not personally conscious of its power' (*Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical*, 320). See, also, 193, where Jebb speaks of the Christian becoming, through experience, 'a living commentary on the sacred word.'

Knox wrote, but it can 'only be verified … [when] through [Christ's] communicated grace we become truly wise, truly righteous, and truly holy.'[297]

Experience, then, served for Knox to make real the teaching of scripture. And to scripture it was always subordinate. Knox insisted:

> Whatever belongs to the spiritual welfare of man is, assuredly, in every instance, to be strictly and humbly referred to holy scripture … This is that by which every movement of spiritual life … is ultimately to be tried.[298]

Experience was 'controlled,' so to speak, not just by scripture, but also by the collective experience of the church throughout the ages, the *consensus omnium*. We must, declared Knox:

> correct, enlarge, illustrate and confirm our own individual experience by the continued experience of many successive centuries … [We must] try our lights by their concurrent lights, our feeling by their concordant feelings.'[299]

Because of the importance that Knox attached to justification, he related experience especially to the 'consciousness of the redeemer's effectual grace within,'[300] something which he highlighted as the essential and distinguishing mark of genuine Christianity. As he put it in a letter to George Schoales:

> [T]his, in my mind, is the very soul of the Christian religion; this real and felt influence, this transmutative and regenerative energy, is the very thing which places Christianity above all philosophy and all mere law, even though given from heaven; and it is this which makes it,

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[297] *Remains*, 4, 458-9. The passage bears a marked similarity to part of a sermon by Jeremy Taylor, '*Via Intelligentiae*,' in *The Whole Works of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, with a life of the author and a critical examination of his writings*, hereafter *Works*, fifteen volumes, edited by Reginald Heber, London: Ogle, Duncan, and Co., 1822, 6, 373-408, 403. The sermon, which derives its title, 'The Path of Understanding,' from Proverbs 21, 16, was one which Knox knew well; see below, 237.
[298] *Remains*, 1, 246. See, also, 4, 147.
[299] *Ibid.*, 1, 441.
[300] *Remains*, 1, 516.

> to weak and corrupted man, what St Paul calls it, 'the power of God unto salvation.' [301]

What was experienced however, was not grace itself, Knox clarified, but its 'enlightening, purifying, quickening, spiritualising, and, of course, felicitating effects.'[302] As he explained:

> I do not mean that [grace] is perceivable in itself (our saviour's illustration from the wind implies the contrary) but I mean that the results are so self-evidently above human nature as to satisfy the mind respecting the agency to which they are indebted.[303]

The point that Christians experience a radical change in their lives so great that it can only be ascribed to divine influence is one which Knox repeated several times. [304] One might have thought that his reason for so doing would be related to the problem of the knowability of God,[305] but in fact this was an issue which he ignored. Rather, he gave the argument a practical application, contending that the experience of God's grace provided 'a sure evidence in the heart and conduct that we are actual objects of mercy.'[306] Otherwise put, the possession of grace assured Christians that they were in a state of grace. This was not, however, an assurance of final salvation, for the state of grace might be lost through sin.[307] Knox firmly opposed the Calvinist teaching that:

> Not one of all the chosen race
> But shall to heaven attain.[308]

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[301] *Ibid.*, 4, 127. Knox is alluding to Romans 1, 16: 'I am not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes: first for the Jew, then for the Gentile.' It is a verse which Knox quotes frequently. See, for example: *Remains*, 2, 19; 20; 37; 40; 3, 392; 416; 4, 138; 145; *Correspondence*, 1, 21; 2, 529.
[302] *Remains*, 1, 26.
[303] *Ibid.*, 2, 50-1. Knox alludes to John 3, 8.
[304] *Remains*, 2, 50-1; 336-7; 479; 489; *Correspondence*, 2, 108; 511; 527-9.
[305] See above, 129.
[306] *Remains*, 2, 469. See, also, 4, 378.
[307] See *Remains*, 2, 461.
[308] 'Minimus' [Augustus Montague Toplady], 'How Vast the Benefits Divine,' *Gospel Magazine*, 1, 12, (December 1774), 547. Augustus Toplady (1740-78) represented the Calvinist wing of eighteenth-century Anglican evangelicalism. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101027555/Augustus-Toplady, accessed 23rd June 2011.

Knox's chief concern with regard to the doctrine of assurance was not, however, Calvinism, but Wesley's teaching that the Holy Spirit directly and immediately bestows 'an inward impression on the souls of believers, whereby [it] directly testifies to their spirit that they are children of God.'[309] Cragg calls this doctrine 'one of Wesley's distinctive contributions to the presentation of religious truth,'[310] while Thomas Lessmann goes so far as to describe it as the heart of Wesley's theology.[311] Knox, however, rejected the teaching, which he claimed to be based on 'one single verse ... the construction of which [Wesley] has really, though I am certain, unconsciously, forced to his purpose.'[312] Knox's opposition was two-fold. First, he argued that the doctrine 'opened a door for self-delusion,'[313] since:

> there was no criterion by which such an 'inward impression on the soul' could be infallibly proved, even to its possessor, to come 'directly' from the Spirit of God.[314]

Second, Knox asserted that reliance on 'feeling'[315] risked impeding spiritual progress, since people would be tempted to trust in it for salvation, rather than striving

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[309] John Wesley, Sermon 11, 'The Witness of the Spirit: 2,' 5, 1, *Works*, 1, 285-98, 296. On this aspect of Wesley's theology, see Arthur S. Yates, *The Doctrine of Assurance with Special Reference to John Wesley*, London: The Epworth Press, 1952.

[310] Cragg, *Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century*, 166.

[311] Thomas Lessmann, *Rolle und Bedeutung des Heiligen Geistes in der Theologie John Wesleys*, Stuttgart: Christliches Verlaghaus, 1987, 47.

[312] *Wesley*, 481. The verse in question is Romans 8, 16: 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God' (Authorised Version).

[313] *Wesley*, 482.

[314] *Ibid.* Knox does not do justice to Wesley's position, since Wesley insists that the direct witness of the Spirit is accompanied by the indirect witness of the fruit of the Spirit, which 'immediately springs' from the direct testimony (Sermon 11,'The Witness of the Spirit: 2 ,' 2, 5-7, *Works,* 1, 285-98, 287-8). 'The immediate result of this [direct] testimony,' says Wesley, 'is the fruit of the Spirit, namely, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness [Galatians 5, 22], and without these the testimony itself cannot continue. For it is inevitably destroyed not only by the commission of any outward sin ... but [also] by giving way to any inward sin' (Sermon 11, 'The Witness of the Spirit: 2,' 2, 1, *Works*, 1, 285-98, 286).

[315] *Wesley*, 483. Knox uses the word 'feeling' here pejoratively to denote a subjective sentiment, 'the feeling of a sensitive nature,' as he calls it (*ibid.*).

to grow in holiness.[316] His own theory of assurance was thus offered as an alternative to what he perceived as Wesley's flawed teaching.

In part, Knox's emphasis on experience derived from his historical situation. The Enlightenment valued empiricism; Romanticism believed that axioms were not axioms until they were 'proved upon our pulses.'[317] Knox, however, appealed not to contemporary thinking, but to his Anglican heritage. As he told George Schoales:

> I differ from present fashionable divines in no point more than in this; that they think the influences of the Spirit of God wholly imperceptible ...This is not the doctrine of the Church of England. It tells us (17th Article) that godly persons 'feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things.'[318]

This passage, written in 1803, recalls part of a sermon by Charles Wesley, preached in 1742. Wesley says:

> Our own excellent Church ... speaks plainly of 'feeling the Spirit of Christ;' of being 'moved by the Holy Ghost;' of knowing and 'feeling there is no other name than that of Jesus' whereby we can receive life and salvation.[319]

Knox's words to Schoales similarly recall John Wesley's *Letter to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester* (1763), where Wesley gave a litany of quotations from the Prayer Book and the Homilies on the subject of feeling the Holy Spirit at work in the lives of believers.[320]

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[316] *Wesley*, 483.
[317] John Keats to J. H. Reynolds, letter, 3rd May 1818. Text in Scott, *Selected Letters of John Keats*, 120-6, 122-3.
[318] *Remains*, 4, 126-7. For Article seventeen, see *B.C.P.*, 400.
[319] Charles Wesley, Sermon 3, 'Awake Thou that Sleepest!' 3, 9, in Wesley, *Works*, 1, 142-58, 155-6. Wesley's quotations in this extract are all taken from the Prayer Book. The first is taken from Article seventeen, the article cited by Knox; the second comes from the ordering of deacons, the third from the visitation of the sick (*B.C.P.*, 230).
[320] John Wesley, *A Letter the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop Of Gloucester, occasioned by his tract on the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit*, London: 'printed and sold at the Foundery [*sic*], near

The Church of England's teaching on experience was, however, more implicit than overtly proclaimed. Wesley, by contrast, gave it a central place in his thought, teaching that in Donald Thorsen's words, 'the stated truths of scripture concerning inward religion become verified in the heart of believers.'[321] For Wesley, each believer was able to testify:

> I now am assured that these things are so. I experienced them in my own breast. What Christianity, considered as a doctrine, promised, is accomplished in my soul.[322]

There is thus a clear similarity to be discerned between Knox and Wesley on the question of experience, a similarity which was shared by the seventeenth-century Anglican moderates. To quote, for example, Cudworth in his sermon to the House of Commons:

> All the books and writings which we converse with, they can but represent spiritual objects to our understandings, which yet we can never see in their own true figure, colour and proportion, until we have a divine light within to irradiate and shine upon them. Though there be never such excellent truths concerning Christ and his Gospel set down in words and letters, yet they will be but unknown characters to us, until we have a willing Spirit within us, that can decipher them, until the same Spirit, by secret whispers in our hearts, do comment upon them, which did at first indite them.[323]

Similarly, John Smith, speaking of the 'true way or method of attaining divine knowledge,'[324] taught that theology was 'something rather to be understood by a

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Moorfields', 1763. The bishop in question was William Warburton (1698-1779); see *O.D.N.B.*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101028680/William-Warburton, accessed 23rd June 2011.

[321] Donald A. D. Thorsen, 'Experimental Method in the Practical Theology of John Wesley,' *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 24, (1989), 117-41, 125.

[322] John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Genuine Christianity*, Dublin: S. Powell, 1753; text in Outler, *John Wesley*, 183-96, 191.

[323] Cudworth, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' *Works*, 4, 321.

[324] John Smith, Discourse 1, 'A Discourse concerning the True Way or Method of Attaining Divine Knowledge,' *Select Discourses*, 3, (title).

spiritual sensation than by any verbal description.'[325] The 'true method of knowing ... is,' he maintained, 'not so much by notions as actions.'[326]

One of the most striking examples of the idea that 'experience is the best learning'[327] was furnished by Jeremy Taylor in his sermon, '*Via Intelligentiae*,' preached in 1662 before the University of Dublin, a sermon which Knox knew well.[328] One of Taylor's main themes in the sermon was that the truths of Christianity could only truly be understood experimentally. Thus, in a passage which recalls Knox's words quoted above,[329] Taylor made a contrast between the merely speculative and the experimental theologian. The first, he proclaimed:

> goes about to speak of and to understand the mysterious Trinity and does it by words and names of man's invention ... he only talks of essences and existences, hypostasies and personalities, distinctions without difference ... but knows not what [he is talking about].[330]

On the other hand, that person had a true knowledge of the Trinity:

> that feels the power of the Father and he to whom 'the Son' is become 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption' [1 Corinthians 1, 30], he in 'whose heart the love of the Spirit of God is spread' [Romans 5, 5], to whom God hath communicated the 'Holy Ghost the Comforter' [Morning Prayer, *Te Deum*, *B.C.P.*, 34].[331]

Whatever influence Wesley and the moderates may have had on Knox, the origins of his teaching on experience go back beyond the seventeenth century to the patristic period, where 'many church Fathers testify to the experiential dimension of the lives

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[325] *Ibid.*, 3.
[326] *Ibid.*, 4.
[327] Taylor, sermon, '*Via Intelligentiae*,' *Works*, 6, 403.
[328] Knox cites the sermon in *Remains*, 1, 359-60; *Wesley*, 457-8; *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), 395.
[329] See above, 231-2.
[330] Taylor, sermon, '*Via Intelligentiae*,' *Works*, 6, 402-3.
[331] *Ibid.*, 403.

of believers.'[332] Of these Fathers, Macarius is a prime example. Central to Macarius's writings is the description of what Stewart calls 'the lived reality of divine knowledge and grace.'[333] Macarius went somewhat further than Knox, holding that the Holy Spirit dwelt palpably in Christians, [334] who could thus, as Plested puts it, 'directly experience the life-giving and perfecting action of the Triune God.'[335] Nonetheless, Knox would have agreed with Macarius in believing that, as Stewart expresses it, knowledge is not to be discovered 'in word alone,' but 'in the heart, in all αἴσθησις and ἐπίγνωσις.'[336] As Wesley wrote in the introduction to his extracts from Macarius in the *Christian Library*, Macarius's knowledge of scripture 'was not merely literal or speculative but ... a true and practical knowledge, able to save the soul.' [337] It was a knowledge which, according to Wesley, Macarius had derived from his personal experience; it was a 'description of his own heart and soul.'[338]

3.2.6. Intuition

Knox spoke of experience in terms of sentiment, the feeling of certain emotions, and also, more usually, in terms of a practical knowledge of the truths of Christianity, especially in relation to grace, the effects of which were felt in the believer's life. There was, however, a third way in which Knox talked about experience: as intuition.

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[332] Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, *On Becoming a Christian: Insights from Scripture and the Patristic Writings with some Contemporary Reflections*, IV. C. 'Patristic Perspectives on Experience in the Christian Life,' 147. Text on-line at http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/sub-index/index_pentecostals.htm, accessed 1st August 2011. Sections 147-150 provide a number of patristic examples of the appeal to experience.

[333] Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 147.

[334] Kallistos Ware, 'Preface' to Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, xi-xviii, xiv.

[335] Plested, *Macarian Legacy*, 2.

[336] Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 127. Paul pairs αἴσθησις and ἐπίγνωσις in Philippians 1, 9; both signify the knowledge that comes from experience.

[337] John Wesley, 'Introduction' to 'An Extract from the Homilies of Macarius,' in *A Christian Library*, 1, 81-3, 81.

[338] *Ibid.*

In the *Correspondence*, Jebb quoted the dictum: '[R]atiocination is by no means the highest act of the mind, or the most effectual way of coming at the best knowledge.'[339] This was, he added, 'a favourite idea of mine,' since 'the whole apparatus of logical induction' was inferior to intuition.[340] Intuition, he argued, was 'a higher faculty than reasoning.'[341] It was, he stated, 'the αἴσθησις of the apostle, Philippians, 1, 9, or that spiritual discernment spoken of, 1 Corinthians, 2, 14.'[342] Knox replied: 'Your remarks about αἴσθησις, I quite agree in and approve.'[343]

What was this αἴσθησις? In one passage, on the basis of Hebrews 5, 14[344] Knox identified it as a 'right discernment in every practical instance.'[345] By this, he meant that one knew automatically the right thing to do in any given situation. Such ethical discernment was not, however, the sense in which αἴσθησις was most usually employed in scripture and the Fathers, or in the Christian Platonic tradition. In these sources, αἴσθησις usually signifies a direct knowledge of God, analogous to knowledge derived from the senses.[346] This was also the way in which Knox usually employed the term. Thus, for example, he asserted:

> I own that the love of God, when genuine, includes in its very essence, an invaluable, and otherwise unattainable, knowledge of him whom we love: knowledge analogous to that which actual seeing gives

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[339] *Correspondence*, 1, 363.
[340] For this whole sentence, see *Correspondence*, 1, 363.
[341] *Ibid.*
[342] *Ibid.* Philippians 1, 9 is Paul's prayer that: 'your love may abound more and more in knowledge and depth of insight [αἰσθήσει].' 1 Corinthians 2, 14 states that the unspiritual person cannot understand the things of the Spirit for they are 'spiritually discerned [πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται].' Jebb combines the two verses by speaking of πνευματική αἴσθησις, spiritual intuition or 'spiritual perception,' as he terms it (*Correspondence*, 1, 363).
[343] *Correspondence*, 1, 369.
[344] Hebrews 5, 14 says: 'But solid food is for the mature, who by constant use have trained themselves to distinguish good from evil.'
[345] *Remains*, 4, 382. See, also, 2, 334.
[346] For the use and meanings of the word in the New Testament and the Fathers, see Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 116-38.

> of colours, actual hearing of melody or harmony; or actual tasting of flavours. Perhaps the last is the truest analogy: εἴπερ ἐγεύσασθε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος. [347]

One should note how in this passage Knox links the intuitive knowledge of God to love. This is because, for Knox, love was a form of knowledge. One could, he held, 'take cognisance of the supreme being through the medium of love,'[348] by which one was lifted up and united to God. This was why he affirmed that 'the love of God ... is ... the substantial commencement of heaven on earth,'[349] or, as he expressed it in a letter to Parken, 'an anticipation of heaven.'[350] Knox told Parken:

> the thoughts of our hearts may be so cleansed, as to admit of our loving God perfectly; and ... we may, in heart and mind, ascend with Christ into the heavens and there with him continually dwell.[351]

Although the intuitive knowledge of God was direct and intimate, it could not be used for theological discourse, Knox held,[352] because it was beyond articulation. One could not describe what one knew. To quote Knox: '[T]hought [becomes] bewildered and lost, the moment that it enters into this boundless brightness,'[353] by which he meant the infinite majesty of the divine being. This was why Knox argued that ordinarily 'knowledge of God is' was 'to be sought for in the works of God:' [354] creation, providence and redemption, the knowledge of which is proportionate to human capacities.[355] Knowledge of these works helped to increase one's love for God,

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[347] *Remains*, 1, 326. Knox quotes in Greek 1 Peter 2, 3: 'now that you have tasted that the Lord is good.'
[348] *Remains*, 1, 327.
[349] *Ibid.*, 2, 373.
[350] *Ibid.*, 1, 359. The idea of the present Christian life as an 'anticipation of heaven' occurs a number of times in Knox's writings. See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 326; 2, 102; 256; 322-3; 3, 435; 437; *Correspondence*, 2, 574.
[351] *Remains*, 1, 358. Knox's language here is based on the Book of Common Prayer: the Collect for Purity at the start of Holy Communion, and the Collect for Ascension Day (*B.C.P.*, 180; 122).
[352] *Remains*, 1, 326.
[353] *Ibid.*, 327.
[354] *Ibid.*, 322.
[355] *Ibid.*, 322-3. See, also, below, 245.

which Knox held could not be done through intuitive knowledge. 'He who is most clearly conscious of loving God above all things must, I conceive, be also sensible that he has no direct power of heightening that love,' he held.[356]

Knox's teaching on intuition was similar to Wesley's, to whom Knox explicitly appealed in defence of his position on this issue. He evoked Wesley's view of:

> the spiritual sense, the divinely produced organ of the inner man, which holds commerce with those glorious objects and transmits the impression of them to the imagination, the affections and the judgment, as the eye transmits the image formed on its retina to the sentient principle.[357]

An example of this doctrine in Wesley is furnished by the *Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Learning*, in which he writes:

> [S]eeing our ideas are not innate, but must all originally come from our senses, it is certainly necessary that you have senses capable of discerning [the things of God] ... spiritual senses, exercised to discern spiritual good and evil [Hebrews 5, 14]. It is necessary that you have the hearing ear and the seeing eye, emphatically so called; that you have a new class of senses opened in your soul, not depending on organs of flesh and blood, to be 'the evidence of things not seen' [Hebrews 11, 1], as your bodily senses are of visible things; to be avenues to the invisible world; to discern spiritual objects; to furnish you with ideas of what the outward 'eye hath not seen, neither the ear heard' [1 Corinthians 2, 9].[358]

To quote from his sermon on 'The Great Privilege of those that are Born of God' (1748), when a person comes to belief, all the spiritual senses of the soul are awakened:

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[356] *Ibid.*, 326.

[357] *Ibid.*, 3, 164. See, also, *Wesley*, 497. For Wesley's doctrine of the spiritual senses, see Mark Thomas Mealey. 'Taste and See that the Lord is Good: John Wesley in the Christian Tradition of Spiritual Sensation,' Ph.D. thesis, Toronto School of Theology, 2006. Mealey's conclusions have been published in Paul L. Gavrilyuk and Sarah Coakley, eds, *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 241-56.

[358] Wesley, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, 32, *Works*, 11, 45-94, 56-7.

> The eyes of his understanding are now open and he 'seeth him that is invisible' [Hebrews 11: 27] ... His ears are now opened ... [h]e hears and obeys the heavenly calling ... All his spiritual senses being now awakened, he has a clear intercourse with the invisible world. And hence he knows more and more of the things which before it could not enter into his heart to conceive.[359]

The same teaching appeared in the Cambridge Platonist John Smith, to whom Knox also explicitly appealed.[360] God, declared Smith, was:

> best discerned νοερᾷ ἐπαφῇ, as Plotinus phraseth it, by an intellectual touch of him [*Enneads*, 1, 2, 6]. We must 'see with our eyes and hear with our ears and our hands must handle the word of life,' that I may express it in Saint John's words [1 John 1, 1]. Ἔστι καὶ ψυχῆς αἴσθησις τις, the soul itself hath its sense, as well the body; and, therefore David, when he would teach us how to know what the divine goodness is, calls us not to speculation but sensation: 'Taste and see how good the Lord is' [Psalm 34, 8].[361]

Later in the same discourse Smith turned again to this theme, remarking that by a conversion from a carnal to a spiritual life one could:

> converse with God τῷ νῷ [intuitively], whereas before we conversed with him only τῇ διανοίᾳ, with our discursive faculty, as the Platonists are wont to distinguish. Before we laid hold on him only λόγῳ ἀποδεικτικῷ, with a struggling, agonistical and contentious reason, hotly combating with difficulties and sharp contests of diverse opinions, and labouring in itself, in its deductions of one thing from another. We shall then fasten our minds upon him λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῷ, with such a serene understanding, γαλήνῃ νοερᾷ, such an intellectual calmness and serenity as will present us with a blissful, steady and invariable sight of him.[362]

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[359] John Wesley, Sermon 19, 'The Great Privilege of those that are Born of God', 1, 9-10, *Works*, 1, 431-43, 435.
[360] *Remains*, 4, 91. In the same passage, Knox also appeals to the authority of Scougal.
[361] Smith, Discourse 1, 'A Discourse concerning the True Way or Method of Attaining Divine Knowledge,' *Select Discourses*, 5.
[362] *Ibid.*, 20.

The idea of the spiritual senses to which Smith, Wesley and Knox all appealed, had its genesis in the Fathers, and more specifically in Origen (185-254).[363] It was an important feature of the Macarian homilies, where, as Maloney says, 'Macarius often uses the doctrine of the spiritual senses that the Holy Spirit develops in the process of divinisation.'[364] For instance, to take the sense of sight, Macarius writes: '[T]he luminous world of the Godhead [cannot] be touched or seen with physical eyes. But to those who are spiritual, namely, who see with the eyes of the heart ... the world of divine light lies revealed.'[365]

Both when he invoked the authority of Wesley and Smith, Knox identified the 'spiritual senses' as simply a metaphor for faith.[366] From what we have been saying in this sub-section, however, it is clear that Knox's concept of the spiritual senses was richer than this, although the exact relationship between faith and the spiritual senses was not one which he explored.

3.2.7. Mysticism

In his book *The Foundations of Mysticism* (1991), Bernard McGinn writes:

> [T]he mystical element in Christianity is that part of its beliefs and practices that concerns the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the reaction to what can be described as the immediate or direct presence of God.[367]

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[363] Karl Rahner, 'The Spiritual Senses according to Origen,' in *Theological Investigations: Volume 16: Experience of the Spirit: Source of Theology*, translated by David Morland, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1979, 81-103. The essay originally appeared as '*Le Début d'une Doctrine des Cinque Sens Spirituelles chez Origène,' Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 13, (1932), 113-45.

[364] Maloney, *Pseudo Macarius*, 272, note 5. See, for example: 115-6; 140; 170; 202. See, too, the résumé of Macarius's teaching given by Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, 124-6.

[365] *Ibid.*, 109. 'The face of the soul is unveiled,' he writes elsewhere, 'and it gazes with fixed eyes upon the heavenly bridegroom, face to face, in a spiritual and ineffable light' (89).

[366] *Remains*, 3, 164; 4, 90-1; *Wesley*, 497.

[367] Bernard McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century*, hereafter, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, London: S.C.M. Press, 1991, xvii.

On this definition Knox may be classed as a mystic, because 'the consciousness of ... the immediate or direct presence of God' was contained in his understanding of experience. It is a designation which, however, he would have refused. Rather than promoting anything unusual or extraordinary, he saw himself as simply maintaining the teaching of scripture, [368] 'all the earlier Fathers,'[369] and the Church of England,[370] something which, paradoxically, the consensus of modern scholarship would see as an indication of mysticism. According to this consensus mysticism is, as McGinn says, 'not a special higher or elite form of Christian perfection, but rather a part of the *exigence* of the life of faith itself.'[371] To quote the dictum of Marie-Dominique Chenu: '*La vie mystique n'est autre, en son fond, que la vie chrétienne.*'[372]

Knox, however, did not understand mysticism in this way. His views on the subject appear most clearly in a letter written in 1811 to Daniel Parken, explaining why he had declined to write a notice on Charles Butler's *Life of Fénelon,* (1810) [373] for the *Eclectic Review*, of which Parken was then the editor. [374]

Knox described Fénelon as a 'modern mystic.'[375] It was a designation which he likewise bestowed on several other figures, including Miguel de Molinos (c. 1628-

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[368] *Remains*, 1, 346-50.
[369] *Ibid.*, 350.
[370] *Ibid.,* 355-61.
[371] McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, 290.
[372] Dominique-Marie Chenu, '*Une Théologie de la Vie Mystique*,' *La Vie Spirituelle*, 50, (1937), 49, quoted McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism*, 424, note 88, 'the mystical life is, in fact, nothing other than the Christian life.'
[373] Charles Butler, *Life of Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambray*, two volumes, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1810. For Charles Butler (1750-1832), Roman Catholic lawyer and writer, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101004179/Charles-Butler, accessed 1st August 2011. François Fénelon (1651-1715) appears a number of times in Knox's writings, usually in a negative light, as will be demonstrated in this section. Despite his rejection of what he termed Fénelon's 'peculiarities,' (*Remains*, 1, 321) Knox still found in him 'much ... to admire and love,' (*ibid.*) describing his piety as 'pure and exalted' (*ibid.*). For Fénelon, see, besides Butler, Marcel Raymond, *Fénelon*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1967.
[374] 'Letter to D. Parken, Esq., On the Character of Mysticism,' *Remains*, 1, 318-66. See, also, *Correspondence*, 2, 30-1, where Knox summarises the letter for Jebb. See, too, *Correspondence*, 1, 512-1 9, where Knox discusses mysticism with Jebb.
[375] *Remains*, 1, 322; 351.

96),[376] William Law (1686-1761),[377] Madame Guyon (1648-1717),[378] 'and all the German mystics.'[379] Knox was critical of these 'modern' mystics on several grounds. First, their teaching was, he argued, contrary to 'that nature which God has formed us with.'[380] What mattered to the modern mystics was, Knox alleged, 'the mere mind itself:'[381] all the rest of human nature was to be suppressed, and even the mind was to be 'absorbed in God.'[382]

Knox further contended that mysticism was also contrary to 'that Word which [God] has provided to be our guide and that providence by which he ordereth all things both in heaven and in earth.'[383] Knox held that because contemplation of 'the infinite, essential Godhead'[384] was beyond the power of the human intellect, 'mirrors of God's own preparation'[385] had been provided, in which God could be known in ways adapted to human nature: 'creation, providence, and the gospel scheme.'[386] The incompatibility of the 'gospel scheme' with mysticism was a point which Knox particularly stressed. Turning to the contemplation of the divine essence, the mystics were turning away from Christ, he maintained. As he told Parken:

> [M]y great charge against the mystics is that they draw the mind from the study of God in these his appointed ways and seek to engage in ... direct and immediate contemplation [of the Godhead] ... Mysticism ... I

[376] *Remains*, 1, 344. For Miguel de Molinos (c. 1628-96), see Cross and Livingstone, eds., *O.D.C.C.*, 1107.
[377] *Remains*, 1, 340-4; *Correspondence*, 2, 31. For William Law (1686-1761), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101016154/William-Law, accessed 23rd June 2011.
[378] *Remains*, 1, 344. For Madame Jeanne Guyon, (1648-1717), see Cross and Livingstone, eds, *O.D.C.C.*, 728-9.
[379] *Correspondence*, 2, 31. See, also, *Remains*, 1, 351. For the medieval German mystics, see Bernard McGinn, *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany: 1300-1500*, New York: Crossroad Publishing, 2005.
[380] *Correspondence*, 2, 30.
[381] *Ibid.*
[382] *Ibid.* See, also, *Remains*, 1, 339-40.
[383] *Correspondence*, 2, 30. Knox quotes the collect for the eighth Sunday after Trinity; see *B.C.P.*, 138.
[384] *Remains*, 1, 327. 'What,' he asks, 'can be more overwhelming, or more hopelessly inscrutable ?' (*ibid.*)
[385] *Ibid.*, 323.
[386] *Ibid.*

> conceive to be hostile to Christianity because it necessarily disqualifies the mind for that distinct and intelligent contemplation of Immanuel, to which we are called by all and every trait, however minute, of the evangelic records.[387]

Gunstone has suggested that the nature of Knox's mental affliction contributed to his distrust of mysticism:

> The Quietist movement did give the impression, at least to Knox, that to be a mystic you were taken to realities beyond scripture and reason and personal control, something which would have been very threatening to someone who had a history of nervous complaints.[388]

Whatever the truth of this suggestion, Knox's views on mysticism corresponded to those of Wesley, to whose 'testimony' on this issue Knox professed to 'attach inexpressible value and importance.'[389] Knox summed up these views by saying that, despite a 'liberal indulgence'[390] towards mystics:

> [Wesley] conceived not that the conscious spirit of man was to be lost and, as it were annihilated in the immensity of God, but that it was to be so united to him in love as to be not less rationally than morally satisfied with his infinite fullness.[391]

If Knox rejected 'modern' mysticism, this was by not the case with the teaching of those whom he termed the 'the old mystics ... the ancient spiritualists,' such as Clement and Macarius.[392] As we have seen, he believed that their doctrine was marred by 'extravagance'[393] and 'exaggeration;'[394] nevertheless, he fully approved of

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[387] *Ibid.*, 324; 333.
[388] John Gunstone, letter to David McCready, 19th March 2008. The Quietist movement was the movement with which Fénelon was associated.
[389] *Wesley*, 472.
[390] *Ibid.*, 454. Far from being 'indulgent' towards the mystics, Wesley was, in fact, trenchant in his rejection of mysticism, declaring it to be 'poisonous' (*Journal*, 7, 457, entry for 15th December 1788) and 'one great anti-Christ,' although he later retracted the second statement as 'far too strong' (*Some Remarks on Mr Hill's Farrago Double-Distilled*, Bristol: William Pine, 1773, 34).
[391] *Wesley*, 472. See, also, 454.
[392] *Remains*, 1, 351.
[393] *Ibid.*
[394] *Ibid.*, 353. See, above, 166-7.

what he understood as the essence of their position, the portrayal of the Christian life as a progression from 'a mere state of grace,'[395] to a state of what Knox described, in St John's words, as 'perfect love.'[396]

3.2.8. Piety, Religion, and Spirituality

The way in which Knox defined his understanding of the Christian life was not in terms of mysticism, but in terms of 'piety.' For him, '[p]iety [was] the grand object' of the Christian life.[397] He defined it as love, quoting in Greek 1 Timothy 1, 5: τὸ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη.[398] Another word which he frequently used to describe the Christian life was 'religion,'[399] which, once again, he defined in terms of love. As he informed George Schoales:

> By religion, I mean a steady choice of, and affectionate adherence to God, as the paramount object of our hearts and the supreme sum and centre of our happiness; and by the religion of the Gospel, I mean the same great end pursued under those more familiarising, yet more elevating, views, and with an adequate knowledge of and cordial relish for those multiplied and invaluable aids, which the grand and gracious system of 'God manifest in the flesh' [1 Timothy 3, 16, Authorised Version] implies.[400]

Knox occasionally employed the word 'spirituality' and its cognates in relation to the Christian life, being one of the first English writers to do so, a fact noted by the *Oxford English Dictionary*.[401] For example, in his letter to Parken on mysticism Knox

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[395] *Remains*, 1, 349.
[396] *Ibid.*, 353; 358. Knox is alluding to 1 John 4, 18: 'Perfect love drives out fear.'
[397] *Remains*, 1, 407.
[398] *Ibid.*, 'the goal of the commandment is love.' See, also, 112.
[399] For the usage of both 'religion' and 'piety,' one may compare Knox with Schleiermacher; see above, 151, note 144.
[400] *Remains*, 4, 140.
[401] Http://dictionary.oed.com, 'Spirituality,' accessed 22nd July 2010.

utilised the word 'spirituality' and the phrase 'spiritual writer' once each,[402] while twice speaking of the 'ancient spiritualists.'[403] It is possible that Knox's usage of the word derived from the French, where *spiritualité* was widely employed in the seventeenth century, prior to *le crépescule des mystiques.*[404] Possibly, too, Knox took the word directly from the Greek term πνευματικός, used by Paul in 1 Corinthians 3, 1, a verse to which Knox appealed several times when distinguishing between Christians simply in a state of grace and those who had moved on to 'perfect love.'[405] It is a word which he would have likewise found frequently in Clement, Macarius and Chrysostom. Whatever its origin, the use of the term 'spiritual' to describe the Christian life fitted in well with Knox's understanding of that life as one animated by the Holy Spirit.

3.2 9. Short Conclusion

This section has addressed the question of Knox's methodology. It began by examining his understanding of theology as a science, viewed in post-Enlightenment terms as a quest for religious truth. It then looked at the elements which he employed in this quest: scripture; tradition, understood as a study of both the *consensus omnium* and the *consensus patrum*; and experience. The discussion of experience included a survey of Knox's teaching about intuition and led into a discussion of his relationship to mysticism, followed by a survey of the terms which he employed to describe the Christian life.

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[402] *Remains*, 1, 350; 355.
[403] *Ibid.*, 351; 352.
[404] See on this point, Bernard McGinn, 'The Letter and the Spirit: Spirituality as an Academic Discipline,' in Elizabeth A. Dreyer and Mark S. Burrows, eds., *Minding the Spirit: The Study of Christian Spirituality*, Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005, 25-41, 27-8.
[405] *Remains*, 4, 331; 449.

3. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been two-fold. The first aim was to delineate the general characteristics of Knox's theology, which, in the first section, I demonstrated to be: coherent; practical; consensual; eclectic; philosophic, and consistent. The second aim of the chapter was to explore Knox's methodology, which I did in section two, showing that Knox conceived of theology as a science, understood as an intellectual quest for truth, although in Knox's case this quest was undertaken with the practical purpose of growing in holiness. Knox pursued his quest at two levels. One level concerned the teaching of the Church of England, which he examined using the Church's formularies and the authorities to which the formularies pointed: scripture and tradition. The other level was universal and general, although Knox's description of himself as basing his theology on 'the sacred word and the writings of holy men and his own meditations on them'[406] corresponds to what many would see as the 'classical Anglican' appeal to scripture, tradition, and reason. Knox added to this 'classical' appeal a fourth element, that of experience. The chapter analysed Knox's use of these elements: scripture; tradition, understood as the *consensus omnium* and the *consensus patrum*; and experience, including his doctrine of the 'spiritual senses.' The question of experience raised the issue of the link between Knox and mysticism, and of the ways in which he spoke about the Christian life. Included in this discussion was the point that Knox was one of the first English writers to speak of this life in terms of 'spirituality.'

In examining the characteristics of Knox's theology and his methodology, there are four conclusions which I want to draw. First, is the conclusion that Knox's theology reflected the concerns of his age, further confirming my argument in chapter two that

[406] See above, 230.

Knox was a Romantic theologian. This appears most clearly in his methodology. Knox conceived of theology as a science, which, like the other sciences, he was optimistic would advance and progress. Thus he spoke of scripture as being capable of further and deeper exploration, while his understanding of tradition was presented in terms of studying 'experiments'[407] and 'specimens' [408] in the divine 'laboratory' of the church.[409] Especially indicative of the *zeitgeist*, was the appeal he made to experience, which reflected alike a concern with empiricism, as well as with the importance of the subjective element in religion.

Second, from this chapter we can conclude that there is a clear correspondence between Knox's theology and that of Wesley and the seventeenth-century Anglican moderates, those whom he held up as exemplifying the Platonic tradition within the Church of England. This correspondence has been demonstrated throughout the chapter. The characteristics which mark Knox's theology mirror those which are found in Wesley and the moderates. This serves to confirm the argument made in chapter two, that Knox belongs to the Platonic tradition within Anglicanism. At the same time, the correspondences between Knox, Wesley and the moderates help to define the lineaments of this tradition. It was a tradition more concerned with life than dogma, reducing the latter to a 'few radical truths.'[410] For this reason it opposed the 'wolfish and ferine' temperament [411] which led to dispute and division, seeking instead to 'think and let think,' [412] being prepared to accept the truth wherever it might be found. The tradition was marked, too, by the stress it laid on experience, both in

[407] See above, 218.
[408] See above, 219.
[409] See above, 218.
[410] See above, 196.
[411] See above, 201.
[412] See above, 200.

terms of a practical or experimental knowledge of the truths of Christianity, and in terms of intuition, or a knowledge of God akin to that derived from the senses.

Neither in the case of Wesley or the moderates did the appeal to experience mean a neglect of scripture or tradition. The same was true for Knox, and a third conclusion which I want draw from this chapter is the extent to which Knox's theology was rooted in the early church. Knox desired to unite himself as closely as possible to the Fathers. He wished to be and professed himself to be 'a Christian of the first six centuries.'[413]

Finally, I want to conclude that the study of the characteristics and methodology of Knox's theological thought demonstrate his wish to reflect the teaching and spirit of the Church of England. Thus, for example, in presenting his theology as practical rather than speculative, he claimed to be following the path set by Anglicanism, which he described as 'so undogmatic, so purely devotional and spiritual a system.'[414] Likewise, in defending a 'philosophic' approach to theology, he appealed to the 'mental freedom' which he portrayed as being characteristic of the Church of England.[415] The plainest indication of what one might term his 'Anglicanism' was, however, the theological method he adopted: the conjoint use of scripture, tradition, and reason. Although he added to this triad the element of experience, he did so by invoking the authority of the Church's formularies, the 'doctrine of the Church of England.' [416]

All four of these conclusions will be further confirmed in the ensuing chapter, in which I turn from general considerations to individual doctrines.

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[413] See above, 221.
[414] See above, 197.
[415] See above, 204.
[416] See above, 235.

CHAPTER 4

'Mr Knox's System'

Chapter three examined the characteristics of Knox's theology and his methodology. In this chapter I turn from these general questions to his treatment of particular theological topics: the teachings that go to make up 'Mr Knox's system.'[1] Throughout the chapter I examine the sources from which Knox drew his doctrine, aiming in particular to demonstrate four things: first, how Knox's thought reflects the concerns of the post-Enlightenment period; second, how it corresponds to that of Wesley and the Anglican moderates; third, how it is rooted in the patristic era, particularly in the writings of those to whom he made a special appeal, Clement of Alexandria, Macarius, and Chrysostom; and, fourth, how it mirrors the teaching of the Anglican formularies, especially the Book of Common Prayer.

I remarked in chapter three that Knox's theological thought can be organised into a coherent whole around the themes of justification and providence.[2] I therefore propose to deal with Knox's treatment of particular theological topics in the following order, which I will then explain:

1. God and Humanity
2. Christ and the Holy Spirit
3. Justification and Perfection
4. Baptism and the Eucharist
5. The Church
6. Providence and Predestination

[1] For the description of Knox's thought as a system, see above, 190.
[2] See above, 192.

The topic of God is taken first, focusing especially on Knox's doctrine of the Trinity. This is because, first, the origin of justification lies for Knox in the love of God; second, his presentation of justification has a Trinitarian structure. The same section also deals with Knox's anthropology, humanity being for him the object of God's justifying love. Section two concerns Knox's Christology and pneumatology, since Knox sees Christ and the Spirit primarily as the agents of justification. Section three explores Knox's understanding of the nature of justification, and its goal, perfection. Section four discusses the two sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, the first of which Knox views as initiating the process of justification, while the eucharist sustains the process. Ecclesiology is the subject of section five, since for Knox the sacraments build up the church, the *locus* in which justification occurs. Section six deals with the second main concern of his theology, providence, together with the doctrine of predestination, which he regarded as a part of providence.

1. God and Humanity

This section falls into two parts. The first part deals with Knox's doctrine of God, examining his treatment of the divine attributes and his understanding of the Trinity. The second concerns his anthropology.

4.1.1. The Divine Attributes

Knox took the existence of God as a given; it was not a point which he discussed. With regard to the divine attributes, [3] he was content to describe the deity in the

[3] For brief mentions of the divine attributes, see: *Remains* 1, 50-1; 323; 2, 331-2; 419; 422-3; 3, 377; 4, 269-73; *Correspondence*, 1, 57; 82-3.

conventional terms employed by the Anglican Church, both in its Articles[4] and in its common prayer. The only point of particular note is the emphasis which Knox placed on God's 'infinite philanthropy.'[5] He saw the love of God for human beings as the basis of all religion, which he defined as 'the direct effluence of God's infinite and essential love towards us.'[6]

Love was also the prism, so to speak, through which he held that the other divine attributes had to be refracted. Thus, for example, he described 'the omnipresence of God' as 'a most awful and momentous truth,'[7] but added that the knowledge of it alone would at best only 'excite philosophical reverence.'[8] Human beings could not 'contemplate God as [their] Father,'[9] he maintained, until they realised that God was present *for them*, that 'the eye of God [was] specially upon them and the hand of God directly and effectively with them.'[10] Or, again, Knox declared: 'Omniscience and omnipotence would be … but infinitely terrific,'[11] did not human beings see the love of God transforming these attributes into 'infinite wisdom and inexhaustible beneficence.'[12] This is what Knox meant when he spoke of God as 'essential love.'[13] He was not denying that God is omnipotence or omniscience and so forth; he was not arguing that one attribute is prior to the others. Rather, as a practical theologian, what interested him was seeking to present the divine attributes in such a way as would best help human beings in their relationship with God.

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[4] Article one of the Thirty-Nine Articles affirms: 'There is but one living and true God, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom and goodness' (*B.C.P.*, 397).
[5] *Wesley*, 471. See, also, *Remains*, 2, 307.
[6] *Remains*, 2, 309. 'God' here specifically designates the Trinity; see, below, 256.
[7] *Remains*, 2, 240.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*, 241.
[11] *Ibid.*, 331-2. 'Terrific' here means 'awe-inspiring; see http://oed.com, 'Terrific,' accessed 1st July 2011.
[12] *Remains*, 2, 332.
[13] *Ibid.*, 291. Knox refers to 1 John, 4, 8: 'God is love.'

Knox's lack of interest in the doctrine of God is not surprising, given his repudiation of purely abstract theology. Even had he been disposed to theoretical speculation, however, it does not seem that he would have made this particular topic the object of his reflection, regarding it as involving little of intellectual interest. 'The view of God's nature, attributes and will, given in scripture is direct and simple … as really open to the plainest as to the most powerful understanding,' he believed.[14]

4.1.2. The Doctrine of the Trinity

Knox's most specific treatment of the topic of the Trinity is the essay 'On The Nature of our Salvation through Christ,'[15] the stated theme of which is 'the incarnation of the second person and the influential operation of the third.'[16] As I will demonstrate in this chapter, however, his entire theology, at least in relation to justification, was marked by Trinitarianism. Knox lived at a time of growing anti-Trinitarianism. Denial of the doctrine was decriminalised in 1813, followed in 1825 by the foundation of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.[17] It was doubtless on account of this that one finds Knox's castigating 'obtrusive and sophistical opinions … [and] [p]resumptuous speculations on the divine nature.'[18]

Although Knox was adamant that his views derived ultimately from 'the written oracles of God,'[19] his defence of Trinitarianism was practical. Following what he conceived to be the *consensus omnium*, he argued for the 'infinite necessity of

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[14] *Remains*, 3, 376.
[15] *Ibid.*, 2, 316-436.
[16] *Ibid.*, 318.
[17] For the anti-Trinitarianism of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, see: G. M. Ditchfield, 'Anti-Trinitarianism and Toleration in Late Eighteenth-Century British Politics: The Unitarian Petition of 1792,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42, (1991), 39-67; R.K. Webb, 'The Background: English Unitarianism in the Nineteenth Century,' in Leonard Smith, ed., *Unitarian to the Core: Unitarian College, Manchester, 1854-2004*, Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2004, 1-29.
[18] *Remains*, 3, 425.
[19] *Ibid.*, 2, 315.

believing in the triune God,'[20] since history revealed 'a consistent and cordial belief of the catholic verities'[21] to be intimately bound up with 'the essence of vital Christianity;'[22] and of these verities the foremost was, he held, 'the distinct, simple, and cordial acknowledgement of the three divine persons in the essential Godhead.'[23] As he wrote to Parken:

> [W]e find throughout [the] whole retrospect [of Christian history], vital piety uniformly connected with, and growing out of a belief of [*sic*] and zeal for the proper Godhead of the Son and the inward energetic grace of the Spirit ... [W]hen we find the deepest character of piety, that which most effectually transforms the earthly nature into the heavenly, composed of these recognitions, as its elementary and essential ingredients; living habitually upon these views as its resting-place; and rising upon them as its wings, when it soars highest above earthly things; what can be concluded but that these tenets belong to the essentials of our Christian faith, and that to depart from these would be to forsake 'the fountain of living waters' [Jeremiah 2, 13]? [24]

Belief in the Trinity informed the whole of Knox's thinking about justification. For him, the source and origin of salvation was 'the love of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'[25] '[T]he whole three persons of the blessed Trinity are uniformly represented [in scripture] as taking a like gracious interest in the spiritual redemption of man,'[26] he affirmed, describing a double movement, in which, first, 'the Spirit of the Son of God [is] sent into our hearts,'[27] so that, second, 'through God manifested in the flesh

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[20] *Ibid.*, 4, 237.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2, 341.
[22] *Ibid.* See above, 194-5.
[23] *Remains*, 3, 424.
[24] *Ibid.*, 1, 436-7.
[25] *Remains*, 2, 309. See, also, 314-5.
[26] *Ibid.*, 253. 'Interest' means here 'share' or 'participation.' For the usage, see http://oed.com, 'Interest,' accessed 1st July 2011.
[27] *Remains*, 2, 257. This presupposes the sending of the Son by the Father. See, also, 315; 340.

[believers might] continually have … access by one Spirit unto the Father.'[28] In this way Christians were drawn into the life of the triune God. '[U]nited to the Son … by that vital Spirit which he transfuses, we necessarily share in the infinite love of [the Father for the Son],' Knox asserted.[29] We came to participate in:

> that unfathomable intercourse within the sphere of deity, by which the divine persons mutually exercise their adorable excellencies, and contribute each to the mysterious felicity of the whole.[30]

4.1.3. Sources

Knox's approach to the doctrine of the Trinity reflected that of Wesley. Eschewing what he called the 'fruitless work' of speculation about the *dogma* of the Trinity,[31] Wesley nonetheless insisted that the knowledge of the triune God belonged to 'the very heart of Christianity.'[32] It lay, he proclaimed, 'at the root of all vital religion.'[33] Thus, while Wesley did not speculate at any length about Trinitarian dogma, the whole of his theology was founded on a conception of the Christian life as animated by the conjoint activity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.[34] One may characterize such an approach as 'practical Trinitarianism.' It is something which one finds also in the Cambridge Platonists.[35] For example, in the *Select Discourses* Smith never used the term 'Trinity,' yet the whole subject of his teaching can be resumed with Patrick in Trinitarian terms as being about 'the grace of God and the working of the mighty

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[28] *Ibid.*, 3, 425. Knox's language comes from scripture: 1 Timothy 3, 16 in the Authorised Version, which reads 'God was manifested in the flesh;' and Ephesians 2, 18: 'Through [Jesus Christ] we both have access to the Father by one Spirit.'
[29] *Remains*, 4, 260-1.
[30] *Ibid.*, 261.
[31] John Wesley, Sermon 55, 'On the Trinity,' 3, *Works*, 2, 373-86, 377. My emphasis.
[32] Wesley, Sermon 55, 'On the Trinity,' 17, *Works*, 2, 384.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] On this point, see, for example, Geoffrey Wainwright, 'Trinitarian Theology and Wesleyan Holiness,' in Kimborough, ed., *Orthodox and Wesleyan Spirituality*, 59-80.
[35] For the Cambridge Platonists' Trinitarianism, see Charles Taliaferro, 'Natural Reason and the Trinity: Some Lessons from the Cambridge Platonists,' in Melville Y. Stewart, ed., *The Trinity: East-West Dialogue*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003, 167-78.

Spirit of Jesus Christ' in the life of the believer.[36] One finds the same practical approach in the three Fathers to whom Knox most especially appeals, Chrysostom, Macarius and Clement of Alexandria. All three exhibit a certain reticence with regard to dogmatic speculation about the Trinity, but, as will be demonstrated below, their theology is structured in a Trinitarian pattern.

Knox's Trinitarianism reflected the doctrine of the Church of England in its standard formularies. Articles one, two, five and eight of the Thirty-Nine Articles proclaimed the Church's confession of the Triune God,[37] although, according to Jebb, Knox believed the liturgy to be a 'much stronger fence' against heterodoxy than the Articles.[38] To quote Jebb, Knox regarded subscription to the Articles as:

> a single act, to which a man might argue down and persuade his scruples. But no Arian who had a grain of religion or honesty could persist, week after week, in reading the creeds.[39]

These were the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed, the one recited at Morning and Evening Prayer, the other at Holy Communion,[40] and the Athanasian Creed, prescribed on certain feasts.[41] Knox also cited the baptism service, in which the sacrament was administered in the name of the three divine persons.[42] Although Knox did not appeal to them directly, one might also add as liturgical 'fences' against heterodoxy, the collect and preface for Trinity Sunday, which proclaimed that the

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[36] Simon Patrick, 'A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Mr John Smith,' in Smith, *Select Discourses*, 521-57, 544.
[37] *B.C.P.*, 397-8.
[38] Jebb, 'Introduction' to Burnet's *Lives*, xxxviii.
[39] *Ibid.* For Knox's views on the Articles relative to the liturgy, see above, 75.
[40] *B.C.P.*, 37; 182.
[41] *Ibid.*, 46-8.
[42] *Remains*, 2, 51; see *B.C.P.*, 199.

'true faith' meant 'to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity,'[43] and the doxology which concluded the recitation of the psalms.[44]

4.1.4. Anthropology

From God as the author of justification, I turn next to humanity, the object of God's justifying love, in Knox's 'system.' Anthropology was a major theme for Knox, and anthropological concerns run throughout his writings. Of particular relevance are: 'On Christianity as the Way of Peace and True Happiness' (1805);[45] 'Remarks on Mrs Barbauld's Essay on Devotional Taste' (undated);[46] and his letter to Jebb of 29th January 1801, on the subject of Christian preaching.[47]

Knox conceived of human beings in dualist terms as a 'combination of animal and spirit, or, of body and mind.'[48] He did not neglect the body, teaching that it was called to purification through the 'fire of divine love,'[49] so as to be fitted for the service of God, whom human beings were made to worship 'with [their] bodies and [their] spirits.'[50]

Although Knox did not neglect the body, it was the mind, the spiritual element of human nature, with which he was most concerned in his theology. He depicted it as possessing several different faculties:[51] reason; conscience; imagination; and the

[43] *B.C.P..*, 128; see, also, 191.
[44] *Ibid.*, 8.
[45] *Remains*, 1, 1-52.
[46] *Ibid.*, 468-83. The essay dates, perhaps, from 1806; see *Correspondence*, 1, 259.
[47] *Correspondence*, 1, 13-32.
[48] *Correspondence*, 1, 351. Several times Knox follows 1 Thessalonians 5, 23 in speaking of a tripartite division of human nature, consisting of body, soul, and spirit (*Remains*, 1, 321; 2, 132; 228). By 'spirit' he meant 'the highest portion of human nature' (2, 228), the 'rational' as opposed to the 'sensitive' part of the soul (1, 321).
[49] *Remains*, 2, 132.
[50] *Ibid.*, 137.
[51] *Ibid.*, 1, 474.

affections, the last of which he declared to be 'the noblest part of our nature.'[52] This was because by the affections Knox meant, primarily, love, 'the master-affection of the heart,' as he termed it.[53] Knox held love to be 'the central seat of religion,'[54] because 'there is no true piety but in the love of God;'[55] love, in other words, is what unites human beings to God.[56] At the same time, love is superior to reason, because, as Knox declared: '[intellectual] apprehensions are not ends, but means, ministering to our affections.'[57] In other words, the intellect is at the service of the heart: we know in order to love.

For Knox, the love of God was the source of happiness; as he expressed it in a letter to Jebb: '*Happiness* in my vocabulary is a consecrated word.'[58] Knox envisaged happiness as the 'unconquerable aim' of human beings, that which, above all else, they seek,[59] and which, he believed, they could only find in God. Twice he quoted Joseph Addison (1672-1719):[60]

> The supreme author of our being has so formed the soul of man that nothing but himself can be its last, adequate, and proper happiness.[61]

If, therefore, human beings desired to be happy, Knox believed that they needed to turn to Christianity. Christianity was, for him, 'essentially delightful,'[62] a theme

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[52] *Ibid.*, 475.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] 'The essence of religion [is] the supreme love of God' (*Remains*, 1, 469).
[57] *Ibid.*, 2, 364.
[58] B.L., Add. Ms 41663, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb 1799-1811, fol. 198, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 17th March 1809.
[59] *Remains*, 4, 284.
[60] Joseph Addison (1672-1719), essayist, and co- founder of *The Spectator* magazine; see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101000156/Joseph-Addison, accessed 23rd June 2011.
[61] *Remains*, 1, 17; 476. The original quotation comes from *The Spectator*, 413, (24th June 1712) [1]. The words recall those of Augustine, '*Fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te*,' 'you have made us for yourself and our hearts are restless till they rest in you,' *Confessions*, 1, 1, *P.L.*, 32, 661. This dictum, too, is quoted by Knox: *Remains*, 2, 132; 322; 4, 281; 585.
[62] *Remains*, 2, 500.

which ran throughout his writings.[63] He taught that it brought 'the human heart to the peace and happiness which it [longs] for;'[64] and that those who embraced it necessarily found 'not only ... the means of everlasting safety, but ...the source of the truest and most exalted pleasures which can be enjoyed on earth.'[65] He argued that it was designed to satisfy all the exigencies of human nature. It had, to quote his words:

> properties respectively adapted to each of our faculties ... truth for our reason, moral principle for our conscience, amiableness for our affections, and novelty, sublimity and beauty for our imagination.[66]

It thus served 'to attract, inform, and satisfy our minds; to operate, in the aptest way conceivable, on all our passions and affections.'[67]

Knox was aware of the paradox of a man prone to depression expatiating on what he termed the 'felicitating' effect of Christianity.[68] He addressed the issue thus:

> The thing called religious melancholy may be, for aught I know, a real disease. But I do not think that it is my disease. I rather believe that religion is my master-passion; and that, of course, my bad nerves work upon that, as in a covetous man they would produce apprehensions of dying a beggar. My views of religion, when my mind is unclouded, all are cheerful and happy. I see it as a divine combination of everything that tends to exalt and to enrich human nature; and I cannot form (I hardly think I am disposed to form) any idea of comfort, even for one moment, without it. But when I think my religion is declining, that thought is my misery.[69]

Knox contrasted the happiness which Christianity bestowed with the misery of the Christ-less life. An early evangelical commentator remarked that the doctrine of

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[63] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 101; 274-5; 330-5; 346; 377; 2, 146; 321; 502; 3, 74; 196-7; 395; 4, 45-6; 531-2; 585; *Correspondence*, 1, 104-5; 283; 512-4; 544-5. The most extended treatments of the idea are the essays 'On Christianity as the Way of Peace and True Happiness' and 'Remarks on Mrs Barbauld's Essay on Devotional Taste.'

[64] *Remains*, 1, 11.

[65] *Ibid.*, 2, 500-1.

[66] *Ibid.*, 1, 474.

[67] *Ibid.*, 31. In short, Christianity is an 'anticipation of heaven;' see, above, 240.

[68] *Remains*, 1, 21; 26.

[69] *Ibid.*, 4, 45-6.

human sinfulness was one which Knox 'laid down with a boldness and a clearness which leaves no doubt of the writer's sentiments.'[70] In this, I would contend that the writer was mistaken. Knox implacably opposed what he understood to be the evangelical doctrine of sin, which he perceived as teaching that humanity had incurred 'legal guilt,'[71] and was in a state of enmity with God,[72] lying under the divine curse and malediction,[73] all of which was cognate, in his estimation, with the evangelical doctrines of substitutionary atonement and 'forensic acquittal.'[74]

Instead of seeing sin in terms of a curse demanding divine punishment, Knox viewed it as a calamity,[75] from which God's love sought to bring deliverance.[76] It was not, therefore, on the guilt which sin incurred, but on sin itself that Knox focused his attention;[77] this, he held, was what deprived human beings of happiness. As he observed to Jebb:

> [M]an [is] by nature, (I mean in his present fallen state), a weak, ignorant, sinful, and, of course, miserable being ... absolutely incapable of enjoying any real happiness, either here or hereafter.[78]

Through sin, Knox declared, human beings inhabited a 'dark, miserable, polluting, heart-lacerating world,'[79] in which:

> [t]he mind ... groans under [a] degrading and lacerating bondage ... the inward hell of galled conscience,

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[70] *Christian Examiner*, 3, 35, (September 1834), 641. The reviewer contends that Knox ultimately lost sight of this principle (*ibid.*).
[71] *Remains*, 2, 13. Compare Knox's words to Jebb: 'I admit natural frailty and natural predominance of animality. But the notion of *natural enmity* with God is, in my judgment, neither countenanced by scripture, nor by experience' (B.L., Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb, 1812-30, fol. 159, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 28th April 1821.)
[72] *Remains*, 2, 13.
[73] *Ibid.*, 1, 506-7; 2, 345.
[74] *Ibid.*, 2, 14.
[75] *Ibid.*, 4, 363: 'sin [is] a calamity, rather than ... a crime.'
[76] *Ibid.*, 1, 507-9.
[77] *Ibid.*, 2, 147; 3, 451; 449- 52.
[78] *Correspondence*, 1, 19.
[79] *Ibid.*, 104.

> tortured pride, frantic passions, and headlong propensities.[80]

The origin of this wretched plight lay, for Knox, in the fall of the first man. '[T]hrough Adam's transgression a principle of moral evil was introduced into human nature,' he taught.[81] To quote:

> [T]he first Adam has been to us the fountain of an animal and earthly nature; and we are instructed that … by the fall of our earthly progenitor, sin entered into the world and death by sin, and, thus, one man was to all the source of corruption and mortality.[82]

Although accepting the fall, Knox denied the doctrine of total depravity held by evangelical theologians.[83] This was the teaching that human nature had been so ruined by Adam's sin, that it was absolutely impossible for humans to contribute anything to their salvation: they depended utterly on the grace of God. Knox believed in the necessity of grace, yet, for him, human beings were not so vitiated and corrupted that they could not desire grace or ask for it. As he told Hannah More:

> The penitent who has learned the true way of salvation does not work, as if that were to do him any good, but pray: to ask from God what he feels he cannot himself take one effectual step toward.[84]

Thus, rather than talking about 'total depravity,' which he judged 'too crude an idea to be made a standard expression [of theology],' Knox suggested speaking of 'total captivity, or total impotency.'[85]

One of the reasons that Knox emphasised the weakness of human nature was his concern with practical theology. He believed that 'a thorough, radical sense of

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[80] *Remains*, 2, 390.
[81] *Ibid.*, 27. See, also, 25-6.
[82] *Ibid.*, 255. Knox is appealing in the passage to Romans 5, 12: 'Therefore, just as sin entered the world through one man, and death through sin, and in this way death came to all men, because all sinned,' a verse to which he devotes a detailed exegesis in *Remains*, 3, 449-51.
[83] 'Depravity' without the modifier is, however, a word which Knox uses to describe the fallen state of human nature.
[84] *Remains*, 3, 85.
[85] *Correspondence*, 1, 382.

depravity'[86] was an 'essential ingredient ... to every stage of true Christianity.'[87] It was, first, a necessary prelude to conversion:

> [M]en, in general, need to be brought to [deep feelings of human depravity and human weakness] before they will aim at a radical change; which radical change, however, is the only substratum upon which the fabric of holiness can be erected. [88]

Second, to quote the *Correspondence*: 'In order that [human nature] may continually look to heaven for strength, it must be made to feel its own entire imbecility.'[89] In other words, for Knox human beings had to realise their own impotence to do good, not just before their conversion but throughout their lives. They had to understand that only by grace could they conquer sin and grow in holiness. Third, this understanding was a help to perfection. Seeing that they looked not to their own efforts but to God's grace, Knox taught that Christians knew it was possible to extirpate every trace of evil from their lives:

> The Christian ... is solicitous to detect every, the minutest as well the deepest, evils [*sic*], because he knows that the omnipotent saviour is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him.[90]

As we have seen, Knox's anthropology was one of the things that led him to reject 'modern mysticism.'[91] Not only was this mysticism unscriptural, Knox held; it was also unnatural, 'suppressing and annihilating our natural tastes and feelings.'[92] He laid the same charge against Calvinism:

> [Calvinism] is not congenial to either taste, or understanding, or natural feeling. It adds neither grace,

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[86] *Ibid.*, 169.
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] *Remains*, 3, 79.
[89] *Correspondence*, 1, 106.
[90] *Ibid.*, 169. Knox is alluding to Hebrews 7, 25: 'Wherefore [Jesus] is able also to save them to the uttermost, that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them' (Authorised Version).
[91] See above, 244.
[92] *Remains*, 1, 329.

> nor beauty, nor cheerfulness to that cause of which it claims to be the accredited interpreter.[93]

His argument was that neither modern mysticism nor Calvinism could be true, because they were contrary to human nature, whereas religion was designed by God to be connatural with humanity.

4.1.5. Sources

Knox's anthropology was marked by the age in which he lived. The emphasis he gave to happiness mirrored one of the most important concerns of the period,[94] while his insistence on the primacy of the affections reflected the Romantic desire to correct the Enlightenment's appeal to reason alone.[95] At the same time, the attention he paid to the fallenness of human nature may be seen as a reaction to the denial of original sin by Enlightenment thinkers.[96]

The primary authority to which Knox appealed for his anthropological teaching was the Bible. 'Innumerable' passages uphold his view of the misery of fallen human nature, he claimed.[97] As well as scripture, he also invoked 'our own experience:'[98]

> If we doubt [the wretchedness of human nature] let us judge for ourselves; let us cast our eyes over the extended mass of mankind. Let us observe the brutal ignorance … the vice and profligacy … foolish desire, unbridled passion, rankling envy, gloomy discontent…[99]

Knox also cited the authority of Wesley, specifically referring to Wesley's preaching on sin and holiness seen as misery and happiness. 'No man,' Knox remarked of

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[93] *Ibid.*, 4, 340. See, also, below, 408. The 'cause' of which Knox speaks is that of the 'Gospel of Christ' (*Remains*, 4, 340).
[94] See above, 132-3.
[95] See above, 136-8.
[96] See above, 132.
[97] *Correspondence*, 1, 19. In this passage Knox quotes, or alludes to: Romans 5, 12; 8, 7-8; Ephesians 2, 1; and 4, 18.
[98] *Correspondence*, 1, 20.
[99] *Remains*, 3, 371.

Wesley, 'ever gave deeper-shaded pictures of human misery ... the actually begun hell of every heart which is at enmity with God.'[100] This was, however, Knox continued, but a prelude to Wesley's proclamation of holiness as the key to happiness. 'Never, surely, was this lovely method more cordially followed than by John Wesley,' Knox declared.[101] It was, he wrote, a 'central characteristic of John Wesley's teaching.'[102] As he told Southey:

> [Wesley's] addresses were directed ... prevalently to the natural desire of happiness. Regarding this inextinguishable appetite of the inner man as no other than an instinctive propension to the supreme good, he made it his object to urge vital Christianity as that divine provision in which alone this ceaseless craving of the heart could find satisfaction and repose.[103]

The point is one which modern scholars likewise underline. For instance, Isabel Rivers terms the conjunction of holiness and happiness an 'essential element' in Wesley's preaching,[104] while Outler speaks of it as one of Wesley's 'most consistent themes, early, middle, and late.'[105]

In developing the theme of human misery, Wesley came gradually to put more stress on this as the main element in humanity's fallen state, rather than guilt. The notion of guilt is present in his theology, especially in his 'middle period,' yet he displayed a growing discomfort with it, worried about its compatibility with God's justice and

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[100] *Ibid.*, 170.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] *Wesley*, 470.
[103] *Ibid.*, 469-70.
[104] Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment: Volume One: Whichcote to Wesley: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 250.
[105] Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 1, 185, note 18. For a useful summary of this topic, see Rebekah L. Miles, 'Happiness, Holiness and the Moral Life in John Wesley,' in Randy L. Maddox and Jason E. Vickers, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to John Wesley*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 207-24.

mercy,[106] something which exemplified in his 1784 adaptation of the Thirty-Nine Articles, where he changed the description of original sin as 'fault and corruption' simply to 'corruption.'[107]

Linked to Wesley's view of happiness was his teaching about Christianity's congruence with human nature. This teaching was something which Knox also explicitly invoked. One of the most admirable features 'in my old friend's *most matured* theology' was, Knox asserted, the way in which Wesley described 'the strict proportion ... of the provisions of Christianity to men's exigencies and capacities.'[108] For Wesley, Christianity was a religion:

> in every way suited to the nature of man; for it begins in man's knowing himself; knowing himself to be what he really is: foolish, vicious, miserable. It goes on to point out the remedy for this: to make him truly wise, virtuous, and happy, as every thinking mind (perhaps from some implicit remembrance of what it originally was) longs to be.[109]

Knox maintained, too, that Wesley 'delighted to contemplate practical Christianity as consisting ... of ... purified affections.'[110] In this, Knox was also correct for, although throughout his teaching he stressed the importance of reason, Wesley nonetheless made the affections central to his understanding of religion.[111]

As well as the similarities between Wesley and Knox one may mention two points of difference. One concerns the doctrine of prevenient grace. Wesley taught that, as a result of Christ's saving work, grace had been bestowed on all humanity, bringing a

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[106] See Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 74-5. For the alternative argument that Wesley's overall position on original sin stands in the Reformed tradition of Calvin, and portrays humanity as made guilty by the fall, see, for example, Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification*.
[107] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 292, note 77.
[108] *Wesley*, 475. Emphasis in the original.
[109] Wesley, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, 29, *Works,* 11, 45-94, 55.
[110] *Wesley*, 474-5.
[111] On this point, see Gregory S. Clapper, *John Wesley on Religious Affections: his views on experience and emotion and their role in the Christian life and theology*, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989.

partial healing from the effects of the fall, with the result that human beings have sufficient free will to cooperate with God's actual grace.[112] The doctrine was, to use Maddox's word, 'distinctive' of Wesley's teaching,[113] yet it was one which Knox ignored completely. One reason for this was, perhaps, that Knox could find no support for the doctrine in scripture or patristic tradition. But, also, Knox, unlike Wesley, did not need the doctrine, on account of the second main difference in their anthropologies, the extent to which human nature had been affected by original sin. Wesley believed in the total depravity of human nature, including the will.[114] Therefore, if human beings were to respond to the Gospel message their wills needed first ('preveniently') to be freed by grace. Knox did not have this problem; as noted above, he held that the corruption of humanity was not total, and that the will was free to choose God and to ask for grace in order to be saved.[115]

With regard to the moderates, as I have already noted, Knox's disagreed with them, on the fallenness of human nature.[116] By contrast, on the point of Christianity being 'congenial to all [our] radical tastes and faculties,'[117] he appealed directly to 'the Church of England divines.'[118] The idea was a prominent feature of their theology; it is what they meant when they described Christianity as 'rational,' reason being that which is 'proper and peculiar to man.'[119] 'Religion,' Whichcote, for example, taught 'is that wherein our happiness doth consist,'[120] because 'man [is] made to know God,'[121] and this knowledge comes to us through reason. 'Reason,' Whichcote

[112] For a summary of Wesley's doctrine of prevenient grace, see Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 87-93.
[113] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 87.
[114] *Ibid.*, 82.
[115] See above, 263.
[116] See above, 177.
[117] *Remains*, 1, 101.
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] Whichcote, Aphorism 71, *Aphorisms*, xlviii.
[120] Benjamin Whichcote, Sermon on Acts 13, 23; text in Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists*, 62-77, 72.
[121] *Ibid.*, 74.

affirmed, 'is the recipient of whatsoever God declares.'[122] In fact, according to Whichcote, the reason is made for God, and thus to be a rational being is to be a religious being, one whom only the knowledge of God can satisfy:

> Intellectual nature hath a secret desire and thirst after God; and therefore it cannot be accomplished, neither can it be satisfied unless it find out and pitch upon that object which is most proper and peculiar [to it] ... [*I*]*ntellectus quaerit Deum*; it is the nature of our mind and understanding to seek after God; therefore, though a man be never so accomplished, if he be devoid of sense and apprehension of God, he must be unfurnished, for he is unsatisfied; he hath not enough to satisfy the connatural desires of his immortal soul.[123]

A similar example of the same doctrine is given by Smith in his discourse on 'The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion' (undated), where he cited with approval Cicero's definition of reason as the '*vinculum Dei et hominis*,'[124] the chain which binds together God and human beings. 'Reason ... [enables and fits] man to converse with God by knowing and loving him,' Smith taught.[125]

At first sight, the place given to reason by the moderates may seem to be a difference with Knox, who prioritised the affections, but, in fact, in both cases reason and affection go together. For the moderates, '[r]ight reason is,' to quote Sarah Hutton, 'affective reason;' [126] for Knox, the affections were fuelled, so to speak, by the reason: love was, for him, proportional to one's knowledge and understanding of God.[127]

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[122] Benjamin Whichcote, Discourse 58, 'The Illustrious Manifestations of God and the Inexcusable Ignorance of Men,' [part 2], *Works*, 3, 175-95, 182.
[123] Benjamin Whichcote, Discourse 86, 'Men have Nothing to Glory of, but Religion,' [part 2], *Works*, 4, 279-95, 286.
[124] John Smith, Discourse 9, 'The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion,' *Select Discourses*, 403-87, 417.
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Sarah Hutton, 'Lord Herbert Of Cherbury and the Cambridge Platonists,' in Stuart Brown, ed., *British Philosophy and the Age of Enlightenment*, London: Routledge, 1996, 20-42, 24. Hutton is speaking specifically of the Cambridge Platonists.
[127] *Remains*, 1, 326.

Like Knox and Wesley, the moderates were concerned for happiness. For them, religion was something joyful, not 'doleful, troublesome, [and] melancholy.'[128] 'Happiness,' stated Cudworth, 'is the same thing that we call holiness.'[129] It was, he declared:

> the releasing of our souls from ... narrow, scant and particular good things and the espousing of them to the highest and most universal good, which is not this or that particular good, but goodness itself.[130]

Or, to cite Smith:

> [T]rue religion ... begets the greatest serenity, constancy, and composedness of mind, and brings the truest contentment, the most satisfying joy and pleasure, the purest and most divine sweetness and pleasure to the spirits of good men.[131]

Among the Fathers, Clement of Alexandria likewise saw 'an inexorable link between happiness and holiness,'[132] while Macarius, too, stressed that God's work in the soul 'brings about unspeakable joy;'[133] it bestowed on the Christian 'unspeakable delights.'[134] This is because by grace the soul is restored to its rightful state. Created good, it had been invaded by sin: Macarius at one point used the striking image of a householder confronted by an intruder breaking into his home.[135] According to Macarius, the aim of Christianity is to help believers regain full possession of their

[128] Benjamin Whichcote, Discourse 4, 'The Joy Which the Righteous Have in God,' *Works*, 1, 56-74, 59.
[129] Cudworth, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' *Works*, 4, 327.
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] Smith, Discourse 9, 'The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion,' *Select Discourses*, 443. Later on, in the same discourse, Smith declared: 'true holiness or religion and true happiness are but two several notions of one thing, rather than distinct in themselves' (481-2).
[132] Anderson, *A Definitive Study of Evidence concerning John Wesley's Appropriation of the Thought of Clement of Alexandria*, 270.
[133] Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, 106.
[134] *Ibid.*, 55.
[135] *Ibid.*, 129.

souls and expel from them that which he describes as 'foreign to our nature, namely the corruption of our passions through the disobedience of the first man.'[136]

Knox's anthropology was one of the rare topics in discussing which he invoked the authority of the Thirty-Nine Articles.[137] He did so in defence of his views on human depravity:

> A deep sense of [human depravity] appears to me necessary to true Christian perfection, as a sufficiently deep foundation is necessary for a lofty building. But I hardly think *he* can have this, who denies that that 'infection of nature' which 'doth remain in them that are regenerated' (Art. ix Church of England) hath in it the nature of sin.[138]

The specific Article to which Knox referred, Article nine, entitled 'Of Original or Birth-Sin,' teaches that all human beings have derived from fallen Adam such a 'fault and corruption' of nature that they are 'very far gone from original righteousness and ... inclined to evil.'[139] Although this sounds like a strong expression, it stops short of the doctrine of total depravity, and corresponds with the position espoused by Knox.

4.1.6. Short Conclusion

This section has studied Knox's doctrine of God and his doctrine of humanity, and the sources from which he drew his teaching. Knox portrayed God as one whose philanthropy sought the happiness of fallen humankind, and this prepares for the ensuing section, which examines the agents by which, in Knox's theology, this divine objective is primarily accomplished: Christ and the Holy Spirit.

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[136] *Ibid.*, 53. See, also, 14.
[137] For Knox's hesitancy in regard to the Articles, see above, 75-6.
[138] *Correspondence*, 1, 167. Emphasis in the original.
[139] *B.C.P.*, 398.

2. Christ and the Holy Spirit

This section divides into two parts. The first examines what Knox taught about Jesus Christ and his work of salvation; the second deals with Knox's understanding of the Holy Spirit. In both sections, the sources of Knox's doctrine are also explored.

4.2.1. Christology

Knox's most detailed treatments of Christology comprise three undated essays in the second volume of the *Remains*: 'On Redemption and Salvation by Christ as exhibited in the epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews;'[140] 'On the Mediatory Character of Christ as subsisting in our Lord's manhood and flesh;'[141] and 'On the Nature of our Salvation through Christ.' [142] Of Christological importance, too, are Knox's 'Reflections on 2 Timothy 3, 16.'[143]

As befits one whose interest was in praxis rather than speculation, Knox was more concerned with the work rather than with the person of Christ. He held that 'the incarnation of the second person [of the Trinity], very God of very God'[144] was one of the 'essential catholic doctrines,'[145] but what mattered for him was not this teaching *in abstracto*, so much as the fact that 'God was manifested in the flesh for us men and for our salvation.'[146] Knox never spoke of the incarnation by itself, but always in relation to its soteriological purpose.[147]

The one exception to this rule occurs in the essay 'On the Nature of our Salvation through Christ.' The passage runs:

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[140] *Remains*, 2, 44-153.
[141] *Ibid.*, 303-15.
[142] *Ibid.*, 316- 436.
[143] *Ibid.*, 3, 368-408.
[144] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' lxvii.
[145] *Ibid.* See: *Remains*, 2, 325; 4, 237. See, also, above, 193-5.
[146] *Remains*, 2, 318. Knox conflates the Authorised Version's rendering of 1Timothy 3, 16 with a phrase from the Nicene Creed (*B.C.P.*, 182).
[147] See, for example: *Remains*, 2, 26; 378; 379; 3, 389-94; 401; 405-8.

> In [our redeemer] the Godhead which deigned to inhabit the ancient temple has united itself far more closely to us, by coming within the sphere of our nature. The temple made with human hands was thus superseded by a living sanctuary: the human person formed for the fit inhabitation of the everlasting Word, by the omnipotent Spirit, within the womb of the Virgin. [148]

Knox goes on to cite John 2, 19-21, where the Johannine Jesus speaks of his body as a temple. In so doing, Knox commented, '[Jesus] declared [his body] to be the inhabitation of deity.'[149] Knox compared this 'effulgent brightness of God manifest in the flesh,'[150] to 'God's special presence in the temple at Jerusalem'[151] and to every 'preceding manifestation of the deity.'[152] He wrote:

> the incarnate glory of the only-begotten of the Father [was] as the advances of the dawn [are] to the risen sun ... [For he] who thus graciously took our nature upon him, and tabernacled among us, is ... Emmanuel, God with us.[153]

On the one hand, this teaching is hardly remarkable. It represents the standard orthodoxy of Christ as both human and divine. On the other hand, two comments may be made. The first is how 'Antiochene' Knox's language here sounds;[154] in fact, describing Jesus as 'the human *person*' inhabited by the Word has a Nestorian resonance.[155] One might suspect this to have been a sign of Chrysostom's influence, but Chrysostom's Christology is much more of the 'Alexandrian' type.'[156] Nor does Knox's 'Antiochene' language come either from Wesley or the Cambridge Platonists,

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[148] *Ibid.*, 2, 424-5.
[149] *Ibid.*, 425.
[150] *Ibid.*, 429.
[151] *Ibid.*, 428-9.
[152] *Ibid.*, 428.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] For the topic of patristic Christology, see Alois Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition, Volume 1: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451),* London: Mowbray, 1965.
[155] Knox is not, of course, a Nestorian. Elsewhere, one finds him describing the incarnation in more orthodox terms as 'Godhead [taking] our animal nature ... into a personal union' (*Remains*, 1, 330); and of 'the divine person' of the incarnate Son (*ibid.*, 2, 305). See, also, 2, 304.
[156] On Chrysostom's Christology, see Mel Lawrenz, *The Christology of John Chrysostom*, Lewiston, NY: Mellen University Press, 1996.

whose influence on him was so important in other areas: they, too, are 'Alexandrian' in the formulation of their Christological teaching.[157] This leads to the second point. Rather than resorting to the technical theological terms of tradition, Knox preferred to use language taken directly from the Bible: 'temple' (John 2, 19-21); 'inhabitation of the deity' (Colossians 2, 9);[158] 'effulgent brightness' (Hebrews 1, 3);[159] 'God manifest in the flesh' (1 Timothy 3, 16, Authorised Version); 'incarnate glory of the only-begotten of the Father' (John 1, 14); 'tabernacled among us' (John 1, 14); 'Emmanuel, God with us' (Matthew 1, 23).[160]

With regard to the work of Christ, Knox was highly critical of the substitutionary view of atonement, and, in fact, much of his soteriological writing was motivated by the desire to refute this theory.[161] Central to the teaching of nineteenth-century Irish evangelicalism, the theory held that Christ had put himself in the place of sinners, and satisfied the wrath of God against them on their behalf. Such was Knox's opposition to the view that he refused to use the word 'atonement,' so often employed by evangelicals in relation to this doctrine, dismissing it as 'slang.'[162] 'I never use the term and I suppose I never shall,' he informed Jebb.[163]

Knox thought that the doctrine of substitution was flawed for several reasons. First, he held that it was 'liable to be so understood as to obscure and sadden our views of

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[157] For Wesley's Christology, see, John Deschner, *John Wesley's Christology: An Interpretation*, Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1960; for that of the Cambridge Platonists, see, Dockrill, 'The Fathers and the Theology of the Cambridge Platonists.'

[158] This is not an exact quotation, but the vocabulary is the same: ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς, 'for in Christ all the fullness of the Deity lives in bodily form.'

[159] Again, the quotation is not absolutely exact, but the language is similar: ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, 'the radiance of God's glory.'

[160] One may add to these scripture references, one from the Prayer Book: 'took our nature upon him' echoes the collect for Christmas Day (*B.C.P.*, 63).

[161] *Remains*, 2, 44-5; 316-7.

[162] B.L., Add. Ms 41164, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1811-30), fol. 158, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 25th April 1821.

[163] *Ibid.*

the divine nature,'[164] appearing to dwell more on the divine wrath and condemnation rather than on God's forgiveness and love.[165] Second, Knox suggested that the doctrine seemed to derogate from 'the essential Godhead of the Son.'[166] This was because it appeared to present the Son as somehow less 'awful' than the Father,[167] and more gracious and loving.[168] Third, Knox argued that the doctrine had a 'tendency to damp the ardour of Christian virtue,'[169] since reliance for salvation was placed on the past action of Christ rather than on the believer's 'zeal for growing in grace.'[170] Fourth, he maintained that the contemporary evangelical doctrine was 'either not known or not adverted to from the close of the first century until the age of the Reformation.'[171] It was, Knox contended, 'the doctrine of human theology and not of holy scripture.'[172]

None of this means that Knox rejected the *doctrine* of the atonement, a mistake often made by his contemporaries. Even his admirer Samuel O'Sullivan believed: 'one grand deficiency in his system of theology was that he did not make [*sic*] sufficient account of the great doctrine of the atonement,'[173] while an anonymous evangelical censor went so far as to claim that Knox had stated: 'The atonement has no place in my system.'[174] In reality, however, Knox did not neglect the idea of the 'sacrifice of Christ in its expiatory aspect.'[175] What he maintained was that in scripture the

[164] *Correspondence*, 2, 71.
[165] *Remains*, 2, 308.
[166] *Ibid.*
[167] *Ibid.*
[168] *Ibid.*, 308-9.
[169] *Ibid.*, 370.
[170] *Ibid.*
[171] *Ibid.*, 354.
[172] *Ibid.*, 4, 468.
[173] *Dublin University Magazine*, 4, 21, (September 1834), 260.
[174] *Christian Observer*, 37, (November 1837), 172.
[175] *Remains*, 2, 44.

expiatory death of Christ was not 'the main object of attention.'[176] Scripture, according to Knox, was concerned with 'the sacrifice of Christ ... neither merely nor chiefly in its expiation of guilt, but in its influential capacity to cleanse and sanctify the mind and heart,'[177] a thesis in defence of which he repeatedly quoted Titus 2, 14: '[Christ] gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works' (Authorised Version).[178] Basing himself on this passage, as well as on 'countless others,'[179] Knox argued:

> the great object of the Gospel is to bring the alienated mind of man back to God through the influential grace of the incarnate Messiah.[180]

In making this claim, Knox distinguished between salvation and what he termed 'salvability.'[181] 'Salvability' he defined as the result of 'what [Christ] did *for us*,' in the past. [182] Dying for us was, according to Knox, a 'preliminary work'[183] by which 'the incarnate Word ... effected every requisite for man's salvation.'[184] In other words, through the cross Christ established the conditions necessary for human beings to be saved. These conditions were two in number: the possibility of pardon and the provision of grace.[185] On account of Christ's death, 'the gates of mercy,' as Knox put

[176] *Ibid.*
[177] *Ibid.*, 93.
[178] For examples, see: *Remains*, 2, 58; 3, 5; 35; 163-4; 4, 468; 508; 518.
[179] *Remains*, 2, 63.
[180] *Ibid.*
[181] *Ibid.*, 45. See, also: 361-2; 367; *Correspondence*, 2, 70.
[182] *Remains.*, 2, 45. Emphasis in the original.
[183] *Ibid.*, 4, 468. See, also, 2, 44-5, where Knox speaks of the death of Christ as the 'groundwork' on which 'actual and individual salvation' was to be constructed.
[184] *Ibid.*, 2, 360-1.
[185] *Ibid.*, 361.

it, now stood open for the sinner to receive forgiveness of past sins,[186] now grace was held 'in constant readiness to flow into every willing heart.'[187]

Salvability was not, however, salvation, Knox asserted. In his view, salvation could only be accomplished when the individual came to Christ and received grace and mercy, here and now.[188] To quote Knox's words:

> [We] must ourselves enter and personally obtain the treasure; otherwise, what was done, once for all, on our behalf, shall, in our instance, have been done in vain. [189]

It was this personal participation in the work of Christ which Knox termed 'actual salvation.' [190] It was 'what [Christ] does *in us*;'[191] 'the inward life ... of effectual grace in the heart and mind,'[192] which Christ bestows, and by which human beings are changed and transformed. This, Knox taught, was the μετάνοια of which scripture speaks,[193] and which he defined, with reference to Acts 26, 18,[194] as the provision of grace 'to enlighten ... with a divine and saving knowledge of what is true and good; to fill [the heart] with the love of it; and to furnish ... the power to perform it.' [195] In other words:

> that only which [is] effected through the omnipotent grace of Christ in the mind and heart, together with its everlasting results, [is] strictly and properly *salvation.*[196]

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[186] *Ibid.*, 362. One may note that this aspect of salvation plays virtually no part in Knox's theology; his concern is almost entirely with the operation of grace.
[187] *Remains*, 2, 362. In the background to Knox's thought and language one may clearly discern here Hebrews 4, 16: 'Let us then approach the throne of grace with confidence, so that we may receive mercy and find grace to help us in our time of need.'
[188] *Remains*, 2, 141.
[189] *Ibid.*, 45.
[190] *Ibid.* See, also: 47; *Correspondence*, 2, 70.
[191] *Remains,* 2, 45. Emphasis in the original.
[192] *Ibid.*, 47.
[193] *Correspondence*, 1, 20: 'The very word for *repentance* points out the reality and depth of this change: μετάνοια a *transformation of mind.*' Emphasis in the original
[194] '... to open their eyes and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, so that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me.'
[195] *Correspondence*, 1, 20-1.
[196] *Remains*, 2, 362. Emphasis in the original.

This salvation was accomplished, Knox taught, through the power of divine attraction:

> [T]he Word which was in the beginning with God and was God, became man that he might act upon us with fuller influence, and engage us by a more sympathetic attraction.[197]

'Godhead,' declared Knox, 'presents itself in human nature, in order to draw to itself … our predominant affection.'[198] For Knox, this was the great aim of the incarnation: the revelation of the God to human beings, so that the divine nature might be known by them.[199] 'By acquainting ourselves … with Godhead in [Christ], we become more capable of exercising our minds on Godhead in itself,' Knox wrote.[200] As he noted:

> The incarnation of the second person is itself a provision for dispelling all darkness of mind; 'for,' says our Lord, 'he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father' [John 14, 9]. Duly to apprehend, therefore, the divine character of the incarnate Word is most truly to know him whom we worship.[201]

What was apprehended through the contemplation of the incarnate God was 'moral glory,'[202] or moral beauty, so engaging that it drew human beings to itself, away from the lure of sin. This beauty, Knox maintained, was manifested 'through the whole course of [Christ's] sojourning below:'[203] in 'his incarnation, his birth, his death, his resurrection.'[204] Its pre-eminent display, however, was on the cross. There, above all,

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[197] *Ibid.*, 318. The first part of this quotation comes from John 1, 1.
[198] *Remains* 4, 309.
[199] See, also, above, 215.
[200] *Remains*, 2, 305.
[201] *Ibid.*, 314. See, also, 3, 406: '[I]t is in the Word made flesh that the perfections of the divine nature are fully prepared and fitted for the contemplation of such frail intelligences as ours.'
[202] *Ibid*, 2, 305.
[203] *Ibid.*
[204] *Ibid.*, 378.

according to Knox, Christ appears as 'the mental magnet of the world.'[205] As Knox declared:

> [I]n that point, all the moral glories of the incarnate Word are concentrated ... comprehending and consummating all the perfections of his character.[206]

Drawn to Christ by his moral beauty, the Christian is united to him and thus enabled to 'not only love and obey him, but become, in some sort, as he himself was in the world;'[207] to become, in other words, his imitator. As Knox writes:

> The affectionate apprehension of Christ crucified cannot but conform us more and more to his spirit, and to be conformed to his spirit is to participate in his conquest. By hating what Christ hated and loving what Christ loved we not only die with him unto sin but rise again with him unto righteousness [*B.C.P.*., Baptism of Infants, Concluding Exhortation, 201]; and in the growth of this conformity we ascend with him, more and more, into the heavens [*B.C.P.*, Collect for Ascension Day, 122]; and enter, with increasing depth and fullness into the foretaste of that rest which remaineth for the people of God [Hebrews 4, 9].[208]

In place of the forensic language employed by contemporary evangelicalism, Knox frequently described this salvific process therapeutically. Rather than being a means whereby 'threatened vengeance was averted,'[209] he portrayed 'the death of Christ [as] ... the source of healing influence to the spirits of men,'[210] part of 'a remedial and sanative plan.'[211] To quote:

> [O]ur redeemer declares himself the physician of souls ... healing souls, as he healed bodies ... by the exercise

[205] *Ibid.*, 381. The theme of Christ drawing souls to himself from the cross is developed at some length in the essay 'On the Nature of our Salvation through Christ,' part of which, *Remains*, 2, 383-94, forms an extended meditation on John 3, 14: 'Just as Moses lifted up the snake in the desert, so the Son of Man must be lifted up.' See, also: 2, 62-3; 106; 150-1.
[206] *Remains*, 2, 404-5.
[207] *Ibid.*, 379. Knox echoes 1 John 4, 17: 'As he is, so are we in this world' (Authorised Version).
[208] *Remains*, 2, 404.
[209] *Ibid.*, 57.
[210] *Ibid.*
[211] *Correspondence*, 1, 483.

> of his omnipotence, or, rather, by the effluence of his own essential virtue.[212]

Another image which Knox used, although much less frequently, was that of sustenance: Christ, according to Knox, provided not only 'medicine for the sick,'[213] but also 'fit nourishment for the convalescent.'[214]

Knox summed up his soteriology by saying: '[T]he grace which reigns through righteousness effects internal renovation ... by spiritually assimilating us to Christ in his death and in his resurrection.'[215] The word 'grace' here is to be underlined, for grace is what Knox meant by the transforming and assimilating influence which we have been describing. Grace, he wrote, was 'not merely an exercise of divine favour, but, also, of that divine energy whereby God is able to subdue all things to himself [Philippians 3, 21].'[216] This was why Knox constantly termed grace 'effectual;'[217] it worked an effect in the human heart.

'[N]o one felt more entirely that divine grace was the immediate and efficient cause of every permanent improvement,' Dickinson wrote of Knox.[218] Knox regarded it as being of 'vital necessity'[219] because, such was the wound inflicted on human nature by the fall, that without its healing strength human beings could do nothing towards

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[212] *Remains*, 2, 320. For other examples of the healing metaphor applied to salvation, see: *Remains*, 2, 346; 382; 385; 388-9; 394; 398; *Correspondence*, 2, 70.
[213] *Correspondence*, 1, 121.
[214] *Ibid.* See, also, *Remains*, 2, 58; 402.
[215] *Ibid.*, 70. Knox alludes to Romans 5, 21.
[216] *Remains*, 2, 65. See, likewise, his letter of 23rd January 1827 to C.A. Ogilvie, where he similarly defined grace as being not just God's favour, but also as 'the assistance of the Holy Spirit,' by which the Christian receives an 'infused communication of spiritual life and strength from above' (Bodleian, Ms. Eng. Lett., d. 123, 'Letters to C.A. Ogilvie K-Z,' fol. 87, Knox to C.A. Ogilvie, letter, 23rd January 1827). Grace seen solely as divine favour is Knox's understanding of the evangelical position (*Remains*, 2, 65).
[217] For examples of the phrase 'effectual grace,' see: *Remains*, 1, 91; 158; 516; 524; 2, 47; 67; 348; 468; 478; 479; 3, 20; 86; 4, 60; 493.
[218] *Christian Examiner*, 11, 73, (July 1831), 563.
[219] *Remains*, 4, 352.

their salvation, he believed.[220] Thus he wrote: 'Grace … in my creed is paramount.'[221] Nonetheless, he was no monergist. '[M]an himself must be a worker together with God,' he affirmed.[222] Concomitantly, he taught, too, that grace could be resisted.[223]

The experience of grace was, in Knox's writings, an implicit argument for the divinity of Christ. '[T]he religion which the grace of Christ establishes in the mind and heart expels every wrong and satisfies every right desire,' Knox proclaimed.[224] In this way, by his grace, Christ filled the 'void in the human bosom'[225] a lack and a longing which, as Knox stated elsewhere, only God could remedy.[226] But, also, it was through the experience of grace that one came to know Christ, and knowing him, one discovered him to be divine:

> [The] present operations of redeeming grace … by producing felt effects imply experimental acquaintance not only with the blessing communicated, but with the living source from which it is derived.[227]

4.2.2. Sources

As well as experience, Knox also appealed to scripture in support of his Christology, as I have already demonstrated. [228] He also invoked the 'the language of the catholic church.'[229] More specifically, with regard to his soteriology, he appealed to Wesley. 'No Platonic or mystic Christian ever inculcated a more inward and spiritual

[220] For examples of Knox's teaching on the necessity of grace, see: *Remains*, 1, 379; 2, 320; 470-1; 482-3; 3, 36; 86; 434; 449; 4, 457; *Correspondence*, 1, 381.
[221] *Remains*, 1, 368.
[222] *Ibid.*, 2, 361.
[223] *Wesley*, 473.
[224] *Remains*, 323.
[225] *Ibid.*, 321.
[226] See above, 260.
[227] *Remains*, 2, 48.
[228] See above, 274; 276.
[229] *Remains*, 2, 321.

salvation,'[230] Knox affirmed of Wesley, quoting three times the latter's definition of salvation as:

> a present deliverance from sin; a restoration of the soul to its primitive health, its original purity; a recovery of the divine nature; the renewal of our souls after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness, in justice, mercy and truth.[231]

Like Knox, Wesley was primarily a practical theologian and so focused on Christ's work rather than abstract notions about his person.[232] Like Knox, too, he stressed salvation as the actual and on-going healing which Christ accomplished in believers' lives.[233] But, as well as 'Christ reigning in us,'[234] Wesley held that 'Christ dying for us' should be preached with equal insistence.[235] He proclaimed both:

> salvation from sin and the consequences of sin ... a deliverance from guilt and punishment by the atonement of Christ ... and a deliverance from the power of sin through Christ formed in [the] heart.[236]

Wesley's treatment of 'Christ dying for us' was rich and multifaceted. It included a subjective element: Christ crucified was, for Wesley, 'the representative of God's pardoning and restoring love,' a love which thus attracted and drew souls.[237] But this did not exhaust Wesley's understanding of the cross. Lindström, for example, has cogently demonstrated that Wesley's primary theory of atonement was that of

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[230] *Ibid.*, 3, 162.
[231] *Ibid.*, 1, 180; 278-9; *Wesley*, 421. The quotation comes from *A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, 1, 1, 3, *Works*, 11, 105-202, 106.
[232] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 95.
[233] See, for example, Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification*, 41-4; Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 112-13; Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 1, 323, note 43.
[234] John Wesley to Charles Perronet, letter, 28th December 1774, *Letters*, 6, 134.
[235] *Ibid.*
[236] John Wesley, *A Sermon on Salvation by Faith*, London: James Hutton, 1738, 2, 7, *Works*, 1, 117-130, 124.
[237] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 109.

satisfaction,[238] and, ironically, it was at least in part due to Wesley that the evangelicals whom Knox was combating laid such emphasis on the cross.[239]

A similar position to Wesley's appeared in the moderates. Whichcote, for example, 'combines,' as de Pauley notes, 'Anselmic and Abelardian elements' in his soteriology.[240] This appears in Whichcote's correspondence with Anthony Tuckney (1599-1670).[241] Writing to Tuckney, Whichcote declared:

> scripture holds forth Christ to us under a double notion. First, to be felt in us as the new man, in contradiction to the old man; as a divine nature, in contradistinction to the degenerate and apostate nature; and as a principle of heavenly life, contrary to the life of sin and spirit of the world. Second, to be believed on by us, as a sacrifice for the expiation and atonement of sin; as an advocate and means of reconciliation between God and man ... They therefore deceive and flatter themselves extremely who think of reconciliation with God by means of a saviour acting upon God on their behalf, and not also working in or upon them to make them God-like.[242]

One finds the same doctrine in Cudworth, who described the cross as 'a propitiatory sacrifice,'[243] by which Christ paid for humanity 'the debt which was owing to … divine justice.'[244] Salvation, Cudworth explained, meant 'the free remission and pardon of sin,' through the atoning death of Christ.[245] But, at the same time, Cudworth also contended that Christ did not suffer:

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[238] Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification*, 65; 68-9; 72.
[239] See Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 14.
[240] de Pauley, *The Candle of the Lord: Studies in the Cambridge Platonists*, 33. 'Anselmic' refers to the theory that the death of Christ was a sacrifice offered in satisfaction for our sins, developed by Anselm of Bec (c. 1033-1109); the evangelical doctrine is a variant of it. 'Abelardian' refers to Peter Abélard (1079-1142), who held a subjective view of the atonement, akin to that expressed by Knox. The classic work on atonement theory is Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of Atonement*, translated by A.G. Herbert, London: S.C.M. Press, 1931, (1930).
[241] For the Calvinist Anthony Tuckney (1599-1670), at the time of his controversy with Whichcote, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101027794/Anthony-Tuckney, 24th June 2011.
[242] Benjamin Whichcote, 'First Letter,' *Aphorisms*, 6-16, 13-15. Spelling and punctuation modernised.
[243] Ralph Cudworth, 'Sermon 2: The Christian's Victory,' *Works*, 4, 351-99, 351.
[244] *Ibid.*
[245] Cudworth, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' *Works*, 4, 314.

> merely to bring a notion into the world, without producing any real substantial effect at all; without the changing, mending, and reforming of the world; so that men should still be as wicked as they were before, and as much under the power of the prince of darkness, only they should not be thought so; they should still remain as full of all the filthy sores of sin and corruption as before, only they should be accounted whole ... No, surely. The end of the Gospel is life and perfection; it is a divine nature; it is a godlike frame and disposition of spirit; it is to make us partakers of the image of God in righteousness and true holiness [Ephesians 4, 24], without which salvation itself were but a notion.[246]

Like Knox, Cudworth spoke, too, of the attraction of Christ, whom he described as:

> descending into the world in our form and conversing with us in our likeness, that he might allure us and draw us up to God and make us partakers of the divine form.[247]

Like Knox, also, Cudworth described salvation in therapeutic terms. He speaks of Christ in terms of 'a surgeon and physician of souls' freeing them from 'the filth and corruption of sin.'[248] It is a metaphor which goes back to the Fathers, especially those of the Greek church, who liked to play on the similarities between Ἰησοῦς, 'Jesus,' and ἴασις, 'healing.'[249] One example of the image of Christ as healer comes from Clement, who speaks of Christ as:

> our teacher, the Word [who] cures the spiritual sickness of our souls by his admonitions ... The Word of the Father, he alone is the healer of human illness, the holy physician of the sick soul ...The good Teacher who is the Wisdom, the Logos of the Father, the maker of humanity, cures the whole of his creation, healing both soul and body ... He is the physician of human nature, the saviour.[250]

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[246] *Ibid.*, 324-5.
[247] *Ibid.*, 311.
[248] *Ibid.*, 314. Spelling modernised.
[249] For this theme, see : Michael Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung in der Theologie der frühen Kirchenväter*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003; G. Dumeige, '*Le Christ Médecin dans la Litterature Chrétienne des Premiers Siècles*,' *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 48, (1972), 115-41.
[250] Clement, *Paedagogus*, 1, 8, *P.G.*, 8, 256. For the image of Christ the healer in Clement, see Dörnemann, *Krankheit und Heilung in der Theologie der frühen Kirchenvater*, 101-120.

For Clement, as for Knox, this healing is a present affair; and like Knox, Clement, too, pays scant attention to what a nineteenth-century commentator termed 'the mystery of the agony and the passion of the cross.'[251] The same is true for Macarius. Macarius, to cite Maloney, is concerned 'not so much [with] what Jesus has done for us in his lifetime … but [with] what he is now doing for us and with us by his gloriously risen life within us.'[252] Or, in Louth's words, Macarius is 'more interested in what the incarnation makes possible now than in what happened in the past.'[253] Macarius also uses the image of Christ the healer. Thus, for example, pointing to the woman with the issue of blood,[254] Macarius writes:

> [J]ust as the woman ... touched the hem of the garment of the Lord and immediately received a healing, and the flow of the unclean fountain of blood dried up, so everyone afflicted by the incurable wound of sin, the fountain of unclean and evil thoughts, if he only approaches Christ and begs prayerfully and truly believes in him, receives a salvific healing ... Let us, therefore, believe in him and approach him in truth, so that he may speedily bring us to full and authentic health.[255]

In Chrysostom one discovers a number of passages which proclaim the salutary effects of the cross, 'thanks to which the world has been saved.'[256] But also, as in Wesley and the moderates, there is in Chrysostom what Jean-Marie Leroux describes as '*[une] tension entre un salut acquis une fois pour toute en son principe, et la nécessite ontologique pour l'homme de le mener à son terme*,'[257] since, as Leroux

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[251] F.R. Montgomery Hitchcock, *Clement of Alexandria*, London: S.P.C.K., 1899, 223.
[252] Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, 19-20.
[253] Louth, *Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*, 120.
[254] Matthew 9, 20.
[255] Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, 151, 153.
[256] Chrysostom, *On Those Who are Scandalized by Afflictions*, 15, *P.G.* 52, 518. For a detailed summary of this aspect of Chrysostom's soteriology, see Edward Nowak, *Le Chrétien devant la Souffrance: Etude sur la Pensée de Jean Chrysostome*, hereafter, *Chrysostome*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1973, 114-25.
[257] Jean-Marie Leroux, '*Jean Chrysostome et Le Monarchisme*,' in Charles Kannengiesser, ed., *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin: Actes du Colloque de Chantilly, 22-24 Septembre 1974*, Paris: Beauchesne,

explains, in Chrysostom's understanding, '*Dieu a voulu associer l'homme à son propre salut.*'[258] For this reason much of the focus of Chrysostom's preaching was not on the death of Christ, but on the present work of salvation carried out with the help of Christ's grace.[259]

4.2.3. Pneumatology

Knox's pneumatology forms a pair with his Christology, since for him the Spirit is the joint-agent with Christ in the work of salvation. The passages where Knox dealt specially with the Holy Spirit are: the start of his 'Postscript to the Treatise on the Eucharist;'[260] part of his treatise 'On the Nature of our Salvation through Christ;'[261] and his 'Letter on the Personality of the Holy Spirit,'[262] all of which are undated.

By the term 'Holy Spirit' or 'Holy Ghost,' Knox understood not a divine influence, but 'a divine person,'[263] 'the third person of the Trinity,'[264] sharing 'the essential Godhead' of the Father and the Son.[265] Before the incarnation, Knox taught, the Spirit was active in the world, both 'under the Jewish dispensation,'[266] but also:

1975, 125-44, 131: 'a tension between a salvation acquired once for all in principle, and the ontological necessity for human beings to bring it to completion' (my translation).

[258] *Ibid.*, 130-1.'God has willed that human beings should co-operate in their own salvation' (my translation).

[259] See above, 169-71.

[260] *Remains*, 2, 250-62.

[261] *Ibid.*, 325-36.

[262] *Ibid.*, 3, 419-26.

[263] *Ibid.*, 423. This is the theme of the 'Letter on the Personality of the Holy Spirit.'

[264] *Remains.*, 2, 256.

[265] *Ibid.*, 330.

[266] *Ibid.*, 250. There is, I think, little significance in Knox's use of the term 'dispensation,' which was only later to acquire a greater theological importance, through the teaching of John Nelson Darby (1800-82). See Mark Sweetnam and Crawford Gribben, 'J.N. Darby and the Irish Origins of Dispensationalism,' *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 52, 3, (September 2009), 569-77. This said, the term is present in Wesley, while it plays an important part in the theology of his disciple, John Fletcher (1729-85), the Swiss-born rector of Madeley, Shropshire, a point made to me by Randy Maddox in a personal communication, 23rd January 2012. For Wesley's teaching, see Russell J. Frazier, 'John Wesley's Covenantal and Dispensational View of Salvation History,' *Wesley and Methodist Studies*, 1, 1 (2009), 33-54. For Fletcher and his teaching, see Russell J. Frazier, 'The Doctrine of Dispensations in the Thought of John William Fletcher (1792-85),' Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2011. The doctrine of dispensations was not, however, one which Knox developed.

> in every age and nation, it has been his [*sic*] work and delight to foster every disposition and to assist and sustain every honest effort to obey 'the law written in the heart' [Romans 2, 15].[267]

Nonetheless, Knox argued, 'in a certain peculiar and eminent sense, the Holy Ghost was not given until the Lord Jesus Christ was glorified.'[268] This was because the manner in which the Spirit was to act 'under the Gospel dispensation'[269] was to be 'more excellent and effective'[270] than any of its 'former operations;'[271] from henceforth the Spirit was to work with the Son in fulfilling the divine plan of salvation. Thus, according to Knox, the grace by which Christ drew and attracted Christians was:

> communicated through the influence of that other Comforter, who, according to our redeemer's promise, was to abide with the church for ever.[272]

As he put it elsewhere:

> [Christ] ... associated with himself ... the third person of the ever-blessed Trinity, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter [*B.C.P.*, Morning Prayer, *Te Deum*, 34], to be his fellow-worker within the depth of the human spirit, creating by his omnipotent operation in the inner man a capacity of imbibing the rays of the Sun of Righteousness [Malachi 4, 2].[273]

The stress which Knox placed on the action of the Spirit balanced his 'Abelardian' understanding of the cross, which taken alone might be seen as purely subjective. '[A]s the loadstone attracts and assimilates not every metal, but that metal only which

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[267] *Remains*, 2, 260-1. Knox is referring to the natural law of right and wrong, supposedly known to all human beings. See, also, *Correspondence*, 2, 360-1.
[268] *Remains*, 2, 251. Knox is alluding to John 7, 39: 'Up to that time the Spirit had not been given, since Jesus had not yet been glorified.'
[269] *Remains*, 2, 251.
[270] *Ibid.*
[271] *Ibid.*
[272] *Ibid.*, 340. Knox is alluding to John 14, 16: 'And I will pray the Father and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever' (Authorised Version).
[273] *Remains*, 2, 361. See, also: 257-9; 272.

is congenial,'[274] so, in Knox's teaching, Christ effectually drew to himself only those whom the 'animating and sustaining operation' of the Holy Spirit had made susceptible to his influence.[275] But the activity of the Spirit did not stop with the work of attraction. It was the Spirit which united Christians to Christ, and which, dwelling in their hearts, enabled them to imitate Christ. As Knox expressed: 'Deity itself becomes, as it were, an animating principle within us.' [276]

This indwelling 'animation' was, according to Knox, the proper work and office of the Spirit. For if:

> each person of the ever-blessed Trinity is ... actively concurring in our spiritual restoration ... [s]till, however, there appears to be a sense in which the Holy Spirit of God enters into the mind and actuates the powers of cordial Christians by an allotment, as it were, peculiar to himself among the divine persons.[277]

The grace of the in-dwelling Spirit purifying Christians from sin and strengthening them in holiness, constituted, according to Knox, 'the special and peculiar blessing of the Gospel.'[278] By this blessing, 'the leading object of the Christian religion'[279] was accomplished, namely that human beings 'might be partakers of the divine nature.'[280] Gladstone termed this teaching nothing other than the unfolding and explication of that 'little-considered and ill-comprehended clause of the Nicene Creed, I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and *Giver of Life*.' [281] It was also nothing other than the Christian Platonic doctrine of deification.

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[274] *Ibid.*, 106.
[275] *Ibid.*
[276] *Ibid.*, 328.
[277] *Ibid.* 327.
[278] *Ibid.*, 259.
[279] *Ibid.*, 3, 13.
[280] *Ibid.* Knox is quoting 2 Peter 1, 4.
[281] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fol. 76, 'memorandum,' 24th May 1835. Emphasis in the original.

4.2.4. Sources

Knox's teaching about what he termed the Spirit's 'influence and inspiration'[282] was one which he believed to be fundamental to the Christian faith: a 'catholic verity, equally insisted on by the sacred Word and equally embraced by the Christian cloud of witnesses.'[283] His treatment of it thus provides a good illustration of his theological method. He reasoned from what 'is so repeatedly asserted and so emphatically dwelt upon in holy scripture;'[284] yet he appealed not to scripture alone, but also to 'all the … luminaries of the catholic church.'[285] At the same time, Knox invoked experience. '[T]he agency of the divine Spirit can with certainty be discerned … in the production of pure virtue and unambiguous goodness,' he asserted.[286]

The Spirit's role was, as we have seen, fundamental to the Christian Platonic tradition and to the teaching of those whom Knox portrayed as its exemplars. To quote Maddox, Wesley 'placed the Spirit at the centre of his understanding of the Christian life;'[287] he maintained that it was 'the power of the Holy Spirit' which '[enables] us to believe and love and serve God.'[288] The whole Christian life was thus for him the work of divine inspiration, in the sense of 'God's breathing into the soul.'[289]

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[282] *Remains*, 2, 325. By 'inspiration,' Knox means here, as the context shows, the work of the Spirit in the minds and hearts of believers.
[283] *Remains*, 2, 325.
[284] *Ibid.*, 326.
[285] *Ibid.*, 3, 425.
[286] *Ibid.*, 2, 331.
[287] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 119. For a detailed introduction to Wesley's pneumatology, see Starkey, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* and Lessmann, *Rolle und Bedeutung des Heiligen Geistes in der Theologie John Wesleys*.
[288] John Wesley, *Instructions for Children*, London: M. Cooper, 1745, 10.
[289] John Wesley, Sermon 19, 'The Great Privilege of those that are born of God,' 3, 2; *Works*, 1, 431-43, 442.

For the moderates, too, the Spirit's role was essential. Cudworth, for example, described justification variously as: 'wrought or infused by the Spirit of Christ;'[290] 'the delivering of us from the power of sin by the Spirit of Christ dwelling in our hearts;' [291] our renovation 'by the quickening and enlivening Spirit of Christ.'[292] He declared:

> The Gospel is a true Bethesda, a pool of grace, where such poor, lame, and infirm creatures as we are, upon the moving of God's Spirit in it, may descend down, not only to wash our skin and outside, but, also, to be cured of our diseases within. And, whatever the world thinks, there is a powerful Spirit that moves upon these waters [Genesis 1, 2], the waters of the Gospel, spreading its gentle, healing, quickening wings over our souls.[293]

A similar doctrine is found in Smith, who teaches:

> When the divinity united itself to human nature in the person of our saviour, he then gave mankind a pledge and earnest of what he would further do therein, in bringing it into as near a conjunction as might be with himself, and in dispensing and communicating himself to man in a way as far correspondent and agreeable as might be to that first copy. And therefore we are told of 'Christ being formed in us' [Galatians 4, 19], and 'the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us'[1 Corinthians 3, 16] ... and the like, because indeed the same Spirit that dwelt in him, extends itself in its mighty virtue and energy through all believing souls, shaping them more and more into a just resemblance and conformity to him as the first copy and pattern.[294]

Something which Knox perhaps took especially from the moderates was the phrase 'Spirit of Christ.' This phrase occurs only twice in the New Testament;[295] by contrast,

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[290] Cudworth, 'Sermon 2: The Christian's Victory,' *Works*, 4, 369.
[291] Cudworth, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' *Works*, 4, 314.
[292] Cudworth, 'Sermon 2: The Christian Victory,' *Works*, 4, 371.
[293] Cudworth, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' *Works*, 4, 314-5. For the pool of Bethesda, see John 5, 1-4.
[294] Smith, Discourse 7, 'Of Legal and Evangelical Righteousness,' *Select Discourses*, 368.
[295] Romans 8, 9; 1 Peter 1, 11.

the moderates used habitually, and it was one which was important for Knox,[296] because, in his understanding, it was by the Spirit that Christ worked in souls.[297] Of all the titles given to the Holy Ghost, the 'Spirit of Christ' was the one which, in Knox's view, best expressed the Spirit's 'evangelical character.'[298] In other words, it was the title which best defined for him the Spirit's role in redemption.

Although not ranked as a Platonist, another Anglican influence on Knox may well have been John Pearson, whose general significance for Knox has already been discussed.[299] In his *Exposition of the Creed*, Pearson gave a prominent place to the Spirit, teaching that:

> he [*sic*] is ... called 'the Holy Spirit' or 'the Spirit of holiness' (Romans 1, 4), because of the three persons in the blessed Trinity, it is his particular office to sanctify or make us holy.[300]

The roots of Knox's pneumatology lie in the patristic period, not least in the Christian Platonic writers to whom he especially appealed. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit was shaped into its orthodox expression only during the latter part of the fourth century, for example by Basil of Caesarea (c. 330-79) and Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329-c.390).[301] Nonetheless, the doctrine existed earlier in an inchoate form, and Clement is an example of this. Clement so closely associated 'Word' and 'Spirit' that he has been seen as identifying the two, with the result that his theology has been described as 'Binitarian.'[302] Nonetheless, as G. L. Prestige points out: 'from the

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[296] *Remains*, 2, 256.
[297] See above, 287-8.
[298] *Remains*, 2, 258.
[299] See above, 180-1.
[300] Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed*, 467.
[301] For the development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, see Yves M. J. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, translated by David Smith, three volumes, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983, (1979-80).
[302] See, for example, Henning Ziebritzki, *Heiliger Geist und Weltseele: das Problem der dritten Hypostase bei Origenes, Plotin und ihren Vorläufern*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994, 123.

middle of the first century the same people were both Binitarians and Trinitarians.'[303] As H.E.W.. Turner explains:

> There is no reason to believe that those who worked normally with a Binitarian phrasing in their theology were other than Trinitarian in their religion. . . Christians lived Trinitarianly before the doctrine of the Trinity began to be thought out conceptually.[304]

However Clement may have understood the nature of the Spirit, he made its activity, as Osborn observes, an 'essential element' of his teaching.[305] The same was true with Macarius; he gave, as Maloney says, 'an eminent role … to the action of the Spirit.'[306] For him, the Spirit was 'the life of the soul.'[307] He described the Christian as 'a pure dwelling for the adorable and Holy Spirit, from whom he receives the immortal peace of Christ, through whom he is joined and united with the Lord.'[308] Macarius proclaimed:

> [O]ne who has found and possesses within himself the heavenly treasure of the Spirit fulfils all the commands justly and practices all the virtues without blame ... Let us, therefore, beg God, seeking and praying him to gift us with the treasure of the Spirit, in order that we may be empowered to walk in all his commands without blame and purely.[309]

One of the characteristics of Chrysostom's pneumatology was his insistence that the Son and the Spirit are 'inseparable and totally united in every respect.'[310] Chrysostom held that from the first moment of his conception as a human being, Christ was filled with the Holy Spirit, just as, subsequently, the Spirit filled the souls of the

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[303] G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, London: S.P.C.K., 1936, xxiii.
[304] H.E.W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth: A Study in the Relations Between Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Early Church*, London: A.R. Mowbray and Co., 1954, 134-5; 474.
[305] Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, 153. For an introduction to Clement's pneumatology, see Bogdan G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and Other Early Christian Witnesses*, Leiden: Brill, 2009.
[306] Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, 12.
[307] *Ibid.*, 192.
[308] *Ibid.*, 269.
[309] *Ibid.*, 142.
[310] Chrysostom, 'Homily 13 on Romans,' 8, *P.G.*, 60, 519.

righteous.[311] In this way, as Christ is present with them, so, too, is the Spirit. 'This is not because the Spirit is Christ,' Chrysostom clarified. 'Rather, whoever has the Spirit is Christ's and possesses Christ. For it cannot but be that where the Spirit is, there is Christ also.'[312] Thus, for Chrysostom, as for Knox, the Spirit and the Son work inseparably in the task of salvation.[313]

Knox believed that what he taught about the Spirit was the doctrine of the Church of England, which he described as 'earnestly' teaching that:

> from the first to the last step of our Christian course, we can accomplish nothing effectually by our own power, but must obtain both the implantation and the increase of every pure principle, of every right temper, and of every spiritual affection, from the grace of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, infused into us by the operation of the Holy Ghost.[314]

This operation of the Holy Ghost is something which appears throughout the Prayer Book, which constantly refers to the Spirit's work of '[sanctifying] … all the elect people of God.'[315] One might cite, for example, the collect for purity, which describes Christians' hearts being cleansed by the inspiration of the Spirit;[316] or the collect for Christmas Day, which portrays them as being 'daily renewed by [the] Holy Spirit;'[317] or that for the first Sunday in Lent, which asks that the 'flesh being subdued by the Spirit,' believers may 'ever obey thy godly motions in righteousness and true holiness.' [318]

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[311] Chrysostom, 'Homily 1 on Acts,' 5, *P.G.*, 60, 21.
[312] Chrysostom, 'Homily 13 on Romans,' 8, *P.G.*, 60, 519.
[313] For Chrysostom's pneumatology, see, also, above, 170-1.
[314] *Remains*, 2, 272.
[315] *B.C.P.*, Catechism, 213.
[316] *Ibid.*, 180.
[317] *Ibid.*, 63.
[318] *Ibid.*, 83.

4.2.5. Short Conclusion

This section began by exploring Knox's Christology, focusing especially on the work of Christ. Because in Knox's theology the work of the Spirit was intimately joined to that of the Son, the section also examined Knox's pneumatology, describing his teaching about the Spirit's person and work. In both cases, particular attention was paid to the sources of his teaching. Since the work of Christ and the Spirit was the justification of sinners it is to this topic that I turn in the next section, together with perfection, which Knox regarded an integral part of the justificatory process.

3. Justification and Perfection

The section examines Knox's doctrine of justification, and its concomitant, perfection. It is divided into four parts. The first analyses Knox's concept of justification, examining the importance he ascribed to the topic, and the meaning which he gave the term 'justification.' It then examines his reasons for repudiating the contemporary evangelical doctrine of justification by faith alone, before analysing his own statement of the doctrine. It examines his understanding of the relationship between faith and works; the objections raised against his teaching by both evangelical and high church critics; and the similarities between his position and that of the council of Trent. The second part explores the sources of Knox's teaching. The third part analyses Knox's doctrine of perfection, the state to which he viewed justification as leading; and part four investigates the sources of this doctrine. The section ends with a short conclusion.

4.3.1. Justification

Knox dealt with justification [319] in a number of treatises: 'On Justification, to D. Parken, Esq.' (1810);[320] 'On the Leading Design of the Christian Dispensation, as exhibited in the epistle to the Romans'(undated);[321] 'On Redemption and Salvation by Christ, as exhibited in the epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews' (undated);[322] 'Letter to Major Woodward on Doctrinal Points' (1807);[323] 'Letter to Mrs Hannah More, shewing [sic] the theology of the New Testament not to be Calvinistic' (1807);[324] and the 'Letter to the Reverend James J. Hornby, on some passages in the Epistle to the Romans' (1828).[325] There is also a detailed letter on the subject in the *Correspondence*, dated 25th February 1818.[326]

For Knox, justification was a matter of vital significance, 'one of the most deeply practical questions that can interest the heart.'[327] In fact, it was for him *the* question; as he told Jebb, his thoughts on this subject were, in his estimation, 'more important than any others which have passed through my mind.'[328] The reason for this was that by 'justification' Knox understood 'salvation.'[329] The identification is a common one. As Alister McGrath notes:

> The *doctrine* of justification has come to develop a meaning quite independent of its biblical origins, and concerns the means by which man's relationship to God is established. The church has chosen to subsume its

[319] For the topic of justification in general, see Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, hereafter, *Iustitia Dei*, two volumes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
[320] *Remains*, 1, 281-317.
[321] *Ibid.*, 2, 13-43.
[322] *Ibid.*, 44-153.
[323] *Ibid.*, 3, 15-41.
[324] *Ibid.*, 71-102.
[325] *Ibid.*, 443-56.
[326] *Correspondence*, 2, 349-55.
[327] *Remains*, 2, 90.
[328] *Correspondence*, 2, 532. The letter in which this statement appeared was written in 1826, thus towards the end of Knox's life.
[329] See *Remains*, 3, 100-1.

> discussion of the reconciliation of man to God under the aegis of justification, thereby giving the concept an emphasis quite absent from the New Testament. The 'doctrine of justification' has come to bear a meaning within dogmatic theology which is quite independent of its Pauline origins.[330]

What McGrath means is that the church, by which he understands the western church, has come to denote by 'justification' the whole way in which sinful humanity is reconciled with God, whereas in the Bible it has a more limited scope, being there, as McGrath explains, 'one of many [concepts] employed … to describe God's saving action toward his people.'[331] That the term came to such prominence in the west was largely due to the Reformation, protestants holding up the teaching that human beings are justified by faith alone as the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae*.[332] In response, the Roman Catholic Church, which had until then had paid little attention to the question, formulated its own doctrine *de iustificatione* at the sixth session of the Council of Trent in 1547.[333] The issue thereafter continued as a *causa belli* between Roman Catholics and protestants, especially those of evangelical convictions. At the same time, the issue was a matter of dispute within Anglicanism, where it was one of the major differences between evangelicals and orthodox.[334] All of this is in the background to Knox's treatment of the subject and helps to explain why Knox used the word 'justification.' He was not starting his theology *de novo*, in which case he might have adopted a different term; he was joining in an on-going debate. In so doing, however, one of the things he was seeking to accomplish was an elucidation of

[330] McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 1, 2.
[331] *Ibid.*
[332] *Ibid.*, 'the point on which the church stands or falls.' On this point, see below, 303, the quotations from J.T. O'Brien.
[333] See below, 305-6.
[334] For a summary of this dispute, see Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context*, 257-61.

what the New Testament has to say about salvation, and this involved using the language of justification, at least with regard to the Pauline corpus.[335]

Knox spoke of justification as 'one of the most perplexing controversies which ever yet divided honest members of the Christian church.'[336] His own views were, nonetheless, clear. He trenchantly rejected the contemporary evangelical notion of a purely [337] forensic, imputed justification, or 'reputative' justification, as he also termed it.[338] This was the teaching that justification meant 'a judicial declaration of the innocence of the person justified,' to quote one of its leading contemporary exponents, J.T. O'Brien. [339] According to this theory, God, seen as a judge, declared sinners innocent, because the penalty incurred by them on account of sin had been paid on their behalf by Jesus Christ, through his suffering and death on the cross. God, at the same time, accounted sinners righteous, attributing to them the righteousness of Christ, perfectly displayed throughout his life on earth. This double benefit was not obtained through any work or merit on the part of sinners; all they could do was trust in God's merciful love, placing their confidence in the death and merits of Christ: this was what it meant to be justified by faith alone. Faith was thus, as O'Brien explained:

> trust in Christ, or in God, through Christ ... an entire and unreserved confidence in the efficacy of what Christ has done and suffered for us, a full reliance upon him and upon his work.[340]

[335] It is interesting to note, however, that Knox portrays Wesley as teaching not so much *justification* by faith as *salvation* by faith: see *Wesley*, 496.
[336] *Remains*, 2, 90.
[337] For this qualification, see below, 301.
[338] For examples of Knox's use of this term, see: *Remains*, 1, 290; 291; 298; 299; 2, 23; *Correspondence*, 2, 353.
[339] O'Brien, *Justification*, first edition, 62.
[340] *Ibid.*, 14.

For evangelicals, this doctrine was, to quote O'Brien, a 'fundamental doctrine of the Gospel of Christ,'[341] of 'vital importance to true religion,'[342] 'a truth to which all truth, even revealed truth, must be felt to be subordinate.'[343]

Knox rejected this doctrine, fearing it led to antinomianism. This was the idea that, because one is justified uniquely by faith and not by works, the latter are irrelevant to the Christian life. The fear of antinomianism strongly marked Wesley's theology, [344] and this was no doubt where Knox first encountered it. Nonetheless, the fear was not unique to Wesley, being widespread in the early part of the nineteenth century. For example, in 1812 the high churchman Richard Mant (1776-1848) [345] made a warning against 'the dangerous consequences to which the doctrine of faith alone is calculated to lead carnal minds' one of the chief themes of his Bampton Lectures.[346] Mant's admonition was echoed by moderate evangelicals. Thus, for instance, one finds the *Christian Observer* speaking in 1803 of '[i]ncautious positions on the side of free grace [which] feed the antinomian's distemper.'[347]

The antinomianism to which Knox saw the doctrine of justification by faith alone as leading was not an outright and explicit rejection of holiness, which allowed believers to act as they pleased, so long as they had faith in Christ. Knox accused evangelicalism not of rejecting but of ignoring holiness. Theirs was, he charged, a 'doctrinal' or 'dogmatic' religion, involving nothing more than an act of intellectual

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[341] *Ibid.*, 61.
[342] *Ibid.*
[343] *Ibid*, 141-2.
[344] For Wesley's fear of antinomianism, see Alan P. F. Sell, *The Great Debate: Calvinism, Arminianism and Salvation*, hereafter, *The Great Debate*, Worthing: H. E. Walter, 1982, 42-52; 67.
[345] Richard Mant (1776-1848), subsequently Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore; see *O.D.N.B*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101018001/Richard-Mant, accessed 24th June 2011.
[346] Richard Mant, *An Appeal to the Gospel, or, An Inquiry into the Justice of the Charge, Alleged by Methodists and Other Objectors, that the Gospel is not Preached by the National Clergy: in a series of discourses delivered before the University of Oxford in the year 1812, at the lecture founded by the late Reverend J. Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury*, Oxford: J. Parker, 1812, 105.
[347] *Christian Observer*, 2, 7, (July 1803), 423.

apprehension, belief in Christ's saving death.[348] Knox argued that since believers relied on this apprehension, they neglected to cultivate a 'life of deep and habitual devotion.'[349] '[The] notion of a forensic and imputative salvation seems to have weakened … concern for the one thing needful,' he alleged.[350] It had produced, in his judgment, a 'weak and struggling piety,'[351] the antithesis of 'the real import of evangelical doctrine … the supreme design of the Gospel,'[352] which he deemed to be the zealous pursuit of sanctity.[353] For this reason, he excoriated the doctrine of justification by faith alone as 'one of the greatest hindrances to the diffusion of true religion in the world, as well as to the growth of it in the individual.'[354] It was, he maintained, 'the grand error of the present religious world.'[355]

'The fact is,' Knox declared, 'that the more I read and think and look around me, my conviction increases that the oversight of the supreme moral purpose of the Gospel is the dominant error of the present day.'[356] This error could only be corrected, he believed, by returning to what the Bible actually taught. If one examined its pages, he contended, one would not find the doctrine of justification by faith alone.[357] Rather, he held, 'the real essentials of revealed truth' are 'the Trinity in Unity, the incarnation of the second person … and the influences of the co-eternal Spirit,'[358] the doctrines, in other words, which he conceived of as essential to his own view of justification.[359]

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[348] *Remains*, 2, 364. For examples of Knox's use of the term 'doctrinal' in this sense see: *Remains*, 2, 52; 90; 354; 383; 435; 3, 44, 48; 4, 211; *Wesley*, 420; 448. For examples of his use of the term 'dogmatic' and 'dogmatist' see: *Remains*, 2, 54; 156; 168; 285; 307; 487; *Wesley*, 474.
[349] *Remains*, 4, 587.
[350] *Ibid.*, 1, 268. For the 'one thing needful,' see above, 194-5.
[351] *Remains*, 1, 353. For similar phrases, see: 359; 3, 73. See, also, below, 318.
[352] *Remains*, 4, 518.
[353] *Ibid.*, 1, 361.
[354] *Ibid.*, 3, 93.
[355] *Ibid.*, 81.
[356] *Ibid.*, 4, 518. As the context shows, 'oversight' here has the sense of 'overlooking' or 'neglect.'
[357] *Ibid.*, 3, 99-100.
[358] *Ibid.*, 1, 316.
[359] See above, 193-5.

Besides scripture, Knox appealed to tradition to refute the evangelical doctrine: the *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est* .'[360] He advanced the opinion that 'the notion of forensic justification [was not] taught by any writer previous to the Reformation;'[361] it was, he esteemed, unknown in the church 'during the fourteen centuries which preceded Luther and Calvin.'[362] Instead, he maintained, 'from the first century to the days of the schoolmen' justification was uniquely understood as 'the being made inwardly and practically righteous through the transmutative influences of the grace of Christ.' [363]

Nor, when the German and Swiss Reformers enunciated their new doctrine, did the 'Anglican Reformed Church' follow them, he upheld. [364] '[A]n exclusively forensic justification'[365] could not, in his view, 'be regarded as the doctrine either of the Liturgy, the Articles, or the Homilies of the Church of England.'[366] In fact, he wrote to C.A. Ogilvie of the evangelical doctrine, there could not be an opinion 'more contrary to our truly catholic formularies.'[367]

In place of a purely forensic justification, Knox advocated a doctrine of ontological and imparted justification: 'moral justification rather than reputative justification,' to use his phrase.[368] 'Moral' here means having a moral effect. As Knox explained: 'To be justified … is to be made righteous in mind and heart, through the effectual grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.'[369]

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[360] *Remains*, 1, 316: 'that which hath been believed in all places, at all times, by all the faithful,' to cite the translation given in the *Remains* (*ibid.*, note 1).
[361] *Ibid.*, 4, 376.
[362] *Ibid.*, 1, 268.
[363] *Ibid*, 4, 549-50.
[364] *Ibid.*, 1, 289.
[365] *Ibid.*, 298.
[366] *Ibid.*
[367] Bodleian, Ms. Eng. Lett. d. 123, 'Letters to C.A. Ogilvie, K-Z,' fol. 87, Knox to C.A. Ogilvie, letter, 23rd January 1827.
[368] *Remains*, 1, 291.
[369] *Ibid.*, 2, 33; see, also: 60; 4, 211; 304; 550; *Correspondence*, 1, 17-18; 2, 352-3.

It is important to realise that Knox did not jettison the notion of imputed justification. He regarded what he taught as the doctrine of the Church of England, and his belief was that the Church of England maintained both imparted and imputed justification.[370] The Church had, he held, developed the teaching of the Fathers, for whom justification was, he believed, purely 'moral,' 'by recognising the reputative as well as the efficient part of justification.'[371] The two went together, in Knox's view: 'reputative' justification was a consequence of the sinner's 'efficient' justification. In other words, God made human beings righteous, and then reputed them righteous:

> [O]ur being reckoned righteous *coram Deo* (before God) always and essentially implies a substance of δικαιοσύνη (righteousness), previously implanted in us ...[O]ur reputative justification is the strict and inseparable result of this previous efficient moral justification. I mean that the reckoning of us righteous presupposes an inward reality of righteousness on which this reckoning is founded.'[372]

Knox added the *caveat* that any notion of temporality in the divine act of justification was an accommodation to human limitations. 'What God speaks, he performs,' Knox remarked,[373] and, therefore, he asked:

> In him whose word is omnipotence can we form any other than the most merely figurative distinction between what he says and what he does? [374]

Knox spoke of justification by faith.[375] There was for him, however, no dichotomy between faith and works; they were inseparable: the one was the root, the other the fruit.[376] Another, more striking, metaphor which Knox employed was that of faith as

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[370] *Remains*, 1, 308.
[371] *Ibid.*, 299. For the idea of doctrinal development in Knox, see above, 70.
[372] *Remains*, 1, 306. See, also: 2, 23-4; 3, 32-3; 52; 56; 92; *Correspondence*, 2, 353.
[373] *Remains*, 2, 148.
[374] *Ibid*, 3, 102. See, also, *Correspondence*, 2, 353.
[375] See, for example: *Remains,* 1, 308; 2, 75; 3, 33; 87.
[376] *Remains*, 3, 56; 85; *Correspondence*, 2, 352-3. For this metaphor, Knox appeals, in the first two of these passages, to Article twelve of the Thirty-Nine Articles. The Article speaks of 'good works' as

'pregnant' with good works,[377] an image which he may have derived from Robert Boyle.[378] Knox defined faith as the apprehension of God.[379] This faith produced love,[380] for, Knox contended, 'rightly to know [God] is to love him ... the one is the infinitely certain result of the other.'[381] This was because the moral beauty of God, perceived by faith, was such that it automatically drew the soul to itself.[382] This was why, according to Knox, St Paul spoke of 'the obedience of faith,'[383] for, in apprehending God and loving what it apprehended, faith could not but become a 'radical rightness of mind and heart toward God, which secures our entire acquiescence in every manifestation of the divine will.'[384] It was a teaching which Knox summed up thus:

> We have here ... beyond controversy, the true nature of justifying faith. It is such obedience from the heart to the objective faith of the Gospel, in other words, such an affectionate reception of the divine facts and principles which the Gospel propounds, as alters the course, changes the character, and morally renovates the man. This is, self-evidently, obedience unto righteousness, or ... 'believing with the heart unto righteousness.'[385]

'the fruits of faith;' they 'spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree is discerned by the fruit' (*B.C.P.*, 399).

[377] *Remains*, 3, 34.

[378] '[T]rue faith ... be ever the pregnant mother of good works,' (Robert Boyle, *Some Motives and Incentives to the Love of God, pathetically discours'd of in a letter to a friend*, fourth edition London: H. Herringman, 1665, (1659), 76. The phrase, often attributed to Calvin, actually first appears in John Fisher (1469-1535); see Hugo Laemmer, *Die Vortridentinisch- Katholisch Theologie*, Berlin: Schlawitz, 1858, 145.

[379] *Remains*, 1, 40.

[380] *Ibid.*, 4, 189.

[381] *Ibid.*, 3, 165. For other instances of Knox's teaching on the relation of faith to works, see, also: 1, 285; 2, 38-9; 4, 189; 457; *Correspondence*, 1, 42; *Wesley*, 499-502.

[382] See above, 215; 278-9.

[383] *Remains*, 2, 18-19. Knox is alluding to Romans 1, 5 and 16, 26, where Paul speaks of the ὑπακοὴν πίστεως.

[384] *Remains*, 3, 88.

[385] *Ibid.*, 2, 74. The closing quotation comes from Romans 10, 10.

Although Knox spoke of faith as the 'principle' from which good works proceed,[386] we have also seen that at the same time he also identified the Holy Spirit with this 'principle.'[387] There was no contradiction, however, because for Knox 'faith is a divine grace communicated by the Holy Spirit.'[388] It is, as 'Wesley ... [describes] in accordance with the best divines ... a grace of God's Holy Spirit, which enables us to apprehend spiritual and eternal things with practical interest and predominant affection.'[389] Both, therefore, are principles of righteousness in the soul of the believer.

Basing himself on scriptural passages such as Romans 6, 22[390] and Galatians 5, 22-23,[391] Knox distinguished between justification and sanctification;[392] nonetheless, he held that they were both parts of one and the same process, signifying simply 'the higher and lower stages of the Christian life.'[393] 'The justified state,' he wrote, 'duly tended and cultivated, thrives and advances,'[394] eventually bringing the Christian, even in this world, to a state of perfection. By contrast, if 'unguarded and neglected,' justification 'wastes, withers and dies.'[395]

Knox's doctrine of justification proved highly controversial. To quote Hornby:

> What is the real meaning of the clamour raised against Mr Knox? It is the never-failing dispute on the nature of justification ...That is the true head and front of Mr Knox's offending.[396]

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[386] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 181; 2, 18; 75.
[387] See above, 288.
[388] *Wesley*, 495.
[389] *Ibid.*, 483-4. In both this and the preceding quotation Knox is speaking about Wesley's position; but it is a position which he evidently shares.
[390] 'But now that you have been set free from sin and have become slaves to God, the benefit you reap leads to holiness, and the result is eternal life.'
[391] 'But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control.'
[392] *Remains*, 3, 27.
[393] *Ibid.*, 1, 354. See, also: 300-2; 2, 80-4; 3, 27; 31-2; 40; *Correspondence*, 2, 14; 352-3.
[394] *Remains*, 1, 311.
[395] *Ibid.*
[396] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' cix-x.

Criticism came from high churchmen. Gladstone taxed Knox with 'what it is scarcely right to characterise as anything less than a serious error: his denial of forensic justification.'[397] Gladstone claimed that, although Knox may have desired to reject 'a *merely* forensic justification,'[398] he had 'denied forensic justification totally,'[399] thus departing both from the teaching of scripture and of the Church of England. Similar concerns were raised in the *British Critic*, which declared Knox's views on justification to be 'somewhat startling.'[400] Reviewing the first two volumes of the *Remains*, it described his position as 'at least partially erroneous.'[401] Part of his error lay in the fact that, according to the reviewer, both St Paul and, following him, the Church of England, describe justification primarily in terms of the reputation of righteousness, rather than in terms of making righteous, thus making a clear distinction between justification and sanctification.[402]

This high church criticism might seem surprising, but it should be noted that at the start of the nineteenth century there was comparative agreement between evangelicals and high churchmen on the issue of justification.[403] It was Knox who changed this, something the *British Critic* predicted, cautioning that his views would 'occasion something more than a ripple upon the surface of this comparatively stagnant question.'[404] The prophecy was soon fulfilled. To quote McGrath, the publication of

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[397] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fols 74-5, 'memorandum,' 24th May 1835.
[398] *Ibid.*, fol 75. Emphasis in the original.
[399] *Ibid.*
[400] *British Critic*, 23, 45 (January 1838), 1. See, also, 2.
[401] *British Critic*, 17, 34, (April 1835), 262.
[402] For the discussion of Knox's teaching of justification, see *ibid.*, 261-82.
[403] McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 2, 122.
[404] *British Critic*, 17, 34, (April 1835), 277. One may compare this prediction with what the *British Critic* notes three years later: that Knox's opinions on justification have caused a 'commotion' (*British Critic*, 23, 45, January 1838, 2).

Knox's opinions 'shattered the relative calm' that had previously existed,[405] making the subject, in Nockles's words, 'one of renewed theological dispute.'[406]

Nockles also observes that 'as an advocate of the doctrine of a moral as opposed to a forensic view of justification [Knox] is commonly regarded as a precursor of Tractarian teaching.'[407] Space, however, does not permit us to develop this topic, either by comparing Knox's teaching with that of the Oxonians, or by examining the question of his influence on them.[408]

The main criticism of Knox's views on justification came from evangelicals. They censured him for denying what they saw as the Biblical doctrine of justification by faith alone and its concomitant, the doctrine of imputed righteousness. Believing that these doctrines had been championed by the English Reformers, they argued that Knox's doctrine, far from representing the teaching of the Church of England, was, in fact, 'exactly analogous to that of the decrees of the council of Trent.'[409] The charge did not perturb Knox:

> I doubt really whether, on the point of justification, the Romish language is not much more scriptural and rational [than that of protestants], as it involves in that term not the mere accounting, but, also the making righteous which, when ascribed solely to divine grace, is so far from being, in my mind, an erroneous idea, that I think the scriptural meaning of justification strictly requires it.[410]

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[405] McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 2, 122.
[406] Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context*, 261.
[407] *Ibid.*
[408] The classic Tractarian work on the subject of justification is John Henry Newman, *Lectures on Justification*, London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1838. Of note, too, is E.B. Pusey, *Justification: A Sermon Preached before the University at St. Mary's on the Twenty-Fourth Sunday after Trinity, 1853*, Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853.
[409] *Christian Examiner*, 3, 36, (October 1834), 699. See, also, 2, 26, (Supplement 1837), 821-2. G.S. Faber makes the assertion repeatedly in his *Primitive Doctrine of Justification;* see, for example: vi; xviii; 30; 47-8.
[410] *Remains*, 4, 305.

After much debate on the subject,[411] the council of Trent had decreed in 1547 that justification consisted:

> not only in the remission of sins, but also in sanctification and interior renovation, through the voluntary reception of graces and gifts, whence from being unrighteous a person is made righteous.[412]

'God makes us righteous,'[413] the council declared; 'we are not only reputed righteous, but are truly so called and are righteous,' [414] through 'the love of God poured into [our] hearts by the Holy Spirit.'[415] Scripture speaks of justification by faith, but it also teaches that 'faith without works is dead and barren,'[416] which is why faith is to be understood as 'the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all righteousness.'[417] From this beginning, the justified 'advancing from virtue to virtue, and renewed, as the Apostle says, day by day ... grow in the righteousness that they have received.'[418]

Knox's doctrine accorded with this teaching: the only major point on which he and Trent disagreed was merit. Trent held that good works were meritorious and would therefore be rewarded by God,[419] a concept Knox ignored.

4.3.2. Sources

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[411] For these debates, see Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent: Volume 2: The First Sessions at Trent, 1545-1547*, translated by Ernest Graf, Edinburgh: T. Nelson, 1961, (1957), 166-96; 234-67; 283-316.
[412] Council of Trent, *Decretum de Iustificatione*, 7, *D.S.*, 1528. The translation of the council's teaching in this thesis is my own.
[413] Trent, *Decretum de Iustificatione*, 7, *D.S.*, 1529.
[414] *Ibid.*
[415] *Ibid.*, *D.S.*, 1530. The council is alluding to Romans 5, 5.
[416] *Ibid.*, *D.S.*, 1531. The council is alluding to James 2, 17, which in the Vulgate reads: *'Sic et fides si non habeat opera mortua est in semet ipsam,'* 'thus faith if it has not works is dead in itself' (my translation).
[417] Trent, *Decretum de Iustificatione*, 8, *D.S.*, 1532.
[418] *Ibid.*, 10, *D.S.*, 1535. The passage alludes to Psalm 83, 3 (Vulgate) and 2 Corinthians 4, 16.
[419] Trent, *Decretum de Iustificatione*, 16, *D.S.*, 1545-6.

The similarities between Knox and Trent are evident; for Knox, however, the doctrine he taught was derived, first and fundamentally, from the Bible. It was 'that which is maintained throughout the New Testament,'[420] by Paul not least of all, he asserted.[421] In evidence he adduced a number of arguments. One was philological; words ending in οσύνη 'express actual and personal habits,' he contended, 'rooted in the mind and manifested in the conduct.'[422] Another argument was exegetical. Knox maintained that when Paul used δικαιοσύνη ('righteousness') and its cognates, he employed them in a 'moral' sense, that is, in relation to a real moral change wrought in the heart and life of the believer. For example, Knox argued, Paul says in Romans 9, 30-1 that the Gentiles have obtained righteousness through faith, while the Jews did not obtain it through the Law. But, Knox maintained, the righteousness that the Law offered was evidently a moral righteousness, therefore the righteousness that comes by faith must be moral, too.[423] Or, again, Knox held that Paul contrasts righteousness with sin; but sin is a moral condition, therefore righteousness must also be moral.[424] A further example of Knox's exegetical argumentation in favour of his views on justification is his treatment of the Pauline phrase ὑπακοὴν πίστεως, 'the obedience of faith.'[425] Knox reasoned that in stating that the production of obedience was 'the great purpose of his mission' as an apostle, Paul showed 'briefly yet conclusively'

[420] *Remains*, 3, 87.
[421] *Ibid.*, 82-3. See, also, 2, 60; 4, 211. 'I wish to understand [justification] exactly as St Paul uses it,' Knox told Jebb (*Correspondence*, 2, 353).
[422] *Remains*, 1, 303. 'It is not true,' replies O'Brien (*Justification*, third edition, 566). More gently, the *British Critic* remarked: 'Philology was not altogether Mr Knox's strongest point' (27, 34, April 1835, 270).
[423] *Remains*, 2, 34-5.
[424] *Ibid.*, 29-30.
[425] See above, 302.

that this mission 'was strictly and essentially of a moral nature,' for obedience 'is a moral habit of mind and heart.' [426]

In defence of his teaching, Knox also adduced the authority of Wesley. Knox claimed that Wesley:

> regarded justification neither merely nor chiefly as a forensic acquittal in the court of heaven, but as implying also a *conscious liberation from moral thraldom.*[427]

Wesley's insistence on the necessity of holiness for salvation made it 'impossible for him to endure the solifidian system,' Knox contended.[428] Rather:

> [Wesley] connects faith so directly and exclusively with holiness, as to make the former nothing but the root and principle of the latter ... This is John Wesley's central lesson ... the vital spirit of [his] true mission.[429]

Knox's understanding of Wesley is shared by a number of modern scholars,[430] and appears to be sanctioned by his writings. Even during his most evangelical 'middle' period [431] he spoke of 'faith, holiness and good works' being connected as 'the root, the tree and the fruit.'[432] Although he denied that justification and sanctification were the same thing, [433] he insisted that 'pardon, the forgiveness of sins,' which is how he defined justification, [434] was inseparable from sanctification, or 'being made actually just and righteous.'[435] Thus, even if there was a verbal dissonance between Knox and Wesley, they agreed in substance.

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[426] *Remains*, 2, 18.
[427] *Wesley*, 420. Emphasis in the original. See, also, 448; *Remains*, 3, 153-7.
[428] *Wesley*, 448. See, also: 330; *Remains*, 1, 179-82; 277-9; 3, 162-4.
[429] *Remains*, 1, 181-2. See, also, *Wesley*, 496-7 and 502, where Knox discusses Wesley's understanding of faith.
[430] See, for example: Cragg in Wesley, *Works*, 11, 16; Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 84; 152; Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 390-3; Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 1, 80-1; 181-2; 323, note 43.
[431] See above, 91.
[432] Wesley, *Journal*, 2, 265, entry for 30th August 1739.
[433] John Wesley, Sermon 5, 'Justification by Faith,' 2, 1, *Works*, 1, 181-99, 187. For Knox's comments on this position, see *Remains*, 3, 27.
[434] Wesley, Sermon 5, 'Justification by Faith,' 2, 5, *Works*, 1, 189.
[435] Wesley, Sermon 5, 'Justification by Faith,' 2, 1, *Works*, 1, 187.

For his own part, Wesley strove to show that he had always maintained the importance of both faith and holiness. To quote a sermon preached in 1790, the year before his death:

> [S]ome have supposed that when I began to declare, 'By grace ye are saved, through faith' [Ephesians 2, 8], I retracted what I had before maintained: 'Without holiness no man shall see the Lord' [Hebrews 12, 14]. But it is an entire mistake. These scriptures well consist with each other, the meaning of the former being plainly this: by faith we are saved from sin, made holy.[436]

The main difference between Knox and Wesley on the issue of justification was that, while Knox held that God first justified sinners and then declared them just, for Wesley the position was reversed. 'God implants righteousness in everyone to whom he has imputed it,' he taught.[437]

The moderates held a position on justification which was substantially the same as Knox's,[438] maintaining that faith and good works had to go together. To quote Richard Lucas:

> Faith obliges us to holiness, and without this holiness no man shall see God [Hebrews 12, 14]; if, therefore, my faith does not produce this, it can avail me nothing.[439]

For the moderates, holiness was accomplished by the transforming grace of God. To quote Simon Patrick's account of John Smith's teaching:

> [H]e was always very urgent upon us that, by the grace of God and the help of the mighty Spirit of Jesus Christ working in us, we would endeavour to purge out the corruption of our natures [1 Corinthians 5, 7], and to 'crucify the flesh with all the affections and lusts

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[436] John Wesley, Sermon 127, 'On The Wedding Garment,' 18, in *The Works of John Wesley: Volume 4: Sermons 4: 115-151*, hereafter *Works*, 4, edited by Albert C. Outler, Bicentennial Edition, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1987, 139-48, 148.

[437] Wesley, Sermon 20, 'The Lord our Righteousness,' 2, 12, *Works*, 1, 458.

[438] For the moderates' teaching on justification, see, also, above, 175-6.

[439] [Richard Lucas], *Practical Christianity, or, An Account of the Holinesse which the Gospel Enjoyns, with the motives to it and the remedies it proposes against temptations, with a prayer concluding each distinct head*, hereafter, *Practical Christianity*, London: R. Pawlet, 1677, 13.

> thereof' [Galatians 5, 24]; yea, to subdue as much as is possible, even the ἀπροαίρετα in our souls, those first motions that are without our consent, and to labour after purity of heart, that so we might see God [Matthew 5, 8]. For his endeavour was not only to be ἐξω ἁμαρτίας, out of the pollutions of the world through lust [2 Peter 1, 4], but, as Plotin speaks, θεόν εἶναι, to come to the true likeness of God and his Son, or, in the apostle's language, 'to be partaker of the divine nature' [2 Peter 1, 4].[440]

Like Knox, the moderates also taught that God first imparted righteousness to the sinner and then imputed it, arguing that to do otherwise would make God, in Cudworth's phrase, 'to pronounce a false sentence.'[441] As Whichcote declared:

> It is a dangerous error that some have taught that men may have their sins pardoned without anything been done in them. Here I must put in a caution, that Christ is made by God to us righteousness [1 Corinthians 1, 30]. This is so to be understood as not to prejudice inherent righteousness, as if any could be righteous without inherent righteousness. This cannot be. You put a lie upon God for him to esteem any one righteous that is unrighteous ... God cannot esteem him righteous that is really unrighteous.[442]

Knox regarded his teaching on justification as 'substantially agreeing with the Fathers.'[443] His view was 'the prevalent and continuous view of the ancient church,' he affirmed.[444] As Hornby expressed it:

> [with regard to the doctrine of justification], Mr Knox asserts himself to stand on the side of the concurrent sense of catholicity for fourteen hundred years ... the universal and perpetual consent of the ancient church.[445]

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[440] Patrick, 'A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Mr John Smith,' in Smith, *Select Discourses*, 544-5. The quotation from Plotinus to which Patrick alludes comes from *Enneads*, 1, 2, 6, where Plotinus says that 'our concern is not only to be free from sin but to become divine.' The similarity between Knox's teaching on justification and Smith's in particular is noted by the *British Critic*, (17, 34, April 1835, 278).

[441] Cudworth, 'Sermon 2: The Christian's Victory,' *Works*, 4, 366.

[442] Benjamin Whichcote, Discourse 47, 'The Arguments by which Men should be persuaded to Reconcile unto God,' [part 2], *Works*, 2, 365-82, 380.

[443] *Remains*, 2, 60.

[444] *Ibid.*, 1, 288.

[445] Hornby, 'Editor's Preface to the Third and Fourth Volumes,' cix-x.

Knox explicitly appealed to Clement of Rome (died c. 100);[446] Irenaeus (died c. 202);[447] Basil (330-79);[448] Ambrose (c. 340-97);[449] Gregory the Great (540-604);[450] and, particularly, Augustine (354-430),[451] as well as to Clement, Macarius, and Chrysostom. It was an appeal which one may see as permissible, although one must be careful to recall that the Fathers did not deal with the topic of justification in a sustained or systematic way. As McGrath remarks: 'For the first three hundred and fifty years of the history of the church, its teaching on justification was inchoate and ill-defined,'[452] something that changed only with Augustine, and then, solely, in the west. Nor did the Fathers address exactly the same questions as those posed in the post-Reformation period. Nonetheless, the themes with which Knox dealt were not absent from their discourse, nor were their treatment of these themes wholly dissimilar to Knox's, something which has already been seen, when looking at the doctrine of deification.[453]

Knox believed that 'the agreement between the Church of England and the Fathers' was 'as strict as can be, respecting the state of justification.'[454] This, he contended:

> might be proved from the whole tenor of the First Book of Homilies, and may be seen at once on carefully considering the import of the Sixteenth Article. The evidences from the liturgy and offices would be innumerable.[455]

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[446] *Remains*, 1, 284-5. Knox quotes the 'Letter to the Corinthians,' 32. See *P.G.*, 1, 272.
[447] *Remains*, 1, 288. Knox quotes *Adversus Haereses*, 3, 24. See *P.G.*, 7, 966.
[448] *Remains*, 1, 286-7. Knox quotes from Basil's 'Homily 20, On Humility,' 3, See *P.G.*, 31, 529.
[449] *Remains*, 1, 283. Knox cites no specific passage.
[450] *Remains*, 1, 289-90. Knox points to the Prayer Book collects attributed to Gregory.
[451] *Remains*, 1, 283; 2, 59-60; 355; 3, 49-50; 4, 551-2. In this last passage Knox quotes several excerpts from Augustine's 'Letter 140,' also known as 'The Book on New Testament Grace.' See *P. L.*, 33, 538-77.
[452] McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 1, 23.
[453] See above, 171.
[454] *Remains*, 1, 299. See, also, 3, 51.
[455] *Ibid.*, 1, 296.

Knox allowed that in the Homilies 'expressions now and then occur' which savoured 'more of Lutheranism than of the ancient church.'[456] Nevertheless, he maintained, their 'ruling principle' was 'to adhere steadily to the [teaching of] the ancient doctors of the church'[457] and it was therefore in the light of patristic teaching that they were to be interpreted.[458] As for the Articles, Knox read Article sixteen as propounding the view that justification was accorded through baptism, in which the 'life of grace in the soul' was begun.[459] Likewise, he appealed to the teaching of Articles eleven and twelve that 'good works spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith'[460] and that by this conjunction of faith and works human beings are 'accounted righteous before God.'[461] As far as the liturgy was concerned, he cited the baptismal service;[462] the litany;[463] the confession at Morning and Evening Prayer;[464] as well as a number of collects,[465] in support of his position, making the point that the Prayer Book 'cannot be adduced in support of merely forensic justification, because it is substantially the liturgy of those who did not hold it,' deriving from the worship of the primitive church.[466]

Knox's interpretation of the Anglican formularies was contested by evangelicals. His views, however, were not without precedent in the Church of England. As McGrath notes, during the Henrician reformation, the official documents of the Church defined

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[456] *Ibid*, 297.
[457] *Ibid.*, 297-8. See, also, 3, 49-50.
[458] See above, 72.
[459] *Remains*, 1, 310. See, also: 494-5; 2, 462-5. For Article sixteen, see *B.C.P.*, 399.
[460] *Remains*. 3, 85.
[461] *Remains*, 3, 84. See, also: 55-6; 1, 291-3. For Articles 11 and 12, see *B.C.P.*, 398-9.
[462] See below, 329-36 for Knox's doctrine of baptism, which he based on an appeal to the liturgy (341-3).
[463] *Remains*, 1, 516-21; 2, 462; 468-72. Specifically Knox cites the petition: 'That it may please the to strengthen such as do stand; and to comfort and help the weak-hearted; and to raise up them that fall; and finally to beat down Satan under our feet,' (*B.C.P.*, 50-1).
[464] *Remains*, 1, 521-8; 2, 472-3; see *B.C.P.*, 32; 41.
[465] *Remains*, 2, 474-5; see below, 328.
[466] *Remains*, 1, 289; 2, 357-8.

'justification non-forensically in strongly transformational terms.'[467] As McGrath writes:

> In general, the English Reformers [of this period] seem to have worked with a doctrine of justification in which man was understood to be *made righteous by fayth* [*sic*] *only*, with good works being the natural consequence of justifying faith.[468]

Subsequently, a consensus in favour of forensic justification emerged, although this lasted only until the Restoration (1660). Thereafter, a number of divines began to expound the view that justification was, in McGrath's words, 'an event and a process, subsuming regeneration or sanctification.'[469] The position is illustrated by Jeremy Taylor, for example in his 1662 Dublin sermons.[470] Heirs of this tradition were not lacking in Knox's own time: both Mant and Daubeny are instances of it.[471]

Knox believed that his doctrine of justification was confirmed by experience. As he told Hannah More, after he had outlined his position to her:

> I here speak from feeling ... I knew, by deep experience, that sin was misery, and I already felt enough to assure me that the fear and love of God would be happiness. I saw, by degrees, that the change of heart I was solicitous for could not be brought about by any merely moral or philosophical contemplation of God, but that I must obtain a lively, spiritual apprehension of God manifest in the flesh, such as would effectually bow my heart to the self-denying yoke of Christ [Matthew 11, 29] and make me actually partake of his unworldly, unselfish, divinely pure spirit and temper. For this faith in Christ, this vital principle of the life hid with Christ in God [Colossians 3, 3], I more and more sought, and, when it is sought as the one

[467] McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 2, 101.
[468] *Ibid.*, 109. Emphasis in the original.
[469] *Ibid.*
[470] Jeremy Taylor, *The Righteousness Evangelical Describ'd; The Christian's Conquest over the Body of Sin; Fides Formata, or Faith Working by Love: in Three Sermons Preach'd at Christ Church, Dublin*, Dublin: Samuel Dancer, 1663.
[471] Mant's doctrine is expressed in his *Appeal to the Gospel*. For Daubeny's teaching on justification, see, *A Vindication of the Character of the Pious and Learned Bishop Bull from the Unqualified Accusations brought against it by the Archdeacon of Ely, in his Charge delivered in the year 1826*, London: C. & J. Rivington, 1827.

> thing needful, it cannot be sought in vain ... Now, whatever may be the precise meaning of the term scriptural *justification*, I conceive its substance cannot be missed in such a course as I have ventured to describe.[472]

In other words, Knox's understanding of justification was confirmed by what he discovered, as he put it, 'in the laboratory of my own heart.'[473]

Knox's treatment of justification is thus another good example of his theological method. The position he argued for was reasoned out from a study of the Bible, interpreted by tradition and lived by experience.

4.3.3. Perfection

'[T]he ultimate object of our redemption is that we should live unto righteousness,' Knox proclaimed.[474] This 'living unto righteousness' he presented as something dynamic, a process of growth and advancement, which eventually brought the Christian to a state of perfection, a teaching which Knox described as his 'favourite doctrine.'[475] References to it occur throughout his writings. One should note especially: 'On Christianity, as the Way of Peace and True Happiness' (1805);[476] the 'Letter to D. Parken, Esq., in answer to Mr Parken's Reply to the Letter on Mysticism' (1811);[477] 'The Doctrine Respecting Baptism Held by the Church of England' (undated);[478] and the 'Answer to a Letter on the Future State of Glory' (1825).[479] The issue is addressed more briefly in part of Knox's first letter to Parken

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[472] *Remains,* 3, 93-4. Emphasis in original. See, also, 4, 190-1.
[473] *Ibid.*, 4, 280.
[474] *Remains*, 2, 145. Knox is alluding to a phrase from the Anglican baptismal service: '[G]rant that *he*, being dead unto sin and living unto righteousness ...' (*B.C.P.*, 204). The phrase originates in 1 Peter 2, 24.
[475] *Remains*, 4, 178.
[476] *Ibid.*, 1, 1-52.
[477] *Ibid.*, 1, 367- 426, especially 377-9; 388-97; 400-2.
[478] *Ibid.*, 2, 460-504, especially 474-8; 490-2.
[479] *Ibid.*, 3, 427-42. The full title of the letter is : 'Answer to a Letter Expressing a Doubt whether the Promises which Relate to the Future State of Glory and Blessedness Awaiting the Saints in Heaven are

'On the Character of Mysticism' (1811),[480] and in part of the letter to More 'On the Design of Providence respecting the Christian Church' (1806),[481] as well as in a number of shorter letters, including several to Jebb.[482]

The doctrine is crucial is identifying Knox as a Christian Platonist, for the perfection of which he wrote is the equivalent of the deification spoken of by the Fathers. In both cases it means the Christian being sanctified and made holy through the operation of the indwelling Spirit.

Although Knox spoke of 'perfection,' he employed, too, the term 'maturity,' as well as the adjectives 'mature' and 'full-grown.'[483] In relation to the spiritual life, such language better conveys the meaning of the Greek τέλειος and its cognates, and is less open to misinterpretation, although neither of these considerations appears to have influenced Knox's usage. Nonetheless, to speak of 'mature Christianity' helps to underline the fact that, for Knox, the attainment of perfection was gradual. Christians, Knox explained, were called 'to grow in grace, by an unremitted progress,'[484] until, 'in due time,'[485] they passed into 'a new state,' [486] one of 'habitual victory over all known and palpable sin.'[487] In this state, Knox taught, the Christian was 'wholly sanctified,'[488] with 'the mind and heart so rectified, as to be … at peace with [his

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to be literally Fulfilled ; and Whether Heaven will be that State of Unmingled Felicity which we are Led to Expect.'

[480] *Remains*, 1, 318-66. The section dealing with perfection runs from 346-62.

[481] *Remains*, 3, 103-230. The section dealing with perfection runs from 221-30.

[482] *Remains*, 4, 365-8; 380-3; 443-55; *Correspondence*, 1, 118-24; 165-71; 173-5.

[483] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 74; 90; 92; 117; 195; 196; 205; 349; 350; 353; 355; 361; 388; 2, 466; 3, 222; 433; 441; 4, 331; 332; 367; 382; 449; 454; 545.

[484] *Ibid.*, 1, 347.

[485] *Ibid.*

[486] *Ibid.*

[487] *Ibid.*, 2, 477. The metaphor of perfection as 'victory' is constant in Knox's writings. See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 1; 6; 7; 2, 476; 489; 3, 163; 164; 4, 120; 136; 236; 292; *Correspondence*, 1, 21; 105.

[488] *Remarks*, 252. The phrase is derived from 1 Thessalonians 5, 23: 'And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly' (Authorised Version).

conscience] and with ...God.' [489] In other words, what Knox meant by perfection was a state in which the Christian possessed 'unclouded serenity of soul,'[490] untroubled by any consciousness of sin.[491] This is why Knox so often enunciated the idea that has been already noted, of Christianity as an anticipation of heaven.[492]

Knox told Miss Ferguson: 'I hold no perfection that excludes weakness.'[493] Because of this weakness, Knox asserted that the Christian needed to exercise constant vigilance against temptation.[494] Nonetheless, and this, for Knox, was the important point, weakness was not wickedness: [495] at no stage did the perfect Christian willingly embrace sin, so as to forfeit 'fixed friendship' with God.[496] This notion of 'fixed friendship' was the key to Knox's doctrine of perfection. As he summed up the matter:

> In a word, as St Augustin [*sic*] long ago observed, the perfection of the Christian is a perfection of love. Whatever faults, therefore, are compatible with supreme, undeviating love of God, to these the most perfect Christian will still be liable; but, even under the sense of those faults, the consciousness of unimpaired and unabated love will preserve an uninterrupted consciousness of peace.[497]

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[489] *Remains,* 2, 100. The description of perfection as a 'state of perfect peace' (*ibid.*, 1, 350) is, like the metaphor of 'victory,' one which Knox uses throughout his writings. See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 4; 7; 34; 41; 274; 2, 112; 114; 265; 474; 477; 478; 492; 3, 164-5; *Correspondence*, 1, 98. In support of this doctrine, Knox frequently cites Isaiah 32, 17: 'The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever' (Authorised Version). See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 436; 3, 38; 4, 354-5; *Correspondence*, 1, 23-4. Knox's concern with peace is perhaps related to the troubled mental state from which he suffered.

[490] *Remains*, 1, 352.

[491] '[P]erfection ... is... *the being so purified, as to have no more conscience of sins*' (*Remains*, 2, 111-2; emphasis in the original). Knox is quoting Hebrews 10, 2 (Authorised Version).

[492] See above, 240.

[493] *Remains*, 4, 228. This weakness arose from original sin: see *Remains*, 1, 517; 4, 366; *Correspondence*, 1, 167.

[494] *Remains*, 2, 112-3; *Correspondence*, 1, 105-6; 167-70.

[495] *Remains*, 1, 517; 2, 113; 4, 366. This is how Knox explains the teaching of the Thirty-Nine Articles about the continuance of 'concupiscence and lust' even 'in them that are regenerated' (Article nine, *B.C.P.*, 398). It is frailty, not sin. See *Remains*, 1, 517; *Correspondence*, 1, 167.

[496] *Remains*, 4, 218. See, also, 2, 113-4.

[497] *Remains*, 2, 113-4. The reference to Augustine is perhaps to *Tractatus in Epistolam Ioannis*, 9, 4, where Augustine speaks of '*perfecta caritas.*' Knox quotes the text, *Remains*, 1, 392-3. For the original text, see *P.L.*, 35, 2047.

'Such [perfection] can be the lot of few,' Gladstone commented,[498] and Knox conceded that, in reality, one could find 'comparatively few instances of Christian maturity.'[499] Nonetheless, he held, mature Christianity had always existed in the church, proving the possibility of its attainment.[500] It was not an unrealisable ideal; in fact, as the essence of 'true, complete Christianity,'[501] perfection was, Knox held, 'not only placed within the reach of Christians,'[502] but was 'equally the vocation of all.'[503] '[T]his is the state to which God calls us,' Knox asserted;[504] and it was a state to which he therefore believed that the Church should exhort all its members:

> The genuine Church of England teacher ... will continually urge that to attain this state and advance in it is essentially that one thing which our Lord declared needful [Luke 10, 42] ... [and that] no individual Christian should rest without effectually and consciously possessing [it].[505]

Knox proclaimed that, fired by 'holy ambition,'[506] Christians should not cease to labour until they had entirely abolished within themselves what he termed 'the whole body of sin.'[507] To reach this end was impossible, he granted, for human effort unaided, but not to human effort helped by God's grace:

> The true doctrine of Christian perfection ...derives its strength never from merely moral, but supremely from

[498] B.L., Add. Ms 44724, Gladstone Papers, fol. 76, 'memorandum,' 24th May 1835.
[499] *Remains*, 3, 429.
[500] *Ibid.*, 430. See, also, 1, 452, where Knox suggests that, as the Church advances 'towards its last and happiest state on earth,' the number of perfect Christians will increase.
[501] *Ibid.*, 1, 19. Knox says that there is 'no Christianity ... described in the New Testament, but this high, heavenly, transformative Christianity' (20).
[502] *Ibid.*, 2, 135.
[503] *Ibid.*, 1, 525. See, also, 2, 491, where Knox speaks of perfection being the 'express vocation' of all Christians.
[504] *Ibid.*, 1, 20.
[505] *Ibid.*, 2, 488. See, also, 4, 330-1.
[506] *Ibid.*, 2, 83; 491.
[507] *Ibid*, 2, 491. Knox is quoting from the baptismal service of the Prayer Book (*B.C.P.*, 200), although the phrase derives from Romans 6, 6.

> evangelic sources: πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με Χριστῷ.[508]

In other words, whatever the Christian achieved was achieved only with the help of God: 'moral' in this context is the equivalent of 'natural.' With the help of grace, progress was unlimited. '[T]he state of grace is never to be stationary,' Knox declared.[509] '[E]very possible degree of goodness here,' he wrote, 'has still a higher degree above it,' to which the Christian was called to aspire.[510]

As with his teaching on justification generally, Knox formulated his doctrine of perfection in opposition to what he understood as the teaching of contemporary evangelicalism, which he perceived as espousing a 'cold, low, unenergetic' Christianity.[511] Teaching that sin had inflicted an incurable wound on human nature, it held, in Knox's view, that even the regenerate were reduced to what he termed 'struggling [and] staggering,'[512] rather than perfecting holiness. In support of his assessment, Knox adduced John Newton's *Cardiphonia* (1781)[513] which spoke of Christians having to 'strive and struggle and pant.'[514] Christians must, Newton wrote, 'press through a crowd, swim against a stream, endure hardships, run, wrestle and fight.'[515] Perhaps no quotation could better illustrate the divergence between Knox and his evangelical contemporaries.

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[508] *Remains*, 1, 379. The quotation ends with the words of Philippians 4, 13: 'I can do everything through [Christ] who gives me strength.'
[509] *Remains*, 2, 491.
[510] *Ibid.*, 4, 229. For the idea of continuous advancement in perfection, see, also: 1, 400; 2, 83-4; 128; 487; 490.
[511] *Ibid.*, 1, 6. See, also, 12.
[512] *Ibid.*, 3, 82. See above, 299.
[513] John Newton, *Cardiphonia or The Utterance of the Heart, in the course of a real correspondence*, hereafter, *Cardiphonia*, two volumes London: J. Buckland and J. Johnson, 1781. The edition used in this thesis is that of 1857, published in London, by T. Nelson and Sons. For the evangelical John Newton (1725-1807), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101020062/John-Newton, accessed 25th June 2011.
[514] Newton, *Cardiphonia*, 450.
[515] *Ibid.*

It was a divergence which was also illustrated by Knox's clash with John Walker.[516] In this clash, what Walker called 'the delusion of Methodist perfection,' was a major issue,[517] with Walker asserting: '[Our] warfare … ceases not … but with our earthly course.'[518] To cite his *Expostulatory Address to the Members of the Methodist Society in Ireland*: '[W]hile I believe the Bible, I must be certain that any man who says he has no sin is a liar and the truth is not in him.'[519]

One of the arguments which Knox used in defence of his doctrine of perfection was that of analogy. There was a correspondence to be drawn between divine activity in the spiritual and the natural sphere, he maintained. Thus, he wrote:

> I humbly persuade myself that the pursuit of … full grown piety … is a prime object in the divine economy, since, throughout the visible creation the final cause of everything capable of growth is seen not in what it is at first made, but in that into which it grows. [520]

4.3.4. Sources

Writing of Wesley's view of perfection, Rack says that his 'tone …was coloured by contemporary Enlightenment ideas.'[521] The same can be said of Knox. His teaching reflected the optimism of the post-Enlightenment period, and what Jackson calls its 'faith in human perfectibility.'[522] Knox, however, claimed that his doctrine was simply that of scripture.[523] It was, he argued, the 'perfect love' which St John

[516] See above, 87.
[517] Walker, *A Third Letter to Alexander Knox*, 40.
[518] *Ibid.*, 42
[519] Walker, *An Expostulatory Address to Members of the Methodist Society in Ireland,* 17. Walker is alluding to 1 John 2, 8: 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us' (Authorised Version).
[520] *Remains*, 1, 361. See, also, 3, 230; *Correspondence*, 1, 119-20; 269.
[521] Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 401. On the optimism of the Enlightenment, see above, 131-2.
[522] Jackson, 'Progress and Optimism,'184.
[523] *Remains*, 2, 488; 4, 454.

described;[524] the 'perfection' of which the epistle to the Hebrews spoke;[525] the 'mature Christianity ... placed before the Philippians by St Paul.'[526]

Despite his stated desire 'merely to follow the guidance of holy scripture,'[527] Knox appealed in defence of the doctrine of perfection not only to the Bible, but also to 'the ancient divines and those in the Church of England who have followed them.'[528] He believed that all three of these authorities were in agreement. As he put it, 'the philosophy of the redeemer' found in scripture was that which 'the Church of England [taught] in concurrence with the catholic church of all ages.'[529]

With respect to the Church of England and its teachers, one of those whom Knox invoked was Wesley. Or, to be more precise, he invoked Wesley's 'mature estimate' of perfection,[530] for Wesley's views underwent several changes during his lifetime.[531] Knox acknowledged that at one stage Wesley's doctrine of perfection had been 'excessive,'[532] but argued that he subsequently 'returned to that notion of it ...

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[524] 1 John 4, 18: 'There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love' (Authorised Version). Knox adduces this verse on several occasions: *Remains* 1, 353; 2, 470; 492; 4, 367; *Correspondence*, 1, 24.

[525] Hebrews 6, 1: 'Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection' (Authorised Version). Knox quotes, or alludes to, this verse frequently: *Remains*, 1, 96; 173; 205; 355; 2, 92; 101; 107; 110; 135; 138; 497; 3, 28; 110; 125; 144; 178; 4, 340; 449; *Correspondence*, 1, 136-7.

[526] *Remains*, 3, 433. See, also, 125; and, especially, 4, 445-9.

[527] *Ibid.*, 3, 221.

[528] *Wesley*, 461.

[529] *Remains*, 2, 488-9.

[530] *Ibid.*, 3, 468.

[531] For a summary of Wesley's views on perfection, see Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 180-90. See, also, 163-5. Rack, too, has a useful discussion of the topic; see *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 395-401. For other summaries of Wesley's perfectionism, see: Paul M. Bassett and William M. Greathouse, *Exploring Christian Holiness, Volume 2: The Historical Development,* Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1985, 203-35; R. Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology: an historical study of the Christian ideal for the present life,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934, 313-41; and, especially, John L. Peters, *Christian Perfection and American Methodism*, New York: Abingdon Press, 1956, chapters 1-2, 'The Doctrine in Process of Formation' and 'The Doctrine Stated and Qualified', 15-66. With regard to Wesley's own writing, the clearest résumé of his views is *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Reverend Mr John Wesley, from the year 1725 to the year 1765*, hereafter, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, Bristol: William Pine, 1766. Quotations in this thesis are taken from the edition published in New York in 1844 by G. Lane and P.P. Sandford. Wesley's position was developed by John Fletcher, and he, too, may have been an influence on Knox, although there is no evidence of it.

[532] *Wesley*, 454.

countenanced by the consent of the ancient Fathers and the most eminent anti-Calvinist divines of the Church of England.'[533] Of Wesley's 'mature estimate,' Knox wrote that 'a more just or more delightful idea of matured piety could [not] easily be found.'[534] He suggested that it might become 'a source of as deep and wide-spread [theological] utility as ever yet was derived from an uninspired instructor;'[535] and it was one to which he was personally beholden. 'I think to [Wesley], more than to any human instrumentality, I am indebted for whatever light I have [on this subject],'Knox confided.[536]

Wesley saw perfection as 'the true goal of the Christian life,'[537] a truth which he believed Methodism had been raised up to proclaim.[538] Accordingly he urged:

> Therefore all our preachers should make a point of *preaching Christian perfection* to believers constantly, strongly, and explicitly. And all believers should *mind this one thing* and continually agonize for it.[539]

Like Knox, Wesley saw perfection in terms of maturity.[540] It consisted in loving God [541] to the exclusion of all sin, both outward and inward, including 'evil desires and evil tempers.'[542] Accordingly, as Maddox observes: 'Wesley was convinced that the Christian life did not have to remain a life of continual struggle.'[543] Wesley held that for the perfect Christian 'all is peace.' [544] As he declared:

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[533] *Ibid.*, 455. See, also, *Remains*, 3, 468-9.
[534] *Remains*, 3, 468.
[535] *Ibid.*, 4, 280.
[536] *Ibid.*, 282. See, also, *Correspondence*, 1, 144-5; *Wesley*, 502-3.
[537] 'The true goal of the Christian life is sanctification, holiness even to the point of perfection,' is how Rack sums up Wesley's teaching (*Reasonable Enthusiast*, 395).
[538] John Wesley to Robert Carr Brackenbury, letter, 15th September 1790, *Letters*, 8, 237-8, 238.
[539] Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, 57. Emphasis in the original. 'Agonize' is used here with its root-meaning of 'contend.'
[540] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 187.
[541] 'It is perfect love, 1 John 4, 18. This is the *essence* of it,' Wesley wrote in *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, 55. Emphasis in the original.
[542] Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, 7.
[543] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 188.
[544] John Wesley, Sermon 83, 'On Patience,' 10, *Works*, 3, 170-9, 176.

> After being filled with love, there is no more interruption of it, than of the beating of his heart; and continual love bringing continual joy in the Lord, [the perfect Christian] rejoices evermore. He converses continually with the God whom he loves, unto whom in everything he gives thanks. And as he now loves God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength, so Jesus now reigns alone in his heart, the Lord of every motion there. [545]

A further similarity between Knox and Wesley is found in Wesley's definition of sin as the willing transgression of a known law, which Wesley distinguished from infirmity, which included unwilling and unwitting transgressions.[546] This corresponded to Knox's differentiation between wickedness and weakness. Also in Wesley one finds the argument from analogy used by Knox. In his sermon 'On the New Birth' (1760), Wesley argues that there is an 'exact analogy ... between natural and spiritual things;'[547] and that as, naturally, a child grows up to maturity, so, spiritually, the Christian 'grows up to the measure of the full stature of Christ.'[548]

Where Knox and Wesley disagreed was on 'the point of [the] sudden attainment' of perfection.[549] Wesley's taught that a person could become perfect in a moment: Knox denied this. One should note, however, that Wesley qualified his doctrine of instantaneous perfection by affirming that there is:

> a *gradual work* both *before* and *after* that moment. So that one may affirm the work is *gradual*, another, it is *instantaneous*, without any manner of contradiction.[550]

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[545] *Ibid.*
[546] For this distinction in Wesley, see Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 184-5.
[547] John Wesley, Sermon 45, 'On the New Birth,' 4, 3, *Works*, 2, 186-201, 198.
[548] *Ibid.* Wesley alludes to Ephesians 4, 13. As well as Wesley, Knox was influenced on this point by Butler (*Remains*, 2; 229-30; 4, 524; *Correspondence*, 2, 48). For Joseph Butler (1692-1752), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101004198/Joseph-Butler, accessed 25th June 2011. Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, was first published in 1736 in London by John James and Paul Knapton.
[549] *Remains*, 3, 468. See, also, *Wesley*, 454-5.
[550] Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, 37. Emphasis in the original.

Allowing for this 'gradual work' meant that Wesley could speak of perfection as something dynamic, admitting of 'a continual increase;' [551] and thus he was less far from Knox's position than might at first be supposed.

Besides Wesley, Knox also cited 'our best English divines'[552] in defence of his doctrine of perfection. These 'divines' included the poet-priest George Herbert (1593-1633);[553] Cudworth;[554] Lucas;[555] Smith;[556] Taylor;[557] and Worthington.[558] As an example of the teaching of these divines one may take Worthington's *Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will* (1675),[559] the central affirmation of which is 'that a Christian is to resign his will wholly to the divine will, to make an entire oblation of himself to God.'[560] In this way, Worthington taught, the believer would realise the true goal of Christianity, which was 'the real bettering of man and transforming him into the divine image.'[561] To be a Christian meant, for Worthington, 'to be transformed into the divine image and likeness, to partake of the divine nature, to have one will with God.'[562]

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[551] John Wesley, Sermon 40, 'Christian Perfection,' 1, 9, *Works*, 6, 1-23, 5.
[552] *Remains*, 1, 1. See, also: 355; 359; 360; 2, 492; 3, 222-3; 469; *Wesley*, 455; 457-61.
[553] *Remains*, 3, 469, note. For George Herbert (1593-1633), see *O.D N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101013025/George-Herbert, accessed 25th June 2011.
[554] *Remains*, 1, 44; 3, 224; 225; 469, note; 4, 330. In the first two of these passages, Knox quotes directly from Cudworth's 'Sermon 2: The Christian's Victory,' where Cudworth speaks of the 'second degree of victory over sin,' which involves freedom from knowing and deliberate sin, something which 'every true Christian ought not only to look upon as possible, but also to endeavour after and relentlessly to pursue.' See Cudworth, *Works*, 4, 373-4.
[555] *Remains*, 3, 80; 221-2; 469, note; 4, 178; *Correspondence*, 1: 134; 145; *Wesley*, 459-61. Knox quotes explicitly from Lucas's anonymously published *Enquiry after Happiness*, two volumes, London: George Pawlett and Samuel Smith, 1685, 2, 2.
[556] *Remains*, 3, 80; 221; 223; 4, 330.
[557] *Ibid.*, 1, 102-3; 359-60; 3, 223-4; 469, note; *Eclectic Review*, 6, (May 1810), 385-95;*Wesley*, 457-9. Knox quotes explicitly from the sermon '*Via Intelligentiae*' (see below, 323); from the sermon 'Of Growth in Grace,' first published in 1651 (see *Works*, 6, 1-29, 9-10; 24-5); and from the 'Dedication' prefaced to *Holy Living*, first published in 1650 (see *Works*, 4, i-x, vii-viii).
[558] *Remains*, 1, 103-5; 3, 469, note; 4, 158.
[559] John Worthington, *The Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will*, London: Walter Kettilby, 1675. Quotations in this thesis are from the 1826 edition by C. & J. Rivington, Glasgow.
[560] Worthington, *The Great Duty of Self Resignation to the Divine Will*, 4.
[561] *Ibid.*, 1.
[562] *Ibid.*, 48.

Another example is furnished by Taylor's sermon, '*Via Intelligentiae.*'[563] In this sermon, Taylor told his hearers that the Christian was called 'to perfect holiness in the fear of God,'[564] becoming one with the deity, 'as a flame touches a flame.'[565] The believer's whole vocation, according to Taylor, was to know, to love, to imitate, and, ultimately, to enjoy God for ever, 'passing from similitude to union and eternal fruition.'[566]

As a final example, we may take Richard Lucas's two books, *Practical Christianity* (1677) [567] and *An Enquiry After Happiness* (1685), in which he taught that the 'main design and end of the Gospel'[568] was 'to raise and exalt us to a steady habit of holiness,'[569] which was his definition of perfection.[570] He described how, after an initial conversion from sin to God, there was a second transition in which the Christian moved 'from a state of weakness and inconstancy to one of strength,' a state of settled, habitual goodness, in which one continued to advance and grow. [571] Knox had a special regard for Lucas's teaching on perfection, claiming that, 'Lucas has made perfection a classical term, classical, I mean, in English divinity.'[572]

Beyond Wesley and the moderates, Knox looked back to the primitive church for the sources of his perfectionism. 'All the Fathers were, on this subject, essentially of the same opinion,' he affirmed,[573] at least up until 'Ambrose first, and Augustin [*sic*] afterward.'[574] Only with these two Fathers did the spiritual life come to be seen as

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[563] See above, 237.
[564] Taylor, sermon, '*Via Intelligentiae*,' *Works,* 6, 395. Taylor is quoting 2 Corinthians 7, 1.
[565] Taylor, sermon, '*Via Intelligentiae*,' *Works*, 6, 395.
[566] *Ibid.*, 398.
[567] See above, 309, note 439.
[568] Lucas, *An Enquiry After Happiness*, 3, 27.
[569] *Ibid.*
[570] *Ibid.*
[571] *Ibid.*, 94.
[572] *Remains*, 3, 80.
[573] *Ibid*, 1, 350.
[574] *Ibid.*

'warfare and fluctuation to the last,' Knox claimed,[575] although he allowed that even Augustine 'maintains [perfection] in substance.'[576] Nonetheless, it was in the Greek Fathers, above all, that Knox found the doctrine of perfection, especially in the writings of Clement of Alexandria, Macarius, and Chrysostom.[577]

With regard to Clement, Knox appealed especially to 'the sixth and seventh book of the *Stromata*,'[578] in which Clement described the perfect Christian, the gnostic. The gnostic, for Clement, was distinguished by ἀπάθεια, but the description that Clement gave of this state was not one of Stoic indifference: the gnostic's ἀπάθεια sprang from a love of God which no emotion could perturb.[579] 'For it is impossible,' Clement wrote, 'that someone who has once been perfected through love and who perceives the inexpressible delight of eternal and insatiable contemplation … should still find pleasure in small and mean and lowly things.'[580] Through 'unbroken love' the gnostic was, in Clement's teaching, united and 'assimilated to God the saviour, as far as this is possible for human nature, and made perfect as the Father who is in heaven.'[581]

With regard to Macarius, Knox wrote that 'his well-known *Fifty Homilies* abound in warm descriptions of perfect Christianity, and in exhortations to pursue it.'[582] In this analysis, Knox was correct, as we have seen.[583] For Macarius, the Christian was advancing to a state of perfection, which Macarius described as follows:

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[575] *Ibid.*
[576] *Ibid.*, 1, 392. See, also: 389-90; *Correspondence*, 1, 134. Had he looked closer, Knox would have seen that Ambrose, too, maintains that 'by the grace of God and God's help, it is possible to be sinless' (*Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, 1; *P.L.*, 15, 1540-1).
[577] *Remains*, 1, 350; 3, 75.
[578] *Ibid.*, 1, 350. For Clement's doctrine of ἀπάθεια, see, also, above, 167.
[579] For this whole sentence, see Clement, *Stromateis*, 6, 9; *P.G.*, 9, 292-300.
[580] Clement, *Stromateis*, 6, 9, *P.G.*, 296.
[581] *Ibid.*, 6, 12, *P.G.*, 9, 325. Clement alludes to Matthew 5, 48.
[582] *Remains*, 1, 350.
[583] See above, 168.

> Finally, when a person reaches the perfection of the Spirit, completely purified of all passions and united to and interpenetrated by the Paraclete Spirit in an ineffable communion, and is deemed worthy to become spirit in a mutual penetration with the Spirit, then it becomes all light, all eye, all spirit, all joy, all repose, all happiness, all love, all compassion, all goodness and kindness. As in the bottom of the sea, a stone is everywhere surrounded by water, so such persons as these are totally penetrated by the Holy Spirit. They become like to Christ, putting on the virtues of the power of the Spirit with a constancy. They interiorly become faultless and spotless and pure.[584]

To be thus 'changed and transformed from [our] former state and attitude and become a good and new person,' was, for Macarius, the whole aim of the spiritual life.[585] This change was a long and arduous process, but eventually, with the help of God, one could attain a state of what Macarius, like Clement, called ἀπάθεια. The state was described by Maloney as 'the peak of all Christian perfection, which consists in the love of God with one's whole heart and soul.'[586] Its possession did not mean that the Christian was freed from temptation and spiritual assault. 'Satan is never quieted, at peace, and not at war,' Macarius believed.[587] Even so, Macarius assured his disciples that the devil could not prevail against those who had attained perfection:

> Even if war starts externally and Satan attacks, they are still fortified interiorly by the Lord's power and are not anxious about Satan. As he tempted the Lord in the desert for forty days, what harm did he inflict on him by attacking him externally in his body? For interiorly he was God. So also Christians, granted they may be tempted exteriorly, nevertheless, interiorly they are filled with the Godhead and suffer no injury. If one has reached this degree, he has arrived at the perfect love of Christ and the fullness of the Godhead.[588]

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[584] Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius*, 145.
[585] *Ibid.*, 223.
[586] *Ibid.*, 20.
[587] *Ibid.*, 169.
[588] *Ibid.*

For Knox, Chrysostom was, as we have seen, 'the patriarch' of the perfectionist theologians.[589] Chrysostom did not set out a comprehensive theory of holiness; nonetheless, his whole teaching had the practical aim of helping his hearers 'become holy and perfect.' [590] He believed that, with the grace of God, 'it is possible even in this mortal body not to sin.'[591] If Christians sinned, he held, it was only because they chose to do so.[592] On the other hand, they could also choose to co-operate with the grace of God and 'do to death,' as St Paul says, 'the body of sin,' by which, according to Chrysostom, is meant all that is wicked within us.[593] This wickedness, the old nature of sin, being done to death, the human being becomes, according to Chrysostom, a new creature, the πνευματικὸς ἄνθρωπος.[594] To describe this state, Chrysostom used the term ἀπάθεια, but, unlike Clement and Macarius, it was a word of which he was, in Michel Spanneut's phrase, '*plutôt avare.*'[595] More often, to quote Nowak: '*La vie angélique est proposée par Jean comme l' idéal de la perfection chrétienne,*'[596] a thought which may, perhaps, lie behind Knox's frequent description of the Christian life as an anticipation of heaven,[597] just as Chrysostom's

[589] See above, 169.
[590] Frances Young, 'God's Word Proclaimed: The Homiletics of Grace and Demand in John Chrysostom and John Wesley,' in Kimbrough, ed., *Orthodox and Wesleyan Scriptural Understanding and Practice*, 137-48, 143.
[591] Chrysostom, 'Homily 11 on Romans,' 2, P.G., 60, 486. Chrysostom is commenting on Paul's injunction in Romans, 6, 12: 'Do not let sin reign in your mortal bodies.'
[592] Chrysostom, 'Homily 11 on Romans,' 2, *P.G.* 60, 486.
[593] Chrysostom, 'Homily 11 on Romans,' 1, *P.G.*, 485. Chrysostom says: '[Paul] writes that we have been buried together with [Christ] in the likeness of his death so that the body of sin might be destroyed [Romans 6, 5-6], meaning by this not our body, but all wickedness.'
[594] Chrysostom, 'Homily 13 on Romans,' 7, *P.G.*, 60, 518. Although πνευματικὸς ἄνθρωπος translates literally as 'spiritual human being,' what it meant for Chrysostom, as the context shows, was one animated by the Spirit.
[595] Michel Spanneut, '*L'Impact de l'Apatheia Stoicïenne sur la Pensée Chrétienne jusqu' à Saint Augustin*,' *Antigüedad y Christianismo*, 7, (1990), 39-52, 45.
[596] Nowak, *Chrysostome*, 118, 'the angelic life is set forth by John as the ideal of Christian perfection' (my translation). Nowak gives an excellent summary of the theme of the angelic life in Chrysostom's writings (*ibid.*, note 138).
[597] See above, 240.

description of the πνευματικὸς ἄνθρωπος may have influenced Knox's use of the term 'spirituality.'[598]

Knox invoked the Church's 'devotional formularies' in support of his perfectionism.[599] He contended:

> [S]carcely a petition is offered, which does not recognise the state of grace, guard its substance, watch its stability, pursue its advancement, aspire to its maturity; or, on the other hand, deprecate the state of sin ... and seek, above all things, its complete subjugation.[600]

This was especially the case, Knox contended, with 'our more ancient and original collects,'[601] of which he cited several. As he pointed out, these collects ask for:

> a heart set to obey God's commandments [Second Collect at Evening Prayer, *B.C.P.*, 45,]; such a love of what God commands, and such a desire of what he promises, as will fix our hearts *there*, where true joys are to be found [Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Easter, *B.C.P.*,120]; a love of God above all, poured into the heart from above [Collect for the Sixth Sunday after Trinity, *B.C.P.*, 136]; a pardon which cleanses from all sin [Collect for the Twenty-First Sunday after Trinity, *B.C.P.* 151] ... a heart so cleansed by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as perfectly to love God and worthily magnify his holy name [Collect for Purity, at Holy Communion, *B.C.P.*, 180].[602]

4.3.5. Short Conclusion

In this section I have examined the central topic of Knox's theology, justification, as well as his doctrine of perfection, the state to which he saw justification as leading;

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[598] See above, 247-8.
[599] *Remains*, 2, 474. See, also, in addition to the passage cited below: *Remains* 1, 357-9; 391; 2, 479; 3, 224-5. One might note that, if Knox's views accord with the liturgy of the Prayer Book, they sit ill with the Thirty-Nine Articles, which, inspired by James 3, 2 and 1 John 1, 10, declare that 'although baptized and born again in Christ, [we] yet offend in many things, and if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us' (Article fifteen, *B.C.P.*, 399).
[600] *Remains*, 2, 474.
[601] *Ibid.*
[602] *Ibid.*, 474-5.

and in both cases I have analysed the sources from which he drew his teaching. From this, I will proceed to examine the chief instruments by which he deemed that justification was accomplished: baptism and the eucharist.

4. Baptism and the Eucharist

For Knox, the Christian life was the sacramental life. The process of justification began in baptism, he believed, and was sustained by the eucharist: the two ordinances which, as an early nineteenth-century Anglican, he recognised as sacraments. This section explores Knox's teaching on baptism; his understanding of the eucharist as a sacrament and as a sacrifice, together with his concept of priesthood. In each case, the sources of his doctrine are also explored.

4.4.1. Baptism

Knox dealt at length with the theology of baptism in an essay entitled 'The Doctrine Respecting Baptism held by the Church of England,' of which two versions exist.[603] His views are conveniently summarised in a section of the tract 'On Justification' (1810);[604] and one should also refer to a letter of his on the subject to Jebb, dated 20th May 1814.[605]

Both versions of the essay on 'The Doctrine of Baptism' contain the same basic material; nonetheless their aim and construction are different. In the first, Knox addressed the specific question of the relationship between the sacramental sign and the grace it signifies. He held that the two are 'distinct and separable,'[606] although in the case of infants the grace is always given with the sign. In the case of adults, the

[603] *Remains*, 1, 484-528; 2, 460-504. The date of these essays will be discussed in the course of this sub-section.
[604] *Remains*, 1, 307-11.
[605] *Correspondence*, 2, 183-5.
[606] *Remains*, 1, 492.

grace is given on the condition of faith and repentance being present in the recipient of the sacrament. The tract concluded with questions connected to the preservation and increase of baptismal grace. The second version began with a general statement of what Knox saw as the Anglican doctrine of baptism. Its main theme, however, was 'the state of grace and the state of sin,'[607] which Knox dealt with from the practical point of view, as relating to 'spiritual life and spiritual death.'[608]

The background to the tract was the controversy which had broken out at the start of the nineteenth century over baptismal regeneration, the doctrine that in baptism one is born again as a child of God. The vigorous re-statement of this view by high churchmen such as Richard Mant [609] and Richard Laurence (1760-1838) [610] led to an equally vigorous response from evangelicals, who insisted on the necessity of personal conversion. The major exponent of the evangelical position was Charles Simeon (1759-1836),[611] a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Rector of Holy Trinity Church, whose clash over the issue with Herbert Marsh (1757-1839),[612] the high church Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, led, in 1813, to a bitter exchange of pamphlets.[613] The appraisal of these pamphlets in the March 1814

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[607] *Ibid.*, 2, 487.
[608] *Ibid.*
[609] For Mant's doctrine, see especially sermon six in *An Appeal to the Gospel*, 'Regeneration the Spiritual Grace of Baptism,' 327-88.
[610] For Richard Laurence (1760-1838), Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, 1814-22, and, thereafter, Archbishop of Cashel, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101016128/Richard-Laurence, accessed 25th June 2011. Laurence dealt with the subject in his *Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration Contrasted with the Tenets of Calvin, in a sermon preached before the University of Oxford at Christ Church, on Sunday, January 29, 1815* Oxford: At the University Press, 1815.
[611] For Charles Simeon (1759-1836), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101025559/Charles-Simeon, accessed 25th June 2011.
[612] For Herbert Marsh (1757-1839), see *O.D.N.B.*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101018111/Herbert-Marsh, accessed 25th June 2011.
[613] For this clash, see, David M. Thompson, *Cambridge Theology in the Nineteenth Century: Enquiry, Controversy and Truth,* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, 46.

number of the *British Critic*[614] caused Knox to agree that 'both parties [were] ... lamentably in the dark,'[615] and he contemplated sending a letter on the subject to the review.[616] This letter does not seem to have been written, but at the end of 1819 and the beginning of 1820 he produced the essay on baptism. It can be dated from a reference in a communication from Knox to Jebb of 3rd January 1820, in which Knox says that he is working on a text:

> to prove the doctrine of baptismal regeneration (in the case of infants), to be that of the Church of England. I show from our formularies what this doctrine implies; and I then point out practical consequences which flow necessarily, or, at least, naturally, from the established premises ... I state unpalatable truths, which both sides will, on different grounds, equally disrelish. But I speak as a member of the Church of England. They may attack her, but I fight behind a better shield than that of Ajax.[617]

The first version of Knox's tract opened with the statement:

> Amongst the various subjects which have occupied the thoughts of religious men in this age of controversy, none has excited more attention than the doctrine of baptism, as maintained by the Church of England.[618]

Because of the controversy surrounding the subject, Knox argued that it was necessary to set out as clearly as possible 'the true doctrine of the Church of

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[614] *Correspondence*, 2, 184. See *British Critic*, new (second) series, 1, 3, (March 1814), 263-76. The pamphlets reviewed were: Charles Simeon, *Dr Marsh's Fact, or, A Congratulatory Address to the Church Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society ... second edition, with an appendix in answer to Dr Marsh's Letter to the Author*, London: Hatchard, 1813; Herbert Marsh, *A Letter to the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., in Answer to his Pretended Congratulatory Address, in Confutation of his Various Mis-statements, and in Vindication of the Efficacy Ascribed by our Church to the Sacrament of Baptism, with a postscript on the authenticity of the Abingdon letter*, London: Rivingtons, 1813; *A Second Letter to the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., in Confutation of his Various Mis-statements, and in Vindication of the Efficacy Ascribed by our Church to the Sacrament of Baptism*, London: Rivingtons, 1813.

[615] *Correspondence*, 2, 414. The quotation is from Jebb, but clearly it expresses Knox's position.

[616] *Correspondence*, 2, 184.

[617] *Ibid.*, 407-8. The allusion to the shield of Ajax, which was 'like a city wall ... made from seven layers of bull-hide ... covered with an eighth layer of bronze,' comes from the *Iliad*, 7, 219-24.

[618] *Remains*, 1, 484. I call this the 'first' version, because it appears first, although there seems to be no way of telling which of the two versions was composed first.

England.'[619] This doctrine he stated in the second version of the tract in the following terms:

> The sacrament of baptism, through the appointment of our blessed saviour, and by the operation of the Holy Spirit, conveys to all susceptible receivers, not only the outward privileges of Christian communion, but the internal blessing of regenerating grace. This grace brings with it the remission of sins; it implies a radical commencement of spiritual life; and gives a title to the everlasting inheritance.[620]

This definition of baptism is striking on account of the almost scholastic precision of its language, especially when one considers Knox's habitual verbosity. Baptism is a 'sacrament,' something which Knox elsewhere defined as an 'outward and visible sign of ... inward and spiritual blessings.'[621] It confers, first, 'the outward privileges of Christian communion;' those who receive it are 'incorporated into the visible church.'[622] This, however, is only of secondary importance. The main object of the sacrament is to convey 'the internal blessing of regenerating grace.' This grace includes both 'remission of sins' and 'a radical commencement of spiritual life;' as Knox wrote: 'To be dead to sin and alive unto righteousness is ... the essence of spiritual regeneration.'[623]

The grace of the sacrament comes from 'the appointment of our blessed saviour and the operation of the Holy Spirit.' Knox means by this that Christ while on earth appointed the outward rite, and from heaven he continues to endue it with the power of the Holy Spirit, by whose operation 'a heavenly influence' is united 'to the water'

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[619] *Ibid.*, 485.
[620] *Ibid.*, 2, 460.
[621] *Ibid.*, 1, 484. Knox's definition echoes that of the Prayer Book Catechism, which describes a sacrament as 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace' (*B.C.P.*, 215). Somewhat confusingly, Knox at times uses the term 'sacrament' to signify simply the external sign; see, for example, *Remains*, 1, 486; 489; 490; 499.
[622] *Remains*, 2, 461.
[623] *Ibid.*, 1, 493. Knox's language is inspired in this quotation by the Prayer Book Baptism service; see, above, 322.

of the font.[624] Knox teaches that this 'divine concurrence' serves 'to make the ablution of the body effectual … to the purification of the soul.'[625]

One may note the importance which Knox accorded to the Spirit, something which reflects the overall significance of pneumatology in his thinking. The Spirit makes the sacrament operative; but also, crucially, 'the Holy Ghost [is] given in baptism.'[626] Baptism bestows 'the gift of the sanctifying Spirit,'[627] which comes to dwell in the candidate's heart, making it a living temple.[628] Knox quotes Titus 3, 5-6,[629] commenting that in baptism there is:

> an outward sign, but with it, as the life and soul of it, an inward grace: καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου …. And [the writer] adds that this renewing Spirit is not scantily communicated. It is poured out upon us πλουσίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. [630]

The grace of the sacrament is conferred on 'all susceptible receivers.' The rite does not work automatically: Knox refused the simple equation, 'baptism is regeneration.'[631] Rather, baptism is only efficacious if the recipient places no bar to

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[624] *Remains*, 1, 502. There is an echo here of Chrysostom; see Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*, hereafter, *Baptism in the Early Church*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009, 559. More immediately Knox appeals to the Prayer Book's consecration of the baptismal waters, *B.C.P.*, 210.

[625] *Remains*, 1, 502. There is here another patristic echo, this time of Tertullian: '*caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur*,' the flesh is washed, so that the soul might be purified (*De Resurrectione Carnis*, 8, 3; *P.L.*, 2, 852).

[626] *Remains*, 2, 462.

[627] *Ibid.*, 1, 509.

[628] *Ibid.*, 2, 329.

[629] '[God] saved us through the washing of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit, whom he poured out on us generously through Jesus Christ our saviour.'

[630] *Remains*, 1, 307.

[631] *Ibid.*, 485. See, also, 487: '[I]t cannot … be said simply and without proviso, that baptism is regeneration.' In the privacy of his *Correspondence* with Jebb, Knox condemns this view as 'anti-catholic' (*Correspondence*, 2, 184), meaning opposed to the teaching of the Fathers. It is a view which he ascribes to Waterland (*ibid.*). For Waterland's views, see his *Regeneration Stated and Explained, According to Scripture and Antiquity, in a Discourse on Titus iii 4, 5, 6*, hereafter, *Regeneration Stated and Explained*, London: W. Innys and R. Manby, 1740. The text used for this thesis is that in *The Works of the Rev. Daniel Waterland, D.D., formerly Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Canon of Windsor, and Archdeacon of Middlesex, to which is prefixed a review of the author's life and*

the grace of the sacrament.[632] Since infants are incapable of ever posing such a bar, 'we may say in faith of every child that is baptised, that he is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit,' Knox taught.[633] In contrast, 'a bar might, by possibility, be opposed' by adult candidates, he argued.[634] '[S]uch adults as are impenitent and faithless are morally incapable' of receiving the sacramental grace, he claimed: [635] their lack of the requisite dispositions raised a barrier against it, which was why the Church of England explicitly required repentance and faith from adult baptismal candidates. [636]

This detail was critical for Knox, who described the whole controversy surrounding baptism as concerned with the relationship between the outward sign and the inward grace. To quote his words: 'the great point of debate has been, in what manner the external ordinance and the inward blessing are connected with each other.'[637] In his view, the evangelicals had erred in separating them entirely; the high churchmen had strayed by making them the same thing. The truth lay in the middle, Knox contended: the outward sign and the grace it conveys are separate realities; nonetheless, the sign always conveys the grace it signifies, on condition that no obstacle is placed in its way.

Likewise critical for Knox was the teaching that the grace of baptism 'implies a radical commencement of spiritual life.' The indwelling Spirit given in baptism was for Knox the principle of a new life, renewing and transforming believers through

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writings, edited by William Van Mildert, second edition, six volumes, Oxford: At the University Press, 1843, (1823), 4, 425-58.

[632] *Remains.*, 1, 486-7.

[633] *Ibid.*, 487. Knox is quoting directly from the Anglican divines at the Savoy Conference of 1661; see below, 349-50.

[634] *Remains*, 1, 505. See, also: 2, 460; 463. In the second of these passages, Knox quotes Article twenty-seven, to the effect that regeneration 'is confined to them that receive baptism *rightly*' (*B.C.P.*, 401, emphasis added by Knox).

[635] *Remains*, 1, 499.

[636] *Ibid.* For this requirement, see *B.C.P.*, 215.

[637] *Remains*, 1, 484.

grace.[638] Knox thus saw baptism as only 'the first stage of a vital progress.'[639] The grace imparted by the sacrament needed to be 'effectually exercised,' he taught,[640] the Christian 'daily growing in grace, and in knowledge of his Lord and saviour.'[641]

This point is important, since it marks a distinction between Knox's understanding of the sacrament and that of contemporary high churchmen, and is one of the issues on which he anticipated the Tractarians. For earlier high churchmen, 'baptismal regeneration was,' to borrow Pusey's words, 'a change of state only;'[642] for the Tractarians regeneration was 'a new principle of life in Christ,'[643] as it was for Knox. This meant that for the Tractarians, as for Knox, there was an organic bond between baptismal regeneration and subsequent holiness of life,[644] whereas earlier high churchmen made a 'distinction ... between regeneration and renovation,'[645] the one being granted but once in baptism, the other 'before and in and after baptism.'[646] Just as the baptismal life could grow, so, Knox held, it could also diminish:

> [H]e who has been made dead to sin and alive unto righteousness may again become dead to righteousness and alive to sin; he may, through unfaithfulness, lose the blessing of spiritual regeneration.[647]

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[638] See above, 288.
[639] *Remains*, 2, 466.
[640] *Ibid.*, 1, 497.
[641] *Ibid*, 2, 490.
[642] E. B. Pusey, 'Preface' to *Parochial Sermons: Volume One*, London: James Parker and Co., 1873, v-xxiii, vii.
[643] *Ibid.* See, too, E.B. Pusey, *Tracts for the Times, Numbers 67, 68, 69: Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, with an appendix*, hereafter, *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*, London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1836, in which he speaks of baptism implanting 'a principle of life, afterwards to be developed and enlarged by fuller influxes of [God's] grace'(24).
[644] See, for example, Pusey, *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism,* 19-20; 22; 114; 150-1.
[645] Waterland, *Regeneration Stated and Explained*, 2, *Works*, 4, 435.
[646] *Ibid.*, *Works*, 4, 436.
[647] *Remains*, 1, 493. See, also: 2, 461-2. For his teaching on this point, Knox appeals to the Litany (*Remains*, 1, 519; *B.C.P.*, 50), as well as the Catechism (*Remains*, 1, 496; *B.C.P.*, 212), and the sixteenth of the Thirty-Nine Articles: 'After we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin' (*Remains*, 1, 494; *B.C.P.*, 399).

Nonetheless, 'by the grace of God we may rise again and amend our lives.'[648] The outward rite of baptism could not be repeated, but the grace it gave, if lost, could be restored, a point which Knox used to buttress his differentiation between the visible sign and the invisible effect of the sacrament.[649]

A noteworthy omission from Knox's treatment of baptism was the idea of federation or covenant, which Kenneth Stevenson has demonstrated to be a common theme throughout Anglican baptismal theology.[650] Wesley, for example, drew a parallel between the covenant of circumcision and baptism, insisting that by baptism:

> we enter into covenant with God, into that everlasting covenant which he hath commanded for ever; that new covenant which he promised to make with the spiritual Israel.[651]

The language of covenant was not, however, immediately evident in the Prayer Book, which Knox took as the primary guide for his baptismal theology,[652] and it is this which perhaps best explains the absence of this theme from his thinking.

4.4.2. Sources

The doctrine of the Spirit's indwelling to sanctify the believer is integral to the Christian Platonic tradition, and it is a teaching found in those whom Knox held up as its exemplars.

Comparing the teaching of Knox and Wesley, one is struck by the similarities between them.[653] Like Knox, Wesley held that the privileges of regeneration 'are

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[648] *Remains*, 1, 494; the words quoted come from Article Sixteen of the Thirty-Nine Articles (*B.C.P.*, 399).
[649] *Remains*, 1, 495. The teaching on the loss and restoration of baptismal grace anticipates the Tractarians. See, for example, Pusey, 'Preface' to *Parochial Sermons: Volume 1*, viii.
[650] Kenneth Stevenson, *The Mystery of Baptism in the Anglican Tradition,* Norwich: The Canterbury Press 1998. The theme runs throughout the book.
[651] John Wesley, ed., 'A Treatise on Baptism,' 2, 2, in *A Preservative against Unsettled Notions in Religion*, Bristol: E. Farley, 1758; text in Outler, *John Wesley*, 317-332, 322.
[652] See below, 341-2.

ordinarily annexed to baptism;'[654] that 'baptism, the sign' was distinct from 'regeneration, the thing signified;'[655] that 'our Church supposes that all who are baptised in their infancy are at the same time born again;'[656] and that by baptism the Spirit of adoption came into believers' hearts, making them temples of its in-dwelling presence.[657] For Wesley, as for Knox, baptism marked, as Maddox says, 'the initiation of the life of holiness,'[658] although he also held that 'it is always possible to neglect the empowering presence that [baptism] conveys and eventually to quench the pardoning relationship that it signifies.'[659]

The similarities between Knox and Wesley help cast some light on the nature of Wesley's baptismal theology. Wesley has been seen as seeking to articulate, in Outler's words, 'a doctrine of regeneration that would take seriously the realities of evangelical conversions and yet not repudiate his own sacramental traditions.'[660] Having read Knox, one may argue that rather than being an innovation, Wesley's baptismal teaching reflected Anglican doctrine, at least as it was represented by the divines who attended the Savoy Conference (1661), and the Prayer Book which they produced (1662).[661] The position taken by these divines anticipated Wesley's distinction between infants and adults. In the case of infants, regeneration

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[653] Wesley's views of baptism have often been regarded as obscure, and have occasioned a great deal of controversy. For a good over-view, see Bernard G. Holland, *Baptism in Early Methodism*, London: The Epworth Press, 1970.
[654] John Wesley, Sermon 18, 'The Marks of the New Birth,' 1, *Works*, 1, 415-30, 417.
[655] John Wesley, Sermon 45, 'The New Birth,' 4, 1, *Works*, 2, 186-201, 196.
[656] Wesley, Sermon 45, 'The New Birth,' 4, 2, *Works*, 2, 197.
[657] Wesley, Sermon 18, 'The Marks of the New Birth,' 4, 2, *Works*, 1, 428.
[658] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 222.
[659] *Ibid.*, 223.
[660] Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 1, 415-6.
[661] The Savoy Conference was a meeting of forty-two divines held at the Savoy Hospital in London after the Restoration. The aim of the Conference was to reach liturgical agreement within the Church of England. Half of the participants were bishops, half puritans. The main result of the meeting, at which regeneration was one of the main topics of debate, was the 1662 Prayer Book. See E.C. Ratcliff, 'The Savoy Conference and the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer,' in Geoffrey F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick, eds, *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662-1962*, London: S.P.C.K., 1962, 89-148. See, also, below, 342.

accompanied the rite of baptism, but for adults faith and repentance were necessary for regeneration.[662]

There is also an affinity to be noted between Knox's teaching and that espoused by the two seventeenth-century moderates who wrote at length about baptism: Jeremy Taylor and Simon Patrick.[663] Like Knox, Taylor saw the Spirit as being bestowed in baptism. To quote his *Great Exemplar* (1649): [664] 'Baptism is a new birth ... and from this time forward we have a new principle put into us, the Spirit of grace.' [665] 'The Holy Spirit,' Taylor taught, 'descends upon us in baptism to become the principle of a new life, to become a holy seed springing up to holiness.'[666] Taylor also insisted that the sacrament produces its effect only in the case of:

> such as are servants of Christ and hinder not the work of the Spirit of grace. For the water of the font and the Spirit of the sacrament are indeed to wash away our sins and purify our souls, but not unless we have a mind to be purified.[667]

Like Knox, too, Taylor maintained that 'baptism and its effect may be separated and do not always go in conjunction; the effect may be before ... [or] after its susception [*sic*].'[668] 'God,' he affirmed, 'does not always give [the grace of the sacrament] at the instant in which the church gives the sacrament.'[669]

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[662] Wesley, like Knox, also allowed that the grace of regeneration received by infants in baptism could be lost by sin, but restored by repentance, something which might involve an 'evangelical conversion.' Following Knox one may see this, too, as the doctrine of Anglicanism, as expressed in Article sixteen of the Thirty-Nine Articles (*Remains*, 1, 494; see *B.C.P.*, 399).

[663] For an introduction to the baptismal theology of these two writers, see Stevenson, *The Mystery of Baptism in the Anglican Tradition,* chapters 8, 96-111, and 10, 125-38.

[664] Jeremy Taylor, *The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life, according to the Christian Institution, described in the history of the life and death of the ever blessed Jesus Christ, with considerations, discourses, and prayers, in three parts*, hereafter, *Great Exemplar*, [London]: Francis Ash, 1649. The text used in this thesis is that found in volume 2 of Heber's 1822 edition of Taylor's *Works*.

[665] Taylor, *Great Exemplar*, 6, 1, 16, *Works*, 2, 242.

[666] Taylor, *Great Exemplar*, 6, 1, 23, *Works*, 2, 252.

[667] Taylor, *Great Exemplar*, 6, 1, 27, *Works*, 2, 255.

[668] Taylor, *Great Exemplar*, 6, 2, 2, *Works*, 2, 259.

[669] Taylor, *Great Exemplar*, 6, 2, 8, *Works*, 2, 266.

Patrick's views of baptism appear in his *Aqua Genitalis* (1659).[670] His teaching was similar to Knox's in its insistence that, while ordinarily 'we are regenerated and born again' in baptism, [671] the mere reception of the rite is not sufficient. Baptism is 'an engagement to holiness,'[672] Patrick asserted, and without the pursuit of holiness, 'outward baptism will not save.'[673] For Patrick, however, baptism not only engages Christians to holiness, it also makes holiness possible. This is because in baptism candidates receive 'the promise of the Spirit, the effusion of which is likened to the pouring out of water, and so is in baptism most aptly signified and represented.'[674] The Spirit's presence means that the baptized can so grow in holiness as to reach perfection. To quote Patrick: 'Through the Spirit of Christ, we shall be able to do valiantly, nothing shall be too hard to overcome, but we shall tread all our enemies under our feet,'[675] the same doctrine which we have already encountered in Knox.

Knox believed his doctrine to be that of the Fathers.[676] In defence of his disjuncture of the sacramental sign from the grace it signifies, he appealed specifically to Cyril of Jerusalem (313-86),[677] Origen (184-253),[678] and Augustine.[679] The passage from Cyril which Knox quoted comes from the *Procatechesis*, Cyril's introductory lecture to those preparing for baptism. In the passage, Cyril warns his hearers not to follow

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[670] Symon Patrick, *Aqua Genitalis: A Discourse concerning Baptism, first delivered in a sermon at Alhallows Lumbard-street, Octob. 4. 1658, and now a little inlarged : into which is since inserted, a brief discourse to perswade to a confirmation of the baptismal-vow*, hereafter, *Aqua Genitalis*, London: Francis Tyton, 1659. The text used in this thesis is that found in *The Works of Symon Patrick, D.D., Sometime Bishop of Ely, including his Autobiography*, edited by Alexander Taylor, hereafter, *Works*, nine volumes, Oxford: At the University Press, 1838, 1, 1-64.
[671] Patrick, *Aqua Genitalis*, *Works*, 1, 30.
[672] Patrick, *Aqua Genitalis*, *Works*, 1, 21.
[673] Patrick, *Aqua Genitalis*, *Works,* 1, 40.
[674] Patrick, *Aqua Genitalis*, *Works*, 1, 25.
[675] Patrick, *Aqua Genitalis*, *Works*, 1, 46.
[676] *Correspondence*, 2, 184.
[677] For Cyril (313-86) and his baptismal teaching, see Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 473-87.
[678] For Origen (184-253) and his baptismal teaching, see Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, chapter 25, 'Origen,' 400-28.
[679] For Augustine's baptismal teaching, see Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, chapters 51 and 52, 'North Africa: Augustine of Hippo (I),' and 'North Africa: Augustine of Hippo (II),' 776-818.

the example of Simon Magus, who 'though baptised was not enlightened … [H]is body indeed descended into the font but … he was not buried and raised again with Christ.'[680] The passage which Knox cited from Origen comes from 'Homily 3 on Numbers,' in which Origen states:

> Not all who have been baptized with water were baptized with the Holy Spirit. Nor on the contrary were all the catechumens destitute of that Spirit. For I find in holy scripture some catechumens accounted worthy of the Holy Spirit, after baptism, yet refused the gift of the Spirit. [681]

The passage from Augustine cited by Knox is from the *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, 4, 21, in which, to borrow Knox's words, Augustine 'observes, respecting Cornelius, that in his case sanctification by the Holy Spirit went before, and the sacrament of regeneration was added afterward.'[682] From all three passages Knox concluded:

> '[I]n the judgment of the ancient church, the outward sacrament and the inward blessing were by no means considered as inseparably united, much less as identical … [T]hey were concurrent only in such cases as offered no obstruction to the entrance of the Holy Spirit.[683]

Another element of Knox's baptismal theology commonly reflected in patristic teaching is the idea of baptism as the start of a new life animated by the Holy Spirit. Clement of Alexandria, for example, 'emphasises,' in Everett Ferguson's phrase, the divine life … that results from [baptismal] regeneration,'[684] Ferguson quotes A. Orbe's summary of Clement's teaching:

> There descends on the Christian the same divine life that descended fully on Jesus [in his baptism] … The

[680] *Remains*, 1, 486. Knox translates directly from *Procatechesis*, 2; see *P.G.*, 33, 336. For Simon Magus, see Acts 8, 9-24.
[681] *Remains*, 1, 486. Knox cites Origen's, 'Homily 3 on Numbers,'1; see *P.G.*, 12, 594.
[682] *Remains*, 1, 486. For Augustine's text, see *P.L.* 43, 172. For Cornelius, see Acts 10, 1-35.
[683] *Remains*, 1, 486-7.
[684] Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 311. See, also, above, 166.

> one difference resides in the quantity: on Jesus descended *omnis fons Spiritus Sancti*; on the neophyte, a participation in it. But it is always the same Spirit, the perfect Life of God.[685]

Similarly, for Macarius 'the Holy Spirit given in baptism … is the means of spiritual growth,' something which Ferguson describes as being 'the special concern' of Macarius.[686] The same theme appears likewise in Chrysostom. Chrysostom frequently speaks of baptism as 'regeneration,' applying to it the phrase of Titus 3, 5, 'the bath of rebirth,' λουτρόν παλιγγενεσίας.[687] This regeneration or re-birth is accomplished by the Spirit, which Chrysostom depicts as sanctifying the baptismal waters, but also as descending on the candidate, as it descended on Jesus during his baptism.[688] Thus 'God has made us holy,' but, Chrysostom stresses, 'we must continue holy,'[689] a theme which is especially strong in his *Baptismal Instructions*, the 'predominant concern' of which is, to quote Ferguson, 'the consequences from baptism for one's moral conduct.'[690]

Knox's main aim in dealing with baptism was, as we have seen, to expound what he understood as the doctrine of the Church of England. In so doing, he rejected an appeal to individual authors:

> It is a well-known fact that the divines of the Church of England have, in this particular instance, shewn [*sic*] singular disagreement. Divine may be so quoted against divine as perfectly to neutralise this kind of evidence.[691]

Instead of individuals, Knox turned to the liturgy of the 1662 Prayer Book:

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[685] A. Orbe, '*Teologia Bautismal de Clemente Alejandrino según Paed, 1, 26, 3-27, 2*,' *Gregorianum* , 36, (1955), 410-48, 444, note, quoted Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 311, note 13. The Latin phrase which Orbe employs means 'the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit' (my translation).
[686] Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 729.
[687] *Ibid.*, 555; 589.
[688] *Ibid.*, 559.
[689] Chrysostom, 'Homily 1 on Ephesians,' 2, *P.G.*, 62, 12.
[690] Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 562; see, also, 537.
[691] *Remains*, 1, 500.

> In ascertaining the judgment of the Church of England on this important subject, we must attend only to her authoritative decisions ... Let us, then, examine, in the first place, the language of the form for the public baptism of infants. It was evidently intended to make this service an authentic vehicle of instruction respecting the sacred rite with which it is connected; to ascertain its import is, consequently, to learn, in the most direct and certain manner, what the Church of England believes on the subject of infant baptism.[692]

Knox also invoked the authority of those who produced the 1662 Book, the divines of the Savoy Conference. Thus, in defence of his central thesis, that the baptismal rite confers grace on those who do not pose an obstacle to it, and that, therefore, 'baptism is not regeneration,' Knox wrote:

> When the revisers of 1661 were urged by the Non-Conformists not to insist on the recognition of every infant as regenerate, their answer was: 'Seeing that God's sacraments have their effects when the receiver doth not *ponere obicem*, put a bar against them, which children cannot do, we may say in faith of every child that is baptised, that he is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit.' Nothing more, therefore, is necessary to show that when, by regeneration, is understood the inward and spiritual grace of baptism, it cannot, according to the Church of England, be said, simply and without proviso, that baptism is regeneration. For if this proposition were true, it must be always true and could not depend upon any condition; whereas, according to those from whose hands we receive our present formulary, the inwardly regenerating efficacy of baptism does depend on a condition, because, in their judgment, a bar may exist to prevent baptism from being, in the best and happiest sense, regeneration.[693]

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[692] *Ibid.*

[693] *Remains*, 1, 487. For similar appeals to 'the Revisers of 1661,' see: 502-3; 505; 511; 2, 235, note. As the last-mentioned passage indicates, Knox's information about the Savoy Conference was derived, at least in part, from Richard Baxter's anonymously published *Accompt of All the Proceedings of the Commissioners of Both Perswasions, appointed by His Sacred Majesty, according to letters patents, for the review of the Book of Common Prayer*, London: 'printed for R.H.,' 1661.

One of the changes to the Prayer Book made in the wake of the Savoy Conference was the introduction of an office for the baptism of 'those in riper years,'[694] and this was also invoked by Knox, who argued that the differences between this service and that for infants supported his distinction between the nature of adult and infant baptism.[695]

4.4.3. The Eucharist (1): The Sacramental Presence

From Knox's doctrine of baptism, we turn to his treatment of the eucharist, and, first, to his understanding of Christ's presence in the sacrament. Knox's main teaching about the eucharist is contained in his 'Treatise on the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols' (1824).[696] This discourse is preceded in the *Remains* by a 'Letter to John S. Harford, Esq., Prefatory to the Treatise on the Eucharist' (1826),[697] and followed by a 'Postscript to the Treatise on the Eucharist' (undated).[698] Part of Knox's tract 'On the Nature of Our Salvation Through Christ' (undated) likewise deals with the topic.[699] His teaching is also found in several letters: two to Jebb, those of 26th September 1824 [700] and 31st December 1829,[701] published in the

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[694] 'The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years and able to answer for themselves,' *B.C.P.*, 205-11.
[695] *Remains*, 1, 504-6
[696] *Remains*, 2, 184-249. The treatise was initially printed in Dublin in 1824 by R. Beere and Co. in a limited edition of fifty copies, under the title, *An Inquiry on Grounds of Scripture and Reason into the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols*. See the note on this title in the catalogue of the British Library: http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?fn=search&vl(freeText0)=KNOX%2c+Alexander%2c+Esq&tab=local_tab&mode=Basic&scp.scps=scope%3a(BLCONTENT)&vid=BLVU1&vl(715950869UI1)=all_items&vl(174399379UI0)=creator, accessed 17th March 2012; also, Gerard Tracey, ed., *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, Volume 6: The Via Media and Froude's Remains: January 1837- December 1838*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, 198, note.
[697] *Remains*, 2, 154-183. For Harford, see above, 103.
[698] *Remains*, 2, 250-85.
[699] *Ibid.*, 398-436.
[700] *Correspondence*, 2, 505-7.
[701] *Ibid.*, 579-81.

Correspondence; one to 'Mr S.,' undated, published in the *Remains*;[702] and one to Wilberforce, dated 31st August 1818, published in Wilberforce's *Correspondence*.[703] In the secondary literature, the subject of Knox's eucharistic theology has been dealt with at some length by Peter Barrett in his essay 'Alexander Knox: Lay Theologian of the Church of Ireland' (2000).[704]

Knox viewed the use of material elements to convey spiritual blessings as an act of divine condensation to the 'mixed nature of man.'[705] '[A] visible medium,' he wrote, 'is suitable to our weakness;'[706] and no better visible medium for this sacrament could be found, he held, than 'bread, the prime nourishment of human life, and wine, the prime cherisher of human weakness.'[707] Nonetheless, Knox's chief focus was not on the visible, material aspect of the sacrament. For him, the eucharist was much more than 'a mere ceremony,'[708] an external rite. If baptism initiated the Christian life, the eucharist, for Knox, sustained it. It was, in fact, for him, 'the chief instrumental conduit [of divine grace],'[709] a doctrine which Knox believed to be the teaching of Anglicanism:

> That grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which alone we can live, much more grow up and advance as Christians, is, according to our Church, eminently and peculiarly conveyed to us in and through this visible ordinance.[710]

As well as demonstrating that Knox saw his teaching as that of 'our Church,' this quotation also exemplifies the way in which Knox set the eucharist firmly within the context of justification. For Knox human beings are saved by grace, but grace comes

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[702] *Remains*, 4, 307-11.
[703] Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 397-410.
[704] See above, 13.
[705] *Remains*, 2, 228. For the 'mixed nature of man,' see above, 259.
[706] *Remains*, 2, 414.
[707] *Ibid.*, 206.
[708] *Ibid.*, 247.
[709] *Ibid.*, 276. For the importance which Knox attaches to the eucharist as a means of grace, see, for example: *Remains*, 2, 279; 400-2; 411; 419-20; 4, 310-11.
[710] *Ibid.*, 2, 273.

'eminently and peculiarly' through the eucharist, which must thus occupy a central place in the Christian's spiritual life. As Knox wrote: 'To neglect [the eucharist], would be to neglect both present and everlasting salvation.'[711]

According to Knox, the importance of the eucharist had been obscured by 'low notions respecting the Lord's Supper,'[712] what he called the 'frigidities of Zwinglianism.'[713] Knox ascribed these 'low notions' to Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761),[714] whose *Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (1735),[715] expounded the doctrine of memorialism: the eucharist meant nothing more than 'eating bread and drinking wine in remembrance of Christ, as of a person corporally absent.'[716]

Nockles has pointed out that, at the start of the nineteenth century, '[t]he opinions of Hoadly did not prevail generally among the clergy.'[717] Their understanding of the eucharist was, predominantly, the receptionism espoused by Waterland in his *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist* (1737),[718] but this doctrine, too, was rejected by Knox.[719] The theory of receptionism maintains that, at the same time as communicants physically receive the eucharistic bread and wine, so spiritually, by

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[711] *Ibid.*, 234.
[712] Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 31st August 1818, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 217-27, 223.
[713] *Ibid.*
[714] *Ibid.* For Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101013375/Benjamin-Hoadly, accessed 25th June 2011. Knox spells the name 'Hoadley' (*Remains*, 2, 194). Hoadly was not the first English divine to espouse this position in Knox's judgment; Knox also charges Cranmer with embracing 'the frigid notions of certain continental divines' regarding the eucharist (*ibid.*, 169).
[715] [Benjamin Hoadly], *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, London: James, John, and Paul Knapton, 1735. Quotations in this thesis are from the third edition, published the same year.
[716] Hoadly, *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, 29.
[717] Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context*, 236.
[718] *Ibid.*, 237. See, also, Stone, *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 2, 515.For Waterland's teaching, see Daniel Waterland, *A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, as laid down in Scripture and Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cornelius Crownfield, 1737. The text may be found in volume four of van Mildert's 1843 edition of Waterland's *Works*, 459-802.
[719] *Remains*, 2, 194.

faith, they receive also Christ's body and blood. Knox applauded the doctrine for its support of 'the general idea of grace concurring in the sacramental act,'[720] but objected to it for denying 'any mysterious connexion of that grace with the symbols.'[721]

Knox believed that Hoadly and Waterland's positions had resulted in the eucharist being neglected, with the consequence that piety had become 'deeply chilled;'[722] the effects which the sacrament was designed to have on 'the natural feelings of man,'[723] the 'spiritual sustenance and comfort' which it was supposed to convey, were stifled.[724] To remedy this situation, Knox sought to present his contemporaries with 'a correct and well-defined notion of the eucharist.'[725] He hoped that by so doing he could stir up in them 'a melting ardour,'[726] something which provides a further illustration of Knox's concern with Christian practice rather than merely speculative dogma.

It has already been seen that, no less than memorialism or receptionism, Knox rejected transubstantiation.[727] The theory of Christ's eucharistic presence which he enunciated was virtualism: the teaching that the bread and wine are, as he defined it, 'the vehicles of [Christ's] saving and sanctifying power.'[728] This power, Knox taught, was so closely united to the elements[729] that they acquired a new status, becoming

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[720] *Ibid.*
[721] *Ibid.* By 'symbols,' Knox means the eucharistic bread and wine.
[722] Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 31st August 1818, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 217-27, 223.
See, also, *Remains*, 2, 233-5.
[723] *Remains*, 2, 248.
[724] *Ibid.*, 246.
[725] *Correspondence*, 2, 506.
[726] *Remains*, 2, 243.
[727] See above, 103-4.
[728] *Remains*, 2, 155. 'Virtualism' derives its name from the Latin word for power, *virtus*; it is not a term which Knox employs.
[729] '[I]n this holy sacrament a peculiar effluence of supernatural grace [is] mysteriously united with the consecrated symbols, so as to make them the vehicles of heavenly benediction' (*Remains*, 2, 184). See, also, 277, where Knox speaks of 'the actual instrumentality of the sacramental symbols.'

'the permanent representatives of [Christ's] incarnate person;'[730] they were, he held, 'not merely the instruments of his power, but the effectual representations of himself.'[731] Accordingly, Knox concluded, the elements should be paid the greatest reverence, 'valued, venerated and loved ...all but adored.'[732]

Knox made a distinction between 'the visible symbols of the eucharist [and] him who makes them the hiding of his power.'[733] The elements were not to be adored, but beyond these signs, 'the Lord's body is to be *discerned* in the eucharist.'[734] Present in the symbols by his power, Christ is, Knox asserted:

> as really as ever, Emmanuel, God with us ... continually [revisiting] us in all the majesty of his divine, and in all the meekness of his human nature ... to communicate his very self to us, and receive, in return, the homage of our hearts.[735]

This being so, Christians should, Knox wrote, 'joyfully and reverently approach to do homage to [their] king, who, in this, his own peculiar institution, comes to diffuse benediction in his mystical Zion.'[736] The point is important because it means that Knox was the first Anglican theologian to advocate eucharistic adoration. This was something new within Anglicanism; as Nockles observes, it was something '[n]either the Laudians nor even the Non-Jurors had held.'[737] By contrast, it was a point on which the Tractarians were to insist, the most significant statements on the subject being Keble's *On Eucharistical Adoration* and Pusey's *Real Presence of the Body and*

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[730] *Remains*, 2, 155.
[731] *Ibid.*, 209.
[732] *Ibid.*, 432.
[733] *Ibid.* Knox is alluding to Habakkuk 3, 4 as rendered by the Authorised Version.
[734] *Ibid.*, 430. Emphasis in the original. Knox is alluding to 1 Corinthians 11, 29, where Paul speaks about those who communicate without 'discerning the Lord's body' (Authorised Version).
[735] *Remains*, 2, 429.
[736] *Ibid.*, 247.
[737] Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context*, 243.

Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ (both 1857).[738] The Tractarians' appreciation of Knox's eucharistic doctrine has already been noted,[739] and it may be that on this point he not only anticipated them, but also influenced their thinking.

How Christ's power is united to the sacramental elements, remained for Knox a mystery,[740] a subject on which 'it would be presumptuous to indulge in any hypothetic speculation.'[741] All he was willing to say was that it was effected 'through the ever co-operative agency of the Holy Ghost.'[742] This action of the Spirit made the eucharist an objective blessing:

> [I]n the sacred eucharist we do not concur, as workers together with God, but expect the blessing directly and exclusively from his own almighty power.[743]

Knox's intention in saying this was to counteract the importance placed by receptionists on the subjective faith of the communicant. According to receptionist doctrine, the communicant's faith was necessary to make present the body and blood of Christ. Knox rejected this, although, at the same time, he denied that:

> in excluding all strict and proper co-operation of the communicant in his reception of the eucharistic blessing, I wish to lessen the importance, or question the necessity of, due predisposition, in order to that reception.[744]

Before closing this sub-section, I want briefly to address the question of how Knox's understanding of the eucharist related to his understanding of baptism. He viewed both as sacraments, visible signs of invisible grace, which transformed the Christian.

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[738] John Keble, *On Eucharistical Adoration*, Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, 1857; E. B. Pusey, *The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ: the doctrine of the English Church, with a vindication of the reception by the wicked and of the adoration of our Lord Jesus Christ truly present*, Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1857.
[739] See above, 75, note 403.
[740] *Remains*, 2, 225.
[741] *Ibid.*, 216. See, also, 414.
[742] *Ibid.*, 260.
[743] *Ibid.*, 276. See, also, 235; 277.
[744] *Ibid.*, 281.

There was, however, a significant difference in his thinking on the two. With respect to baptism, he insisted that the sign and the grace are distinct and separate; with respect to the eucharist, he insisted that the sign and the grace, although distinct, are inseparably united. There is an anomaly here, it seems; one which Knox did not address.

4.4.4. Sources

Hoadly's memorialism can be seen as representative of the Age of Reason, involving an act of the intellect, remembering. In a similar way, Knox's association of the eucharist with the affections, such as joy and 'melting ardour,'[745] can be understood as expressing the spirit of the Romantic period. So, too, can his teaching that the sacrament is a material vehicle of spiritual grace. It corresponded to the Romantic notion of symbolism, the belief in what Coleridge called the 'translucence of the eternal through and in the temporal.'[746] Coleridge spoke, too, of the symbol 'always [partaking] of the reality which it renders intelligible,'[747] and this was also reflected by Knox's doctrine: the sacramental bread and wine partake in the reality of Christ's power.

Knox made no appeal to Romanticism. 'My own idea of the Lord's Supper is made up from these two sources,' he wrote: scripture as primary, and 'our own formularies,' as subordinate.[748] In appealing to scripture, Knox argued, first, from what he called 'the analogy of the divine proceedings.'[749] Throughout the Bible, he asserted, God

[745] See above, 346.
[746] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Statesman's Manual,' in *Lay Sermons*, edited by R.J. White, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 6, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972, (1816), 3-116, 30.
[747] *Ibid.*
[748] *Remains*, 4, 308.
[749] *Ibid.*, 2, 195.

conveyed spiritual blessings through a material medium: the supreme instance was the incarnation, in which 'God … united himself to … human flesh.'[750] From this 'general method of the divine proceedings,'[751] Knox argued that it was reasonable to suppose that God would act in a similar way with regard to the eucharist.[752] That God had in fact done so was 'supported by the language of holy scripture,'[753] Knox maintained, appealing especially to John 6, 25-71;[754] 1 Corinthians 10, 16-22[755] and 1 Corinthians 11, 17-34.[756]

There is a close correspondence between Knox's eucharistic doctrine and that of Wesley. Several studies of Wesley's eucharistic teaching have been published, most notably: J. Ernest Rattenbury, *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley* (1948);[757] J.C. Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism* (1951);[758] Ole E. Borgen, *John Wesley on the Sacraments: A Theological Study* (1972);[759] and, more recently, Lorna Lock-Nah Khoo, *Wesleyan Eucharistic Spirituality* (2005).[760]

These studies show, first, that, like Knox, Wesley re-affirmed the centrality and importance of the eucharist in the Christian life. To quote Khoo: 'The Wesleyan

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[750] *Ibid.*, 230.
[751] *Ibid.*, 232
[752] *Ibid.*, 230-2.
[753] *Ibid.*, 195.
[754] For Knox's use of this passage, see: *Remains*, 2, 192; 203-6; 262-3; 267; 274; 279-80; 398-403; 412-3; 430-1.
[755] For Knox's use of this passage, see: *Remains*, 2, 213-220; 225; 226-7; 245-7; 260; 412-4; 417; 420.
[756] For Knox's use of this passage, see: *Remains*, 2, 220-5; 415-8; 426-8; 430.
[757] J. Ernest Rattenbury, *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley, to which is appended Wesley's Preface, extracted from Brevint's Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice, together with Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, hereafter, *Eucharistic Hymns*, London: The Epworth Press, 1948.
[758] John C. Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*, London: Dacre Press, 1951.
[759] Ole E. Borgen, *John Wesley on the Sacraments: A Theological Study*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1972.
[760] Lorna Lock-Nah Khoo, *Wesleyan Eucharistic Spirituality: Its Nature, Sources and Future*, hereafter, *Wesleyan Eucharistic Spirituality*, Hindmarsh, South Australia: A.T.F. Press, 2005.

revival of the eighteenth century was eucharistic well as evangelical.'[761] '[I]t is the duty of every Christian to receive the Lord's Supper as often as he can,' Wesley declared; [762] and it was a duty which he sought to promote among his followers, whom he led by example, communicating on average every five days.[763] For Wesley, as Khoo affirms, communion was not 'simply a means of grace as the rest. [He] lifted it above other means as the grand channel of God's grace.'[764]

Second, Wesley, like Knox, held a virtualist understanding of the sacrament. [765] This thesis of Wesley's virtualism is denied by some scholars, such as Khoo,[766] and Stevenson,[767] but two arguments render it plausible. First, virtualism had a long pedigree within the high church tradition from which Wesley came.[768] Its great champions were the Non-Jurors,[769] with whom Wesley had come into contact at Oxford.[770] They derived it from John Johnson (1662-1725),[771] whose *Unbloody Sacrifice* (1714-18),[772] was a book with which Wesley was well-acquainted.[773]

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[761] Khoo, *Wesleyan Eucharistic Spirituality*, xvi. The dictum is a commonplace amongst Wesley scholars.
[762] John Wesley, Sermon 101, 'The Duty of Constant Communion,' *Works*, 7, 147-57, 147.
[763] Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism,* 17.
[764] Khoo, *Wesleyan Eucharistic Spirituality*, xvi.
[765] Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*, 171; 176.
[766] Khoo, *Wesleyan Eucharistic Spirituality*, 72.
[767] Kenneth Stevenson, *Covenant of Grace Renewed: A Vision of the Eucharist in the Seventeenth Century*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1994, 172.
[768] For Anglican eucharistic theology, see, in addition to Stone, *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*: Christopher J. Cocksworth, *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought in the Church of England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; C.W. Dugmore, *Eucharistic Doctrine in England from Hooker to Waterland*, hereafter, *Eucharistic Doctrine*, London: S.P.C.K., 1942; H.R. McAdoo and Kenneth W. Stevenson, *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition,* Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1995.
[769] The Non-Jurors were those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William of Orange, having already sworn allegiance to James II. Breaking with the established church, they were enabled to pursue a more radically catholic approach to Anglicanism. See J.H. Overton, *The Non-Jurors: Their Lives, Principles, and Writings*, London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1902; also, Henry Broxap, *The Later Non-Jurors*, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1924. For a summary of their eucharistic theology, see Dugmore, *Eucharistic Doctrine*, chapter 5, 'John Johnson and The Non-Jurors,' 140-54.
[770] For a full discussion of the contacts between Wesley and the Non-Jurors, see Geordan Hammond, 'Restoring Primitive Christianity: John Wesley and Georgia, 1735-1737,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2008, 49-54.
[771] John Johnson (1662-1725), Vicar of Cranbrook in Kent; see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101014893/John-Johnson, accessed 25th June 2011.
[772] John Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar Unvail'd and Supported: in which the nature of the eucharist is explained*, two volumes, London: Robert Knaplock, volume one, 1714; volume two, 1718.

Second, the doctrine is clearly expressed in Wesley's eucharistic hymns.[774] The hymns teach that the eucharist is a sign and means of grace:

> The sign transmits the signified,
> The grace is by the means applied.[775]

This grace is the power of God. For example, hymn 92 affirms:

> The spirit and power
> Of Jesus our God
> Is ... found in this life-giving food.[776]

In a similar vein, hymn 58 asks:

> Thy power into the means infuse,
> And give them now their sacred use.[777]

Despite the similarities between them, Knox did not appeal to Wesley as an authority for his virtualism, nor did he cite the Non-Jurors. He mentioned Johnson, but it is clear that he had read him only after the formation of his own views.[778] The authorities to whom Knox referred are: Thomas Jackson (1578-1640), John Overall (1561-1619), Samuel Horsley (1733-1806), and, above all, Nicholas Ridley (c. 1502-55). Thomas Jackson, Dean of Peterborough and President of Corpus Christi, Oxford, has been described as an 'Oxford Platonist.' [779] His eucharistic teaching was not

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[773] Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*, 30-1.
[774] John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper ... with A Preface concerning the Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice, extracted from Dr Brevint*, hereafter, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, Bristol: Felix Farley, 1745. Quotations from the *Hymns* in this thesis come from the 1825 edition published in London by J. Kershaw.
[775] Wesley, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, hymn 71, verse 1, 86.
[776] Wesley, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, hymn 92, verse 1, 102.
[777] Wesley, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, hymn 58, verse 4, 78.
[778] *Correspondence*, 2, 557.
[779] Sarah Hutton, 'Thomas Jackson, Oxford Platonist and William Twisse, Aristotelean,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 39, 4, (October-December 1978), 635-52. Knox cites Jackson, *Remains*: 2, 181, quoting from book four of volume 11 of Jackson's monumental *Commentaries on the Apostles' Creed*, 334. This volume was published posthumously by Jackson's friend Barnabas Oley, under the title *Maran Atha or Dominus Veniet: commentaries upon the articles of the Creed, never heretofore printed : viz., of Christ's session at the right hand of God and exaltation thereby, his being made Lord and Christ; of his coming to judge the quick and the dead; the resurrection of the body; and life everlasting both in joy and torments : with divers sermons, proper attendants upon the precedent tracts, and befitting these present times*, London: Timothy Garthwait, 1657.

without ambiguities, but it may be interpreted in a virtualist sense.[780] The doctrine of John Overall, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Dean of St Paul's and Bishop of Norwich,[781] appears clearer than Jackson's, at least in the passage which Knox quoted from him. In this passage, Overall says that Christ is truly present in the sacrament, and is truly set before us, joined to the elements, so that, in receiving the bread and wine, the communicant receives, at the same time, the body and blood of Christ, albeit '*modo mystico, coelesti, ac spirituali.*'[782] Samuel Horsley, successively Bishop of St David's, Rochester and St Asaph's,[783] is the clearest of all the authorities adduced by Knox. Knox quoted one of Horsley's episcopal charges, in which the bishop told his clergy to instruct their parishioners:

> in the true notion of a sacrament; that the sacraments are not only signs of grace, but means of the grace signified, the *matter of the sacrament* being by Christ's appointment, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, *the vehicle of grace* to the believer's soul.[784]

In relation to the eucharist, the Anglican theologian to whom Knox most appealed was '[o]ur justly celebrated Ridley.'[785] Knox's view of Ridley is interesting. He

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[780] 'Virtualism ... is a pronounced feature of [Jackson's] teaching' (Dugmore, *Eucharistic Doctrine*, 52). The main texts in which Jackson treats of the eucharist will be found in Stone, *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 2, 293-7.

[781] For John Overall (1561-1619), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101020964/John-Overall, accessed 25th June 2011. Knox cites Overall, *Remains*, 2, 181-2, quoting from his *Praelectiones seu Disputationes*. These were published as an appendix to Archibald Campbell's *Doctrines of a Middle State between Death and the Resurrection, of Prayers for the Dead, and the Necessity of Purification*, London: W. Tayler, 1721, 203-26. See 212-3 for the comments quoted by Knox.

[782] *Remains*, 2, 182, 'in a mystical, heavenly and spiritual manner' (my translation). For Overall's doctrine, see: Dugmore, *Eucharistic Doctrines*, 39-40; Stone, *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 2, 251-3.

[783] For Samuel Horsley (1733-1806), see F.C. Mather, *High Church Prophet: Bishop Samuel Horsley (1733-1806) and the Caroline Tradition in the Later Georgian Church,* hereafter, *High Church Prophet*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. Knox cites Horsley, *Remains*, 2, 194-5.

[784] *Remains*, 2, 195. The quotation comes from *The Charge of Samuel, Lord Bishop of Rochester to the Clergy of his Diocese, delivered at his Second General Visitation in the year 1800*, London: James Robson, 1800, 28. The italicised words do not appear as such in the original edition of the charge; Knox emphasises them to underline Horsley's agreement with his position. For Horsley's view of the eucharist , see Mather, *High Church Prophet,* 204-5.

[785] *Remains*, 2, 185. For Nicholas Ridley (c. 1502-55), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101023631/Nicholas-Ridley, accessed 25th June 2011. Eulogies of

derived it from what he termed the 'very useful preliminary discourse,'[786] which William Hopkins (1647-1700),[787] prefaced to his *Bertram or Ratram: Concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord* (1686),[788] an edition, with English translation, of Ratramnus's *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini Liber*. Ratramnus was a ninth-century monk from Corbie in Picardy, who wrote a treatise defending the view that the eucharist was not the 'true' body of Christ, but only a 'figure' of his body, a view he supported, with copious quotations, as that of the Fathers.[789]

Inspired by Hopkins, Knox portrayed Ridley as follows. Ridley discovered the patristic doctrine of the eucharist by reading Ratramnus, or 'Bertram,' as Ridley, Hopkins and Knox all called him. Seeking 'to preserve catholicity in the Church of England,'[790] he continued to maintain this doctrine, while others, with Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) at their head, [791] allowed themselves to be led astray by 'Helvetic' influences[792] and embraced 'the frigid notions of certain continental divines.'[793] Despite the prevalence of these notions, Ridley managed to infuse the catholic doctrine into the first Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549), behind the production of which he was the guiding hand. Although short-lived, this liturgy

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Ridley appear throughout Knox's writings. See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 379; 380-5; 390; 2, 168-71; 186; 188; 3, 54; 4, 429; *Correspondence,* 1, 586; 'Appendix,' 374; 382; 387.

[786] *Remains*, 2, 160.

[787] William Hopkins (1647-1700), high church divine; see *O.D.N.B.*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101013754/William-Hopkins, accessed 25th June 2011.

[788] William Hopkins, *Bertram or Ratram: Concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord, in Latin with a new English translation, to which is prefix'd an historical dissertation touching the author and this work*, London: Thomas Boomer, 1686. The preface runs from 1-125.

[789] For a summary of Ratramnus (died c. 868) and his teaching, see Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998, 82-9.

[790] *Remains*, 2, 171.

[791] For Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archbishop of Canterbury 1533-56, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*, hereafter, *Thomas Cranmer*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996. For Cranmer's eucharistic theology, see P.N. Brooks, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist: An Essay in Historical Development*, second edition, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992, (1965).

[792] *Remains*, 2, 185.

[793] *Ibid.*, 169.

provided a model for the 1662 Prayer Book, which thus enshrined the primitive understanding of the eucharist.

Knox was right to say that Ridley's thinking was influenced by Ratramnus. Ridley himself relates:

> Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church and caused me to search more diligently and exactly the scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter.[794]

Knox was also right to say that this influence endured. Defending his views in Oxford in 1554, Ridley appealed to Ratramnus along with the Fathers, maintaining that the doctrine he believed was that which Ratramnus taught:

> [T]hink not that because I deny that presence [transubstantiation] ... that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper ... [W]ith Bertram ... I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect, namely, as he writeth, because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, the power of the Word of God, which not only feedeth the soul but also cleanseth it.[795]

Knox, who quoted this passage *verbatim*,[796] called it an 'express avowal of Ridley's perfect concurrence with Bertram,'[797] and it is possible to see Ridley as a virtualist,[798] although, as Diarmaid MacCulloch remarks, there is 'an awkward ambiguity in

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[794] Nicholas Ridley, 'Disputation at Oxford,' in *The Works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of London, Martyr, 1555*, edited by Henry Christmas, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1841, 185-252, 206. The passage shows that Ratramnus was not Ridley's sole influence when it came to the development of his eucharistic doctrine. Inspired by Ratramnus, Ridley went on to study more fully both the Bible and the Fathers. At the same time, as Brooks argues, Ridley cannot have been immune to the influence of continental thinking (*Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist: An Essay in Historical Development*, 59-60).

[795] Ridley, 'Disputation at Oxford,' 201-2.

[796] *Remains*, 2, 170-1

[797] *Ibid.*, 170.

[798] One of those who accept Ridley as a virtualist is John Macquarrie; see his *Guide to the Sacraments*, London: S.C.M., 1997, 125. By contrast, MacCullough sees both Ridley and Cranmer's views as evolving until they eventually developed a 'non-realist eucharistic theology' (*Thomas Cranmer*, 383).

Ridley's stance on eucharistic presence.'[799] What is not feasible is portraying Ridley as the architect of the 1549 liturgy: there can be no doubt that, to quote again MacCulloch, 'the author of the [1549] Prayer Book' was Cranmer.[800] Nor is it feasible to see this liturgy as 'catholic' in Knox's sense of the word; as MacCullouch has demonstrated, the 'clear purpose' of the 1549 book 'was to attack the notion of real presence.'[801] Despite the fragility of their historical foundation, however, Knox's views both on the 1549 Prayer Book and on Ridley appear in the writings of the Tractarians and are indicative of his influence on them.[802]

In discussing the eucharist, except for a brief reference to Joseph Mede,[803] Knox made no appeal to the writings of seventeenth-century moderates. This is surprising, for the eucharist was not a topic which they ignored.[804] The most remarkable

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[799] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, paperback edition, London: Penguin, 2001, (1999), 69. See, also, Stone, *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 2, 195: 'To ascertain Ridley's exact meaning in many passages of his writings is by no means an easy task.'

[800] MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 211. See, also, 417.

[801] *Ibid.*, 386 Later on, MacCullough describes as 'theological fools' gold' those passages seized on by Anglo-Catholics as evidence that the 1549 liturgy presents a conservative view of the eucharist (486). For a full discussion of the issue, see especially 410-16. See, too, Brooks, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist: An Essay in Historical Development*, chapter 5, 'Pastoral Care: The Book of Common Prayer', 112-62. For the view that the 1549 liturgy is conservative and 'catholic,' see, for example, C. W. Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers*, London: Macmillan and Company, 1958. Dugmore's argument, which is theologically motivated, appears historically unconvincing.

[802] For the Tractarians' attitude to the 1549 Prayer Book, see, above, 76, note 403. For their attitude to Ridley as 'the great upholder of catholic truth,' see, for example, *Tract 71: On the Controversy with the Romanists*, 32. Text in Members of the University of Oxford, *Tracts for the Times: Volume 3: for 1835-6*, London: J.G. and F. Rivington, 1836; *Tract 81: Catena Patrum 4: Testimony of Writers of the Later English Church to the Doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 22; 24. Text in Members of the University of Oxford, *Tracts for the Times: Volume 4: for 1836-7*, London: J.G. and F. Rivington, 1838.

[803] See *Correspondence*, 2, 508-10. The work discussed is the *Concio ad Clerum, de sanctuario Dei seu de sanctitate relativa*. Originating in an exercise for Mede's B.D., the *Concio* was only published posthumously. For the text, see *The Works of the Pious and Profoundly Learned Joseph Mede, B.D., sometime Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge*, London: Richard Royston, 1672, 398-408.

[804] Besides Mede's *Concio*, one may also cite: his *Name Altar or Θυσιαστηριον, Anciently Given to the Holy Table*, London: John Clark, 1637; and *The Christian Sacrifice*, published in the first, anonymously edited, collection of Mede's writings, *The Works of J. Mede: being discourses on divers texts of scripture, and four treatises revised and corrected, whereunto are added discourses never before published; also a treatise of the Christian sacrifice*, two volumes, London: John Clark, 1648, 2, 471-527; as well as: R. C. [Ralph Cudworth], *A Discourse Concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, London: Richard Cotes, 1642; [Henry More], *A Brief Discourse of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist; wherein the witty artifices of the*

omission is Jeremy Taylor, the eucharist being a topic to which, as Harry Boone Porter says, Taylor 'repeatedly devoted his attention,'[805] and one which 'inspired some of his most sublime writing.'[806] The reason Knox did not cite the moderates may be that their teaching was somewhat 'lower' than his,[807] yet this does not apply to Taylor, the similarity of whose doctrine to Knox's was such that it led Henry McAdoo to speculate that Knox had been influenced by Taylor.[808]

Surprising, too, is the lack of attention which Knox paid to the eucharistic teaching of the Fathers. One may infer that the *lacuna* was noted by his friend and correspondent John S. Harford, for we find Knox telling him:

> The subject to which you turn my attention, I am scarcely qualified to write upon, as I have never actually examined the volumes of the Fathers respecting it. The truth is, I was so completely satisfied with the quotations which I have met in trustworthy writers of later times that I felt, as I thought, no necessity for going further. The impression on my mind has been that the ancient writers of the church were agreed in ascribing to the consecrated elements in the eucharist an unutterable and efficacious mystery, in virtue of our saviour's words of institution, by which he had made those elements, when consecrated after his example, the vehicles of his saving and sanctifying power, and, in

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Bishop of Meaux and of Monsieur Maimbourg are obviated, whereby they would draw in the protestants to imbrace the doctrine of transubstantiation, London: Walter Kettilby, 1686; and the four works of Simon Patrick: *Mensa Mystica, or A Discourse concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, London: F. Tyton, 1660; *The Christian Sacrifice: a treatise shewing the necessity, end, and manner of receiving the holy communion: together with suitable prayers and meditations for every month in the year, and principal festivals in memory of our Blessed Lord, in four parts*, London: Richard Royston, 1671; *A Book for Beginners, or, An Help to Young Communicants, that they may be fitted for holy communion, and receive it with profit*, London: Richard Royston, 1680; and *A Treatise of the Necessity and Frequency of Receiving the Holy Communion: with a resolution of doubts about it, in three discourses begun upon Whit-Sunday in the cathedral church of Peterburgh, to press the observation of the fourth rubrick after the communion office*, London: Richard Royston, 1684.

[805] Harry Boone Porter, *Jeremy Taylor: Liturgist (1613-1667)*, London: S.P.C.K., 1979, 61.

[806] *Ibid.* For an extensive analysis of Taylor's teaching, see H.R. McAdoo, *The Eucharistic Theology of Jeremy Taylor Today*, Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1988.

[807] As an illustration of this, see Patrick's *Mensa Mystica*, which sets out a receptionist view of the sacrament, insisting that 'the real presence is not to be sought in the bread and wine, but in those that receive them, according as the learned Hooker speaks ... the change is in our souls, and not in the sacrament.' This quotation is taken from the seventh edition of the *Mensa Mystica*, London: J. Walthoe and B. Tooke, 1717, 90-1.

[808] McAdoo and Stevenson, *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition*, 38; see, also, 44.

> that respect, the permanent representatives of his incarnate person. But notwithstanding this exalted estimate of the eucharist, the notion of a literal transubstantiation, such as was subsequently introduced into the western church, would appear never to have entered into their minds.[809]

The statement is perplexing. Knox had a wide knowledge of patristic writings, and by 1826, when these words were written, he would surely have discovered the Fathers' eucharistic teaching, not least that of John Chrysostom, for whom the title *doctor eucharisticus* is a common soubriquet.[810] The reason for Knox's reticence may have been that he found in the Fathers more support for 'a literal transubstantiation' than he did for his own virtualist position, since, the language of the Fathers is, as J.N.D. Kelly remarks, 'in general unquestioningly realist,'[811] with the vocabulary of conversion becoming predominant from the fourth century onwards, first in the east, then in the west.[812]

The 'trustworthy writers of later times' to whom Knox referred are 'Mons[ieur] L'Arroque' and 'Bertram,' both of whom Knox recommended for further elucidation on the subject.[813] Knox's use of 'Bertram' has already been mentioned. 'Mons. L'Arroque' was Matthieu de l'Arroque (1619-84),[814] the author of the *Histoire de*

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[809] *Remains*, 2, 155.
[810] For Chrysostom's eucharistic teaching, see Gerardo Di Nola, *La Dottrina Eucaristica di Giovanni Crisostomo*, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997.
[811] J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, fifth edition, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1977, (1958), 443.
[812] *Ibid.*, 443; 446. Compare G.W.H. Lampe's statement that 'a conversionist way of speaking becomes especially prominent in Greek theology during the fourth century,' and that this was subsequently mirrored in the west, from the time of Ambrose onwards ('The Eucharist in the Thought of the Early Church,' in R.E. Clements, Austin Farrer, G.W.H. Lampe, *et al.*, *Eucharistic Theology Then and Now*, London: S.P.C.K., 1968, 34-58, 36-7). Lampe argues that before the fourth century, the patristic consensus was that the sacrament is 'dynamically, i.e., in grace and power, rather than in substance, that which it signifies' (46), which would accord with Knox's position.
[813] *Remains*, 2, 163.
[814] For Matthiew de l'Arroque, also spelled La Roque and Larroque (1619-84), Huguenot minister at Vitré in Brittany, see M. Prévost, Roman d'Amat, et H. Thibout de Morembert, eds, *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, nineteen volumes to date, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1933-present, fascicule 113, 1097-8.

l'Eucharistie (1669),[815] which Knox described as, in large part, 'examining and ascertaining what the ancient Fathers thought on the subject of the eucharist'[816] De l'Arroque's conclusion was that the Fathers did not believe in transubstantiation; rather, de l'Arroque maintained, 'it is on account of their efficacy and virtue ... that the Fathers called the eucharist the Body and Blood of Christ.'[817] In other words, de l'Arroque portrayed the Fathers as virtualists, the position which Knox adopted.

In his discussion of the eucharist, Knox was chiefly concerned with what 'our Church' teaches.[818] To explore this teaching he turned, first, to the Prayer Book. He invoked the third exhortation at Communion, which speaks of how:

> [W]e spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood ...we dwell in Christ and Christ in us; we are one with Christ and Christ with us.[819]

'It would hardly be possible to convey the notion which I have wished to express, more strictly, more fully, or more profoundly, than in those words,' Knox commented.[820] He also appealed to the formula used in the administration of communion: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life;'[821] as well as to the rubrics introduced (or re-introduced) in the 1662 revision of the Prayer Book. He saw these rubrics as effecting 'a kind of revolution,' returning the Church of England to a more catholic expression

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[815] Matthieu de l'Arroque, *Histoire de l'Eucharistie, divisée en trois parties, dont la première traitte de la forme de la célebration, la seconde de la doctrine et la troisième de la culte*, hereafter, *Histoire de l'Eucharistie*, Amsterdam : Daniel Elzevier, 1669. An English translation, a copy of which Knox possessed (*Remains*, 2, 163), subsequently appeared : *The History of the Eucharist, divided into three parts ... written originally in French by Mons. L'Arroque, done into English by J.W.* [John Walker], London : George Downes, 1684.

[816] *Remains*, 2, 164.

[817] De l'Arroque, *Histoire de l'Eucharistie*, 225. The translation is my own.

[818] *Remains*, 2, 189; 193; 195; 262-3. See, however, 276, where he says that if he has dwelt on the teaching of the Church of England he nonetheless sees this teaching as expressive of 'the doctrine of scripture and the established sense of the ancient catholic church.'

[819] *Remains*, 2, 185, note. The passage is also cited 263. See *B.C.P.*, 188.

[820] *Remains*, 2, 262-3.

[821] *Ibid.*, 187-8. See *B.C.P.*, 192.

of its eucharistic belief than had existed since the promulgation of the second Edwardine Prayer Book in 1552.[822] Knox did not specify the rubrics he meant; probably he envisaged the rubric preceding the eucharistic prayer, which speaks of it as 'the prayer of consecration;'[823] and that which follows the communion, which seems to ascribe the consecration to the words of institution.[824] No doubt, too, he had in mind the prescription that communion is to be received 'meekly kneeling,'[825] and the explanation of this practice given in the so-called 'black rubric.' The wording of the 'black rubric' contains a subtle change from the rejection in 1552 of a 'real and essential presence,' to the rejection in 1662 of the 'corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' [826] It thus became, in the eyes of high churchmen 'a defence of the doctrine of the real presence, rather than a denial of it,' to quote the words of Proctor and Frere.[827]

Finally, Knox may also have been thinking of the rubrics regarding the treatment of the bread and wine left over after communion. The 1662 Prayer Book directs that the 'consecrated elements' should be placed on the altar and covered with a 'fair linen cloth' until after the end of the service, when they are to be 'reverently' consumed, and not carried out of the church, as was permitted for the unconsecrated elements,[828] directions which Knox could have interpreted as supporting his view of the real presence.

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[822] *Remains*, 2, 188.
[823] '[The priest] shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth,' *B.C.P.*, 191.
[824] 'If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the priest is to consecrate more according to the form before prescribed, beginning at [the institution narrative],'*B.C.P.*, 192.
[825] *Ibid.*
[826] *Ibid.*, 195.
[827] Proctor and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, with A Rationale of its Offices*, 197.
[828] *B.C.P.*, 192; 195.

Besides the liturgy, Knox appealed to the Thirty-Nine Articles. He quoted Article twenty-five's teaching that the sacraments are 'effectual signs of grace … by the which [God] doth work invisibly in us.'[829] In these words, 'the instrumentality of the visible signs is, evidently, made the very essence of a sacrament,' Knox commented.[830] He likewise cited Article twenty-eight, which talks of the body of Christ being 'given, taken and eaten in the [Lord's] Supper,' as if 'there was a solicitude,' Knox argued, 'explicitly to maintain the union between the heavenly and spiritual blessing and the outward and visible sign.'[831] Article twenty-nine was similarly construed by Knox as teaching that the visible symbols of bread and wine were to be regarded as vehicles of the grace which the sacrament conveys.[832] In this regard, Härdelin is mistaken when he says that Knox seemed to hold that:

> the gift [given in the eucharist] is Christ's body and blood in power and effect, but the elements are only considered to be the signs of this gift and not the actual instruments and vehicles of its conveyance.[833]

Besides the liturgy and the Articles, Knox invoked the Catechism, which speaks of the bread and wine as the outward and visible sign of the sacrament, by means of which 'the body and blood of Christ … are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful.'[834]

Knox held that his teaching was verified by experience: receiving communion, one felt the 'mystical touch … the virtuality of [Christ] himself,'[835] although this was not a theme that he developed.

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[829] *Remains*, 2, 189. For Article twenty-five, see *B.C.P.*, 401.
[830] *Remains*, 2, 189-90.
[831] *Ibid.*, 190. For Article twenty-eight, see *B.C.P.*, 402.
[832] *Remains*, 2, 190-1. For Article twenty-nine, see *B.C.P.*, 402.
[833] Härdelin, *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist*, 126. The same observation is made by Rowell, 'Theological Forerunners,' 40.
[834] *Remains*, 2, 192. For the text from the Catechism quoted by Knox, see *B.C.P.*, 216.
[835] *Remains*, 4, 311.

4.4.5. The Eucharist (2): Sacrifice and Priesthood

Knox was mainly concerned with the eucharist as a sacrament, but he did not altogether ignore what he termed 'the eucharistic sacrifice.'[836] His main focus, however, was on the cognate doctrine of priesthood. It is to this topic that we now turn. The sub-section is brief, because of the scant treatment given to the topic by Knox.

Knox addressed the issues of sacrifice and priesthood in his 'Letter to J.S. Harford, Esq., On Certain Great Truths dwelt upon in the Epistle to the Ephesians' (1814).[837] In this letter he developed a theory of what he termed 'analogical Judaism,'[838] arguing that everything 'permanently useful and intrinsically valuable' in the Old Testament[839] continued to exist in the church. One of these 'permanent Judaical characters' or characteristics[840] was, Knox argued, a 'special priesthood' distinct from 'the sacerdotal dignity of Christians generally.'[841] The holders of this 'special priesthood' were, according to Knox:

> priests of the new dispensation, as the sons of Aaron were priests of the old dispensation, differing only from the latter in greater nobleness of service, and the more exalted dignity derived from that head to whom they are subordinate.[842]

[836] *Candid Animadversions*, 15. See, also, *Remains*, 3, 254, where Knox speaks of 'the commemorative sacrifice celebrated by Christ's own appointment in his mystical Israel.'
[837] *Remains*, 3, 231-76.
[838] *Ibid.*, 247; 248; 253; 257; 259; 263. For the phrase 'analogical Judaism,' see, also: *Correspondence*, 1, 492; 494; 495.
[839] *Remains*, 3, 237.
[840] *Ibid.*, 248.
[841] *Ibid.*
[842] *Ibid.*, 255.

As this passage shows, the priest's office was, in Knox's conception, 'subordinately assistant to that of the great high priest;'[843] acting in Christ's person, the priest 'officiates in the Institutor's place.'[844]

Knox did not expand on his ideas of priesthood and sacrifice. 'Protestant prejudice must be abated before there can be a perfect development of this invaluable conception,' he feared.[845] It was a strange remark for one who wrote as Knox did about the real presence, or imparted justification. Strange, too, is the fact that Knox describes his views in terms of a new discovery, whereas the idea of a sacrificial priesthood, while not prominent, was not unknown within the Anglican tradition, as I will demonstrate below, nor did it altogether lack proponents in Knox's day. Daubeny, for example, arguing from 'the analogy [drawn by the Fathers] between the ministers of the Law and those of the Gospel,' unambiguously declared it one of the tasks of the clergy 'to offer up to God the sacrifice of the altar.'[846]

4.4.6. Sources

In support of his theory of a 'special priesthood,' Knox appealed to the Bible:

> What seems to me is that the New Testament contains a great deal more respecting a hierarchical church than anyone *I* know of has yet imagined; and that a more express and circumstantial transfer of hierarchical privileges from the Jewish nation to the Gentiles may be traced than, at first view, could be thought likely.[847]

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[843] *Ibid.*, 251. See, also, 252, where Knox speaks of Paul as being 'a priest subordinately, as Jesus Christ is a priest supremely.'
[844] *Ibid.*, 255. The 'Institutor' is, of course, Christ, who established the sacrament. The words recall a phrase of Cyprian's; see below, 367. One should note that, as well as being charged with a sacrificial function, the clergy in Knox's conception exercise a role as governors over the people, sharing in Christ's kingly role as well as his priestly one; see, *Remains*, 3, 249-50.
[845] *Remains*, 3, 255.
[846] Charles Daubeny, *An Appendix to the Guide to the Church, in several letters, in which the principles advanced in that work are more fully maintained in answer to objections*, second edition, London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1804, (1804), 24-5; 310. See, also, 66, and, especially 310-14.
[847] *Correspondence*, 1, 491. Emphasis in the original.

Knox based his argument for 'analogical Judaism' on the teaching of the epistle to the Ephesians that the Gentiles have become 'co-heirs, con-corporate members, and co-participants' with the Jews,[848] and form with them one 'body co-harmonised and compacted,'[849] and that therefore the church possesses certain features derived from Judaism. Knox's logic at this point is unclear; his thesis, however, is plain enough: Israel and its institutions continue in the church, albeit transformed.

Besides Ephesians, Knox cited three passages of scripture in defence of his doctrine of priesthood. The first was Romans 15, 16, where Paul speaks of himself as a λειτουργός ('minister') of Jesus Christ, exercising 'a priestly function in relation to the Gospel,' ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.[850] The second passage was 1 Corinthians 9, 13-14, which Knox interpreted as making a parallel between the Jewish priesthood and the Christian ministry, something that 'implies a substantial sameness of office.'[851] The third passage was 1 Corinthians 10, 15-22, where Paul relates 'the cup of blessing which we bless' and 'the bread which we break' to both Jewish and pagan sacrifices. 'If the great Christian celebration was not sacrificial,' Knox asked, 'what relevancy would there be to so emphatic a reference?'[852]

With regard to the doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice, Knox's teaching echoed Wesley's. Wesley's eucharistic hymns describe the Lord's Supper as a 'death-recording rite,'[853] not simply because by it Christians 'call [Jesus's] death to mind,'[854] but because by it the Father is constantly reminded of the sacrifice of Calvary:

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[848] *Remains*, 2, 240-1. Knox gives his own translation of Ephesians, 3, 6.
[849] *Remains*, 2, 241. Knox gives his own translation of Ephesians 4, 16.
[850] Knox discusses this verse, *Remains*, 3, 251-3.
[851] *Remains*, 3, 253. The passage reads: 'Don't you know that those who work in the temple get their food from the temple, and those who serve at the altar share in what is offered on the altar? In the same way, the Lord has commanded that those who preach the gospel should receive their living from the gospel. '
[852] *Remains*, 3, 253-4.
[853] Wesley, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, hymn 1, verse 1, 37.

> The Lamb his Father now surveys
> As on this altar slain,
> Still bleeding and imploring grace
> For every soul of man.[855]

If there was a sacrifice, there had to be a priesthood to offers it, Wesley reasoned. To quote Bowmer: '[H]is conception of the ministerial office … was dependent on his conception of the Lord's Supper, particularly as it implied a sacrifice.'[856] Thus we find Wesley writing in 1745:

> We believe there is and always was in every Christian church (whether dependent on the Bishop of Rome or not) an outward priesthood, ordained by Jesus Christ, and an outward sacrifice offered therein by men authorised to act as ambassadors of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God. On what grounds do you believe that Christ has abolished that priesthood or sacrifice? [857]

Bowmer argues that Wesley's 'belief in the priesthood of the Christian ministry' was 'unwavering.'[858] Thus in 1790, in his sermon on 'The Ministerial Office,' Wesley speaks repeatedly of 'the office of a priest,'[859] which he defines as being 'to minister in holy things, to offer up prayers and sacrifices,'[860] meaning, under the Christian dispensation, 'to baptize [and] to administer the Lord's Supper;'[861] 'to administer the sacraments.'[862]

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[854] *Ibid.*, hymn 25, verse 2, 56.
[855] *Ibid.*, hymn 126, verse 5, 131.
[856] Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*, 163. One may note that in his letter to Harford, Knox takes the inverse route, moving from a concept of priesthood to the concept of sacrifice.
[857] John Wesley to Westley Hall, letter, 27th December 1745; see Wesley, *Journal*, 3, 230, entry for 27th December 1745.
[858] Bowmer, *The Sacrifice of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*, 165.
[859] John Wesley, Sermon 121, 'Prophets and Priests' 2; 3; 4; 8, *Works*, 4, 72-84, 75; 76; 77. The title given to this sermon is more usually 'The Ministerial Office.'
[860] Wesley, Sermon 121, 'Prophets and Priests,' 2, *Works*, 4, 75.
[861] Wesley, Sermon 121, 'Prophets and Priests,' 18, *Works*, 4, 82.
[862] Wesley, Sermon 121, 'Prophets and Priests,' 11, *Works*, 79.

In teaching the eucharist to be a sacrifice, Knox held a doctrine maintained not just by Wesley, but by a large number of Anglican theologians,[863] including such moderates as Patrick,[864] Mede [865] and Taylor.[866] Like Knox, Taylor also develops the idea of priesthood in relation to the eucharistic sacrifice. [867] To quote Taylor's *Clerus Domini* (1651):

> Now Christ did also establish a number of select persons to be ministers of [his] great sacrifice, finished upon the cross; that they also should exhibit and represent to God, in the manner which their Lord appointed them, this sacrifice, commemorating the action and suffering of the great priest.[868]

Knox's doctrine also parallels that of the Non-Jurors. This is especially the case with Henry Dodwell (1709-85) [869] and George Hickes (1642-1715), whose *Two Treatises* (1707) [870] in particular shows a number of similarities with Knox, not least the use of the same three 'proof-texts:' Romans 15,16; 1 Corinthians 9, 13-14; and 1 Corinthians 10, 15-22.

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[863] See, on this point, Henry McAdoo and Kenneth W. Stevenson, *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition*, Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1995, the second part of which, authored by Stevenson, is devoted to 'The Mystery of Sacrifice.'

[864] For a summary of Patrick's position, see Dugmore, *Eucharistic Doctrine*, 112.

[865] See, especially, *The Christian Sacrifice* and *The Name Altar or Θυσιαστηριον* which have this doctrine as their theme.

[866] For Taylor's doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice, see McAdoo, *The Eucharistic Theology of Jeremy Taylor Today*, 80-4; 66-73.

[867] See McAdoo, *The Eucharistic Theology of Jeremy Taylor Today*, 95-103.

[868] Jeremy Taylor, *Clerus Domini, or, A Discourse on the Divine Institution of the Office Ministerial*, London: R. Royston, 1651, 5, 2. The text used for this thesis is that in *Works,* 14, 415-88. The passage cited will be found, 452.

[869] For Henry Dodwell (1641-1711), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101007765/William-Dodwell, accessed 25th June 2011. Dodwell's sacerdotal views are exemplified by his *A Discourse concerning the One Altar and the One Priesthood, insisted on by the ancients in their disputes against schism: wherein the ground and solidity of that way of reasoning is explained, as also its applicableness to the case of our modern schismaticks, with particular regard to some late treatises of Mr. Richard Baxter*, London: Benjamin Tooke, 1683.

[870] George Hickes, *Two Treatises: One of the Christian Priesthood: The Other of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order: formerly written, and now published to obviate the erroneous opinions, fallacious reasonings, and bold and false assertions in a late book, entituled, The Rights of the Christian Church: with a large prefatory discourse, wherein is contained an answer to the said book*, London: Richard Sare, 1707. For George Hickes (1642-1715), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101013203/George-Hickes, accessed 25th June 2011.

Among the Fathers the eucharist was 'regarded,' in J.N.D. Kelly's words, 'as the distinctively Christian sacrifice from the closing decade of the first century, if not earlier.'[871] There are in particular three patristic passages which find echoes in Knox's teaching, all from authors with whom he was familiar.[872] The first comes from Clement of Rome's *Letter to the Corinthians*; in which Clement (died c.100) draws an analogy between the Jewish hierarchy and the Christian ministry, similar to that propounded by Knox:

> Certain functions have been entrusted to the high priest; and a proper place is assigned to the priests; and the levites have been invested with their own service; while the lay-man is bound by the precepts concerning him.[873]

The second passage is Cyprian's letter to Caecilius on the eucharist,[874] which speaks of 'the priest who, in the place of Christ ... offers a true and perfect sacrifice in the church to God the Father,'[875] a sacrifice which Cyprian identifies with 'the passion of the Lord.'[876] Cyprian also speaks of Christ as '*sacrificii hujus auctor*,' a phrase which is paralleled by Knox's description of Christ as the 'Institutor' of the eucharistic sacrifice.[877] The third passage is chapter three of Chrysostom's *On the Priesthood*, in which Chrysostom draws an analogy between the Jewish and the Christian priesthood, quoting 2 Corinthians 3, 10 to describe the latter as being 'of a more excellent glory.'[878] For, he demands:

> when you see the Lord lying immolated and the priest bent over the sacrifice praying, and everything red with that precious blood, can you think that you are amongst

[871] Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 196.
[872] See above, 220, note 206.
[873] Clement of Rome, *Letter to the Corinthians*, 40; *P.G.*, 1, 289.
[874] *P.L.*, 4, 372-89. Migne numbers this letter as 63. For Cyprian (died 258), see Peter Hinchcliff, *Cyprian of Carthage and the Unity of the Christian Church*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1974. Caecilius is an unidentified bishop.
[875] Cyprian, Letter 63, 14; *P.L.*, 4, 386.
[876] *Ibid.*, 17; *P.L.*, 4, 387.
[877] *Ibid.*, 1; *P.L.*, 4, 373.
[878] Chrysostom, *On the Priesthood*, 3, 4; *P.G.* 48, 642.

> human beings on earth? Have you not rather been carried up into heaven? [879]

More generally, the idea that the church has replaced Israel is a common patristic trope, first articulated by Justin Martyr (c. 100-65),[880] who, in his *Dialogue with Trypho,* declares: 'We are the true, the spiritual Israel.'[881]

4.4.7. Short Conclusion

This has been a long section, reflecting the importance of the sacraments in Knox's theology, derived from the vital place he gave to them in the Christian life. The section opened with an analysis of Knox's doctrine of baptism, based on his definition of the sacrament. This was followed by an examination of his doctrine of the eucharist as a sacrament, and as a sacrifice, including his teaching on priesthood. In each case, the sources of his teaching were explored. Having analysed this teaching, I will proceed to examine Knox's ecclesiology, since for him it is the sacraments which constitute the church.

5. Ecclesiology

This section investigates, first, Knox's doctrine of the church. It analyses his description of it as 'mystical;' visible; and hierarchical or episcopal; and it discusses his distinction between the catholic church and what he termed 'sects.' It then

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[879] *Ibid.*

[880] Justin Martyr (c.100- c.165), early Christian apologist; see L.W. Barnard, *Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought*, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1967.

[881] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 11, *P.G.*, 6, 500; see, also, 135, 788: 'We are the true Israelite people.' For an extended discussion of these passages, see, Eric Francis Osborn, *Justin Martyr*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1973, chapter 13, 'The True Israel,' 171-85. For the idea of the church as the new Israel in patristic thought, see W. Liebster, '*Umkehr und Erneuerung im Verhältnis von Christen und Juden*,' in B. Klappert and H. Starck, eds, *Umkehr und Erneurungen: Erläuterungen zum Synodalbeschluß der Rheinischen Landessynode 1980: Zur Erneuerung des Verhältnisses von Christen und Juden,* Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980, 55-65.

explores his concept of the church as a mixed society; and his view of establishment, before examining, in the second section, the sources from which he drew his teaching.

4.5.1. The Church

Although it is usual in systematic theology to deal with the church before the sacraments, the order here is inversed, for two reasons. First, the sacraments were, in Knox's theology, the primary instruments of justification, and therefore it seems more natural to treat of them immediately after justification and its concomitant, perfection. The second reason for dealing with the church after the sacraments is that, in Knox's view, the sacraments were constitutive of the church: baptism admitted Christians into its fellowship,[882] and this fellowship was expressed through participation in the same eucharist.[883] The doctrine of the church relates to Knox's central theme of justification because the church is the setting in which justification occurs.[884]

Knox nowhere gave a sustained account of his ecclesiology, akin to his tracts on justification or the sacraments. This is by no means to say, however, that he had no doctrine of the church, and his teaching on the subject may be gleaned from a careful study of his writings. Of particular note are: *Candid Animadversions* (1794); the *Answer to Duigenan* (1810); his 'Letter to J.S. Harford, Esq., On Certain Great Truths Dwelt Upon in the Epistle to the Ephesians' (1814);[885] the 'Appendix' (1815); and the essay 'On the Parables Contained in the Thirteen Chapter of Saint Matthew' (undated).[886]

[882] *Remains*, 2, 461.
[883] *Candid Animadversions*, 5.
[884] *Remains*, 4, 437.
[885] *Remains*, 3, 231-76.
[886] *Ibid.*, 1, 447-67.

Knox often described the church using the term 'mystical:' 'the mystical kingdom of Christ,' most frequently;[887] although he spoke also of the 'mystical body;'[888] the 'mystical Israel;'[889] and the 'mystical Zion.'[890] In the common usage of the time, 'mystical' designated something 'having a spiritual character,'[891] and this was what Knox meant when he employed the term: the church was not a human institution, but a society of supernatural origin, the object of God's secret plan, the μυστήριον spoken of in the letter to the Ephesians.[892] This plan was, Knox explained, that 'the Christian church was, on a grand scale, to take the place of Judaism,'[893] so as to become:

> the sphere in which, as well as the organ by which, all the magnificent prophecies of the Old Testament were to have their final fulfilment.[894]

Knox stressed that the church was 'an outward and visible kingdom upon earth.'[895] He did not dispute the existence of an 'internal and invisible [church],'[896] which he defined as 'that company of true believers, which no human observer could ever enumerate, but which is ever present to the eye of God.'[897] This was not, however, he argued, the church described in the Bible:

> [T]he church recognised in the New Testament was not that supposed assembly or society of true believers, but it was a visible institute, into which baptism gave admission; in which our Lord had established a ministry of two orders; and the design of which was to receive

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[887] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 68; 448; 463; 3, 266; 274.
[888] See, for example: *Remains*, 3, 241; 268; 'Appendix,' 386.
[889] *Remains*, 3, 250; 254.
[890] *Ibid.*, 2, 247.
[891] *O.E.D.*, online version, http://www.oed.com, 'Mystical,' accessed 13th March 2011.
[892] '[T]he ruling subject [of Ephesians] ... is eminently, almost wholly, the μυστήριον' (*Correspondence*, 1, 493).
[893] *Correspondence*, 1, 494. See, also, above, 372.
[894] *Correspondence*, 1, 494.
[895] *Remains*, 1, 488-9.
[896] *Ibid.*, 489.
[897] *Ibid.*, 456.

> all and make as many as possible what they ought to be.[898]

Knox further taught that '[t]he church [is] not merely…visible, but … hierarchical.'[899] It was, he held, 'stamped with an hierarchical character from its commencement,'[900] Christ endowing it 'with a well-regulated polity,'[901] corresponding to the 'theo-political' organisation of Israel.[902] Just as in Israel, there were princes and elders, so in the church there were bishops and priests, he maintained.[903] It is this which explains the importance that Knox accorded to episcopacy: in his view, bishops were a 'divinely instituted authority.'[904] This, he believed, was what catholic tradition taught, the Fathers unanimously affirming:

> The constitutional power of the church resided in its episcopacy, whose authority was held to be derived from our saviour himself … through the apostles … to whom bishops were regarded as regular successors.[905]

The visible, hierarchical or episcopal church formed 'one body,'[906] Knox claimed; and this body he identified as 'the true church,'[907] the catholic church spread throughout the world:

> The visible, hierarchical church is, indeed, as a tree dividing, first into two trunks, eastern and western, then into several stems, representative of national churches; then into yet smaller stems, corresponding to ecclesiastical provinces, then into smaller still,

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[898] *Ibid.*, 4, 437. The ministry of 'two orders' is intriguing. Knox means, it seems, that the episcopate and presbyterate alone were established by Christ, the diaconate being instituted by the apostles. See: *Remains*, 3, 249; 'Appendix,' 362-3.
[899] *Remains*, 1, 455.
[900] *Ibid.*, 4, 291-2.
[901] *Ibid.*, 3, 249.
[902] *Ibid.* Knox includes the hierarchical nature of the church in his idea of 'analogical Judaism.' See: *Remains*, 3, 248-9; *Correspondence*, 1, 491.
[903] *Remains*, 3, 249. Knox quotes Luke 6, 13, '[Jesus] chose twelve,' and Luke 10, 1, 'He appointed other seventy also.'
[904] *Answer to Duigenan*, 63.
[905] *Ibid.*
[906] 'Appendix,' 362. Knox is alluding to Ephesians 4, 4: 'There is one body.'
[907] 'Appendix,' 362.

> answering to dioceses, and, finally, into the smallest of all, parochial churches.[908]

Knox took the image of the 'tree dividing'[909] from Matthew 13, 31-2, the parable of the mustard seed, which from tiny beginnings grew so great that birds could perch in its boughs. The image calls to mind the 'branch theory' of the church, which holds that the one catholic church is divided into several branches: Anglican, Roman Catholic and Orthodox. The theory was developed especially by William Palmer (1803-85) in his *Treatise on the Church of Christ* (1838).[910] Palmer trained for ordination under Jebb, and was almost certainly influenced by Knox through him.[911] In Knox, the theory was by no means developed, but hints of it may be discerned in his description of the various 'catholic' denominations as 'portions' of the one church. For instance, he called Roman Catholicism 'the yet unreformed portion of the catholic church,'[912] while describing Anglicanism as 'our portion of the catholic church.'[913]

Knox contrasted the catholic church and its constituent members with what he termed 'sects' or 'societies.' 'Christianity as a collective system,' he stated, 'exists only under the two forms of national churches and sects or societies,'[914] a distinction which, quite independently of Knox, was later to become, through the work of Max Weber (1864-1920) and Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923), standard in the sociology of

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[908] *Remains*, 1, 455.
[909] *Ibid.*
[910] William Palmer, *A Treatise on the Church of Christ, designed chiefly for the use of students in theology*, two volumes, London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1838.
[911] For William Palmer (1803-85), see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101021225/William-Palmer, accessed 17th June 2011. I have found no evidence of any contact between Palmer and Knox, although Palmer was a student at Trinity in the early 1820s. From Ireland, Palmer migrated to Oxford and a further topic of research would be the extent to which, if any, he acted as a conduit of Knox's thought to the Tractarians. Further research might also provide proof of Palmer's personal acquaintance with Knox.
[912] *Remains*, 3, 326.
[913] *Ibid.*, 327. For similar uses of the term 'portion,' which is frequent in Knox, see: *Remains*, 1, 92; 391; 3, 107; 119; 204; 261; 300; 318; 320; 4, 292; 442.
[914] *Ibid.*, 1, 168. Somewhat fancifully, Knox sees these two types of Christianity symbolised in the Apocalypse by the figures of the woman clothed with the sun (Revelation 12, 1) and the new Jerusalem (21, 2). See: *Remains*, 1, 164-74; 198-201.

religion.[915] There was a correlation between the church/sect division and the distinction which Knox made between 'foundation-layers' and 'superstructure-men,'[916] since Knox believed that, in general, 'foundation-layers' belonged to sects, 'superstructure-men' to established churches.[917]

Of the two terms, 'sect' and 'society,' it was the first which Knox most usually employed. In his writings the expression did not have a pejorative connotation *per se*; it simply denoted those groups that had separated themselves from the various national churches which compose the catholic church. Knox saw their existence as ordained by providence for the better fulfilment of God's purposes. To quote from Knox's obituary in the *Christian Examiner*, his ardent attachment to Anglicanism 'produced no asperity towards other Christian bodies, to each of which he felt providence had assigned its peculiar functions.'[918] This was a point which, according to Dickinson, the obituarist, Knox felt was too much overlooked and which therefore he was keen to encourage:

> It was his opinion that the end which providence designed to effect by the existence of various Christian denominations was not sufficiently averted to, nor the good which they possessed within themselves at all times adequately estimated. He often applied himself to unfold this to the perception of others and thus restrain controversy within the bounds of charity and prudence.[919]

Knox held that 'whatever is, providentially, is right.'[920] As he declared: '[A]ccording to my creed, things are what they are, because God has willed them

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[915] For Max Weber (1864-1920) and Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923) and their theory, see, for example, William H. Swatos, Jnr., 'Weber or Troeltsch? Methodology, Syndrome and the Development of Church-Sect Theory,' in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 15, 2, (June 1976), 129-144.
[916] See above, 183-4.
[917] *Remains*, 1, 92; 173.
[918] *Christian Examiner*, 11, 73, (July 1831), 563.
[919] *Ibid.*
[920] *Remains*, 4, 96. Knox is alluding to Alexander Pope's dictum in his *Essay on Man*: 'One truth is clear: Whatever is, is right' (1, 293-4, 51).

so.'[921] If different denominations existed, therefore, they existed for a purpose. Thus, for example, Methodism was, in Knox's view, 'a gracious appointment of providence for evangelising the poor,'[922] a 'rallying point for plebeian piety.'[923] Remarkably for his age, Knox's view extended beyond the confines of Christianity to embrace Islam. 'Mohammedanism,' as he termed it, was in his estimation, 'a remarkable and important feature in the grand scheme of providence.'[924]

Knox maintained that there was 'an obvious necessity for the two-fold system of sects and establishments.'[925] Sects, he claimed, had what he described as a 're-exciting function,'[926] they came into existence to stir up religious revival.[927] More sober and dignified, working without 'alarm or ecstasy,'[928] establishments sustained piety in society at large and served to transmit truth from generation to generation.[929]

If justification was the main point on which evangelicals criticised Knox, what the *British Critic* called 'the very peculiar spirit of resolute optimism which pervaded the mind of Mr Alexander Knox' [930] was the facet of his teaching to which high churchmen most objected. They argued that it legitimised what the *Critic* called 'the the wildest perversions and the most pernicious errors,' by teaching that they 'are not merely overruled for good, but that they are actually so many appointed instruments

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[921] *Remains*, 1, 55. For similar sentiments, see, for example: *Remains*, 1, 259; 3, 285.
[922] *Remarks*, 29. Although the quotation may appear condescending, it echoes Luke 4, 18.
[923] *Remains*, 4, 180. This and the preceding quotation lend support to Ewens's contention that Knox took a somewhat 'snobbish' attitude to Methodism (*Three Hermits*, 40-1). In Knox's defence, it should be noted that Wesley's 'self-chosen constituency was the poor and labouring classes' (Outler, 'John Wesley: Lay Theologian,' 151). This was the case in England, at least. In Ireland, Wesley's mission began with the upper classes (Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society: 1740-1890*, 8).
[924] B.L., Add. Ms 41184, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1812-30), 214, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 10th August 1829. This theme was picked up and developed by Charles Forster in his *Mahometism Unveiled*, two volumes, London: James Duncan, 1829.
[925] *Remains*, 1, 404.
[926] *Ibid.*
[927] *Ibid.*, 4, 291.
[928] *Ibid.*, 292.
[929] *Ibid.*, 1, 404; 4, 292.
[930] *British Critic*, 17, 34, (April 1835), 288.

and agencies which have been expressly ordained ... in the scheme of providence.'[931] The same charge was repeated by the Tractarians, notably by Isaac Williams (1802-65) [932] in *Tract 86* (1839), which condemned 'that unreal eclectic system which confounds truth and degrades our sense of providence by looking on error only as various modes of educing good under the divine control.'[933] To hold this view, contended Williams, was 'to acquiesce in and reconcile ourselves to shapes of evil, on the grounds that they will redound to [God's] glory.'[934] Knox was not named at this point, but later on in the *Tract*, Williams accused him explicitly of a tendency to justify the 'unlawful ministries' of Wesleyan Methodism, on the grounds that it was part of the divine dispensation.[935]

Knox's attitude towards 'sects' was not as liberal as Williams, the *British Critic*, or Dickinson suggest, for, despite their providential origin, Knox refused to see sects as true churches, by which he meant that they are not constitutive members of the catholic church. This was because they lacked bishops; as Knox told Samuel Whitbread (1764-1815) in words he underlined: [936]

> [A]n *unepiscopal church* is not *a genuine church*, that is, does not form a *regular member* of the mystical *polity*.[937]

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[931] *Ibid.*, 286.
[932] Isaac Williams (1802-65), one of the Tract-writers. See *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101029512/Isaac-Williams, accessed 1st August 2011.
[933] [Isaac Williams], *Tract 86: Indications of a Superintending Providence in the Preservation of the Prayer Book and in the Changes which it has Undergone*, hereafter, *Tract 86*, 5. Text in Members of the University of Oxford [John Henry Newman, Isaac Williams, *et al.*], *Tracts for the Times: Volume 5: For 1838-40*, London: J.G.F. & J. Rivington, 1840.
[934] Williams, *Tract 86*, 5.
[935] *Ibid.*, 59-60, note 1.
[936] Samuel Whitbread (1764-1815), scion of a well-known brewing-family, M.P. for Bedford, 1790-1815. See Roger Fulford, *Samuel Whitbread, 1764-1815: A Study in Opposition*, London: Macmillan, 1967.
[937] Bodleian, Ms. Wilberforce c. 52, fol. 81, Knox to Samuel Whitbread, copy of a letter, 1st December 1812. Emphasis in the original.

Knox sought to balance this 'ecclesiastical severity,' as he termed it, with 'Christian charity.'[938] Even though 'not fitly joined together' in harmony with the rest of the building, sectarian Christians were nonetheless 'living stones,' he assured Whitbread.[939] In other words, while not part of the visible church, they were still members of the invisible. Knox also touched on this point in relation to baptism, through which he saw all believers as being united. To quote from his *Answer to Duigenan*:

> [T]he unity of baptism has secured, in spite of outward dissonance, the bland and blessed feeling of a common Christianity. In virtue of this indissoluble link, we are still by mutual acknowledgement not only children of the same eternal Father but disciples, however in each other's estimation unfaithful and unworthy, of the same divine redeemer.[940]

This already-existing unity was, Knox believed, to be more fully realised with the progression of time: eventually, he taught, all Christians would be reunited in a single, visible church. '[I]t is our persuasion that [unity] will be attained,' he informed Wilberforce, 'for our saviour's prayer cannot always remain unanswered. Sooner or later Christians will be one.'[941]

In the chain of circumstances leading to the 'future union of the whole [church],' the Church of England was providentially destined 'to form an intermediate link.' [942] Neither protestant nor Roman Catholic, but containing the best elements of both, it provided a perfect model for reconciliation. '[A] rallying point for safe escape from

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[938] *Ibid.*
[939] *Ibid.* The metaphor is based on a conflation of Ephesians 2, 21-2 and 1 Peter 2, 5.
[940] *Answer to Duigenan*, 31.
[941] Knox to William Wilberforce, letter, 31st August 1818, in Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, 2, 397-410, Knox alludes to John 17, 21, the prayer of Jesus: 'That all [who believe] may be one, Father, just as you are in me and I am in you. May they also be in us so that the world may believe that you have sent me.'
[942] *Remains*, 1, 403.

all religious errors and extravagances, on the one side and on the other,'[943] it was, Knox explained, the 'first fruits' of the unity willed by Christ.[944]

Knox's vision of unity was not limited to protestants and Roman Catholics. As the struggle against Bonaparte brought the British into alliance with Russia, Knox looked forward to the Orthodox finding in the Church of England a conservatory of Greek patristic thought even more authentic than their own, something which would lead them, in a manner analogous to the process which he envisioned for the Roman Catholic Church,[945] first to reformation then to reunion.[946]

As Knox held that some outside the visible church were members of the invisible, so he insisted that members of the visible church could be reprobates. He taught that Christ permitted the visible church to be a mixed body in which 'the good and bad were to continue together' until the end of time.[947] Knox thus described the church as:

> a great house in which are vessels not of gold and silver only, but, also, of wood and clay; and some to honour, and some to dishonour.[948]

In his early work *Free Thoughts* (1785), Knox defined the Church of England as:

> The body of professing Christians who worship God according to the form laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, and who believe the creeds and hold the doctrines contained therein. This Church is governed by a primate, archbishops, bishops, and the inferior orders of clergy, each in subordination to each other … and all subject to His Britannic Majesty … No material alteration can be made either in the

[943] *Ibid.*, 2, 175-6.
[944] *Correspondence*, 1, 547.
[945] See above, 100.
[946] *Remains*, 3, 211-2.
[947] *Candid Animadversions*, 5.
[948] *Remains*, 4, 437. Knox is quoting 2 Timothy 2, 20. See, also: *Remains*, 1, 453-4; *Candid Animadversions*, 10; *Considerations*, 10-12.

> government, form or doctrine of this church, without his consent.[949]

'His Britannic Majesty' did not feature in Knox's later writings, yet the idea of establishment remained important.[950] For him it was, like visibility and a hierarchical structure, a characteristic which the church derived from Judaism, church and nation being but one in the Old Testament.[951] As such, Knox seems to suggest, establishment was as much a part of the church's *esse* as visibility and a hierarchical structure, like them 'derived from the will and act of [the church's] adorable founder'[952]

Knox admitted that in practice establishment was not faultless; yet, he maintained, it was, 'in spite of all its imperfections, that ... scheme by means of which will be finally accomplished [the] general and lasting renovation of human society.'[953] At the same time, establishment was also a foretaste of that renovation, for ultimately, in fulfilment of the prophecies, 'the kingdoms of this world will be the kingdoms of our Lord,' [954] an eventuality which Knox saw as nothing other than 'the principle of church establishments, freed from abuse, purified from drossy mixtures, and applied exclusively to its proper object'[955]

Before this time of fulfilment arrived, Knox recognised that providence might allow periods of 'temporary adversity' to befall the church,[956] such as the one he contemplated in his essay 'On the Situation and Prospects of the Established Church'

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[949] *Free Thoughts*, 2.
[950] See, for example: *Remains*, 1, 169-72; 3, 107.
[951] *Ibid.*, 3, 248.
[952] *Ibid.*, 249.
[953] *Ibid.*, 1, 198.
[954] *Ibid.*, 169. Knox is alluding to Revelation 11, 15: 'The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.' As prophecies of this eventuality, Knox cites: Psalm 2, 10-11; Psalm 72, 10-11; Isaiah 52, 15; 60, 3; 10; 11; 12; 16 (*Remains*, 1, 170).
[955] *Remains*, 1, 172.
[956] *Ibid.*, 57.

(1816).[957] '[A] temporary depression of the English Church might exalt its moral qualities,' he reflected.[958] Established, the Church was 'too prosperous to call forth our finest feelings: where there was nothing but wealth and power, tenderness and sympathy could have no place.'[959] Shorn of its worldly attractions, however, it would be loved for its own 'intrinsic excellence.'[960] It would also be able to rediscover its essential nature as a catholic body, returning to the 'ancient stock, from which [it] derived [its] best being.'[961]

In part, Knox's ecclesiology may have been stimulated by the altered position in which the Church of England found itself *vis-à-vis* the nation at the start of the nineteenth century.[962] In part, too, it was stimulated by the 'Separating Methodists'[963] and their claim that 'real believers constitute the only true church recognised by the word of God.'[964] On the contrary, Knox protested, the visible church was composed of 'all the baptised,' good and bad alike.[965] To break with this church by setting up an alternative form of ecclesiastical government and administering the sacraments outside its jurisdiction was a sin, he charged: the sin of schism.[966] Evangelicalism, too, helped to shape Knox's ecclesiology, his emphasis on the Church as a visible and

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[957] See above, 63. One should remember the circumstances in which this essay was written; it does not present Knox's usual view of church-state relations.
[958] *Remains*, 1, 57.
[959] *Ibid.*
[960] *Ibid.*, 56.
[961] *Ibid.*, 67. It is this which helps explain the Tractarians' special appreciation for this essay. For one example of this appreciation, see [John Henry Newman], 'The State of the Religious Parties,' *British Critic*, 25, (April 1839), 395-426, 400-1. This article was later published in Newman's *Essays Critical and Historical*, two volumes, London: Pickering, 1872, 1, 263-308, where it was re-named 'The Prospects of the Anglican Church,' a title reminiscent of Knox's 'On the Situation and Prospects of the Established Church.' See, too, [John Henry Newman], 'Home Thoughts From Abroad, Number Two,' *British Magazine*, 9, (April 1836), 357-69, 360-1.
[962] See above, 23; 64.
[963] See above, 94.
[964] N.L.I., Ms 8868, Brodrick Papers, (folder 3), Knox to Charles Brodrick, 9th September 1808.
[965] *Ibid.*
[966] *Candid Animadversions*, 5; *Considerations*, 5; 16-18; 34; B.L., Add. Ms 41163, Correspondence between Alexander Knox and John Jebb (1799-1811), fol. 80, Knox to John Jebb, letter, 20th March 1805.

hierarchical structure being designed to counter what he saw as evangelicals' belief in a 'notional church of their own'[967] As for his defence of establishment, although this was by no means lacking in critics at the start of the nineteenth century, his views may also have been a reaction to the 'separating evangelicals' John Walker and Thomas Kelly.[968]

4.5.2. Sources

It has already been noted that 'community' was one of the main themes of the Romantic period.[969] Knox's ecclesiology reflected this. It also reflected a concern which marked Wesley's theology. Wesley held, as Gwang Seok Oh contends, an 'essentially catholic conception of church order,'[970] derived from his high church background. [971] There were other elements in Wesley's ecclesiology, but it is this high church and catholic emphasis which is important in the present context, since it is this that Wesley and Knox shared.

The contradictory nature of Wesley's position *vis-à-vis* the Church of England has already been noted.[972] Hempton sums the matter up by saying: 'Wesley's support for the Church of England [was] always more impressive in thought than in deed.' [973] But it was precisely Wesley's 'impressive thought,' rather than his actions, which

[967] See above, 85.
[968] See above, 88.
[969] See above, 139.
[970] Gwang Seok Oh, *John Wesley's Ecclesiology: A Study of its Sources and Development*, hereafter, *John Wesley's Ecclesiology*, Metchuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 2008, 21. See, also, 256: 'The Church of England was the initial and a lasting influence on Wesley's ecclesiology.' See, too, on this point, John M. Todd, *John Wesley and the Catholic Church*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958, 170-1.
[971] 'In Wesley's ecclesiology, his inherited high church tradition remained intact with respect to many of its essential features,' (Oh, *John Wesley's Ecclesiology*, 240).
[972] See above, 99.
[973] David N. Hempton, *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion, c. 1750-1900*, London: Routledge, 1996, 83.

influenced Knox, and, as we have seen, in combating the Methodists' separation from the Church, he argued that they were acting contrary to Wesley's teaching.[974]

Knox did not invoke the moderates in support of his ecclesiology, although, according to 'S.P,' the 'latitude-men' had a 'deep veneration' for episcopacy, which they 'steadfastly believed to be in itself the best form' of ecclesiastical government, and 'the same that was practised in the time of the apostles.'[975] 'S.P.' is talking about the Cambridge Platonists, but the moderate whose views most match Knox's was Jeremy Taylor.[976] Taylor's *Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy* (1642)[977] asserted that episcopacy was, according to the doctrine of antiquity, 'simply necessary even to the being and constitution of a church.'[978] Without it, there could be 'no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the sacrament, no absolution, no rite or sacrament legitimately can be performed in order to eternity.'[979] Like Knox, however, Taylor tempered severity with charity. It is not for us to condemn the members of non-episcopal bodies, Taylor cautioned: 'They stand or fall to their own master.'[980] Nonetheless, objectively, those who separated themselves from their bishops were guilty of schism, Taylor held.[981]

Knox would have found similar 'ecclesiastical severity,' less the 'Christian charity,' in the writings of the Non-Jurors. Like Taylor, the Non-Jurors delineated an ecclesiology in which the visible church was defined in terms of communion with the

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[974] See above, 98-9.
[975] S. P., *A Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude-Men*, 8.
[976] For a brief introduction to Taylor's ecclesiology, see Avis, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*, 111-7.
[977] Jeremy Taylor, *Of the Sacred Order, and Offices of Episcopacy, by divine institution, apostolicall tradition, & catholike practice, together with their titles of honour, secular employment, manner of election, delegation of their power and other appendant questions asserted against the Aërians, and Acephali, new and old*, hereafter, *Episcopacy Asserted*, Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1642. The text used in this thesis is that found in Heber's 1822 edition of Taylor's *Works*, 7, 3-276.
[978] Taylor, *Episcopacy Asserted*, 45, *Works*, 7, 232.
[979] Taylor, *Episcopacy Asserted*, 32, *Works*, 7, 142.
[980] Taylor, *Episcopacy Asserted*, 32, *Works*, 141. Taylor is alluding to Romans 14, 4.
[981] Taylor, *Episcopacy Asserted*, 46, *Works*, 7, 235-7.

episcopate, separation from which meant the sin of schism. Examples of the position are provided by Dodwell in his *Separation of Churches* (1679) [982] and Thomas Brett (1667-1744) [983] in *The Divine Right of Episcopacy* (1718).[984]

Despite the similarities between them, Knox did not mention Taylor or the Non-Jurors in relation to his ecclesiology. The three figures whom he cited in this connection were: John Pearson, Joseph Milner, and 'Mrs Barbauld.' In a letter, Knox told Jebb:

> I wish you to read attentively what Pearson says on the article respecting the church. It strikes me that he says more than any other protestant has ventured to say, but I should think not a tittle more than the concurrent sense of scripture justifies and requires.[985]

In his *Exposition of the Creed*, Pearson dealt at some length with 'the holy catholic church'[986] emphasising its unity through the episcopate:

> All the churches of God are united into one by the unity of discipline and government, by virtue whereof the same Christ ruleth in them all. For they have all the same pastoral guides appointed, authorised, sanctified and set apart by the appointment of God, by the direction of the Spirit, to direct and lead the people of God in the same way of eternal salvation: as therefore there is no church where there is no order, no ministry, so where the same order and ministry are, there is the same church.[987]

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[982] Henry Dodwell, *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government, as practised by the present non-conformists, proved schismatical from such principles as are least controverted and do withal most popularly explain the sinfulness and mischief of schism*, London: Benjamin Tooke, 1679.
[983] For Thomas Brett (1667-1744), Non-Juror bishop, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101003349/Thomas-Brett, accessed 27th June 2011.
[984] Thomas Brett, *The Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the necessity of an episcopal commission for preaching God's word, and for the valid ministration of the Christian sacraments, proved from the holy scriptures, and the doctrine and practice of the primitive church. Together with an impartial account of the false principles of papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists, concerning the identity of bishops and presbyters. Also, the valid succession of our English bishops vindicated, against the objections of presbyterians and romanists. And the popish fable of the Nags-Head consecration of Archbishop Parker fully refuted*, London: Henry Clements, 1718.
[985] *Correspondence*, 2, 306. For Pearson, see above, 180-1.
[986] Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, 'Article 9: The Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints,' 476-501.
[987] *Ibid.*, 487.

Pearson also underlined the fact that, in 'the notion of the church are comprehended good and bad.'[988] '[It] containeth in it,' he wrote, 'not only such as do truly believe and are obedient to the word, but those also which are hypocrites and profane,' a proposition which he defended with numerous scriptural and patristic quotations.[989]

For the distinction between establishments and sects, Knox appealed to Milner's *History of the Church of Christ*.[990] Milner had, too, a chapter of 'Reflections on Ecclesiastical Establishments,' in which he argued strongly for 'a national establishment of true religion,'[991] and this, likewise, may have had an influence on Knox.

The main source of the distinction Knox made between sects and establishments was the Non-Conformist Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1743-1825):[992] not only did Knox cite her as an authority, but the similarity of their thinking is evident. Barbauld dealt with the distinction in her eponymous essay 'Thoughts on The Devotional Taste, and On Sects and On Establishments' (1775).[993] In the essay, Barbauld argued that both sects and establishments have their role to play in society. Sects are smaller but more zealous, she asserted; they serve to promote a devotion which can rise to the heights of passion, but which eventually dims and fades. The sect's energy spent, it disappears, only to be replaced by a new group. Establishments are larger, and more

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[988] *Ibid.*, 491.
[989] *Ibid.*, 491-2.
[990] *Remains*, 1, 91. See Milner, *History of the Church of Christ*, 3, 187. For Milner, see above, 223.
[991] Milner, *History of the Church of Christ*, 2, 225-46, 227.
[992] For Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1743-1825), poet and essayist, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101001324/Anna-Barbauld, accessed 27th June 2011.
[993] The essay first appeared in the anonymously published *Devotional Pieces, compiled from the Psalms and the Book of Job to which are prefixed thoughts on the devotional taste, on Sects and on Establishments*, London: J. Johnson, 1775. Knox quotes from the essay, with regard to the distinction between sects and churches, *Remains*, 1, 146-7, while Hornby judged it so important that he appended it to volume 2 of the *Remains* (*Remains*, 2, 441-59), where he titled it 'On Devotional Taste and On Sects and Establishments.' It is from this source that quotations from the essay are taken in the present thesis.

restrained, yet they help, Barbauld held, to 'cherish moderate devotion,'[994] making their adherents 'decent if not virtuous, and meliorating the heart, without greatly changing it.'[995]

The more distant sources of Knox's ecclesiology are to be found in the Fathers. The themes of the church's visibility, catholicity, its mixed nature and its relation to the secular power were all developed by Augustine in his controversy with the Donatists. The Donatists, so-called from their leader, Donatus, were a group who, in fourth-century North Africa, sought to establish a pure church, untainted by the stain of those who, under threat of persecution, had sacrificed to idols.[996] 'To this Donatist dream of the church of saints,' as Gerald Bonner writes, 'Augustine opposes another: the universal church, spread throughout the world, and containing within itself both good and evil, until the final separation of the Last Day.'[997] The Donatist controversy also led Augustine to formulate the idea of the civil authority being at the service of the church. Believing in Christ, Augustine argued, the emperor should serve Christ in piety, by making laws against wickedness, following the admonition of the psalmist, 'Now, kings, understand ... and serve the Lord with fear.'[998]

Although there can be no doubt that Augustine's anti-Donatist writings were the ultimate source of much of Knox's ecclesiology, Knox did not cite Augustine as an authority. The Father whom Knox invoked for his ecclesiology was Cyprian of

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[994] Barbauld, 'On Devotional Taste and On Sects and Establishments,' in Knox, *Remains*, 2, 456.
[995] *Ibid.*
[996] For the Donatist controversy, see W.H.C. Frend, *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.
[997] Gerald Bonner, *St Augustine of Hippo: Life and Controversies*, second edition, Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1986, (1963), 287.
[998] Augustine, *De Correctione Donistarum*, 5, *P.L.*, 33, 801. Augustine is citing Psalm 2, 10-11.

Carthage (died 258), whose doctrine of the church has often been the object of Anglican appeals.[999] Writing in 1809, Knox told Jebb:

> I was led to examine St Cyprian a few days ago, on the points between us and the Church of Rome, and what I found there exceeds my expectation. I have always thought there were just two points of real difficulty: the supremacy of the pope and transubstantiation. On both St Cyprian gives deep satisfaction.[1000]

Although in this passage, Knox used Cyprian to counter-act the claims of the papacy, in a more positive way Cyprian provided a clear picture of the ecclesiology which marked Knox's thinking: the idea of a visible, hierarchical church, centred on the episcopate.

4.5.3. Short Conclusion

This section has examined Knox's doctrine of the church, and has analysed the sources from which he drew his thinking. It completes our review of the doctrines related to Knox's understanding of justification, and enables us to turn to the second major theme of his theology: providence.

6. Providence and Predestination

This section examines Knox's definition of providence, and his division of it into three parts: God's governance of the world, God's governance of the church, a topic which Knox developed at some length; and God's governance of individuals. After this, the sources of his teaching are explored. The section then proceeds to investigate

[999] See Mark D. Chapman, '*Cyprianus Anglicus*: St Cyprian and the Future of Anglicanism,' in Hannaford, ed., *The Future of Anglicanism*, 104-117.
[1000] *Correspondence*, 1, 547.

Knox's treatment of predestination and the sources on which he drew for this. The section ends with a short conclusion.

4.6.1. Providence

For Knox, providence was a doctrine of major significance. '[E]xcepting divine grace, there is no sublimer matter of inquiry,' he declared.[1001] 'To study the scripture with this special view [of reflecting on providence]' was 'one of the most interesting as well as useful employments on which our minds can be engaged,' he considered.[1002] For this reason references to the doctrine appear throughout his work. There are, however, two essays which deal specifically with the issue: the 'Letter to Mrs Hannah More On the Design of Providence respecting the Christian Church' (1806),[1003] and 'On Divine Providence' (1815).[1004] Providence was also an important theme in his *Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley* (1828).

Knox rejected the doctrine of what he called 'general providence,'[1005] which he defined in terms of:

> the clockwork of nature, in other words that assemblage of seemingly mechanical movements, by which provision is made for sustaining the system of this world and the varieties of animal life.[1006]

There can be little doubt that Knox was thinking here of his contemporary William Paley (1743-1805),[1007] whose analogy of God as a watchmaker was set out in *Natural*

[1001] *Remains*, 2, 286.
[1002] *Ibid.*, 298.
[1003] *Ibid.*, 3, 103-230.
[1004] *Ibid.*, 2, 286-302.
[1005] *Ibid.*, 286.
[1006] *Ibid.*
[1007] For William Paley (1743-1805), Archdeacon of Carlisle from 1782, see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101021155/William-Paley, accessed 27th June 2011.

Theology or Evidences and Attributes of the Deity, published in 1802.[1008] Knox regarded such a view of providence as inadequate, because it made God remote from the world.[1009] For him providence meant God's direct action in human affairs: 'the actual superintendence of the *omnipresent* and *omnipotent* God.' [1010] He divided it into three parts: providence in relation to the world; to the church; and to the individual.

Knox defined God's providence in relation to 'society at large,'[1011] as the divine management of 'the great commonwealth of human society,'[1012] which oversaw 'the revolutions of empires ... [and] the progress of civilisation.'[1013] Thus he told his housekeeper Miss Ferguson: 'I view the world merely as the stage on which providence is acting.'[1014] He was writing on the last day of 1812, the year that had witnessed Napoleon's invasion of Russia,[1015] yet Knox deemed the event but 'a busy part of the drama.'[1016] It was a drama whose author and director, to continue Knox's metaphor, was, he believed, '[guiding] all things, progressively, to a good and happy issue:'[1017] 'the final establishment of [God's] kingdom.'[1018] Knox admitted that such a providential reading of history was not easy. The majority of people, he confessed, were unable to discern God's action in the world, since:

[1008] William Paley, *Natural Theology or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, collected from the appearances of nature*, London: R. Faulder, 1802. Paley sets out his analogy in the first two chapters of the book, 'The State of the Argument' and 'The State of the Argument Continued' (1-18). Despite his doctrinal misgivings about Paley, Knox valued the practical nature of his later sermons (*Remains*, 4, 336-7).
[1009] *Correspondence*, 2, 512.
[1010] *Remains*, 2, 286-7.
[1011] *Ibid.*, 287.
[1012] *Ibid.*, 1, 324.
[1013] *Wesley*, 490.
[1014] *Remains*, 4, 256.
[1015] For the historical background, see, for example, George Nafziger, *Napoleon's Invasion of Russia*, New York: Hippocrene Books, 1984.
[1016] *Remains*, 4, 256.
[1017] *Ibid.*, 467.
[1018] *Ibid.*, 1, 232.

> nothing is seen to meet the eye of an observer, which is not resolvable into human agency or into that which is called contingency.[1019]

If Knox saw providence acting in secular affairs, he maintained that it was even more concerned with 'the Christian commonwealth.'[1020] '[I]n no instance,' he was persuaded, 'does divine providence work more directly than in the arrangement of the visible church.'[1021] He viewed it as being directed towards its 'golden age,'[1022] its 'last and happiest state *on earth*.'[1023] He was adamant that rather than having its consummation 'wholly reserved for eternity,'[1024] the church would enjoy 'triumph in this present world.'[1025] In making this claim, Knox can be seen as exemplifying the optimism of the post-Enlightenment, the confidence that, as Bebbington expresses it:

> [i]f the past had witnessed the gradual improvement of man, then it [was] reasonable to suppose that the future offered a similar prospect ... Progress would certainly continue, and, eventually, according to many versions, man would attain a state of unparalleled happiness.[1026]

At the same time, one might also argue that Knox's providential reading of history was a protest against what Avihu Zakai calls 'the de-Christianisation of history' in much Enlightenment historiography.[1027]

[1019] *Ibid.*, 2, 293 This explains Knox's apparently self-contradictory remark: 'The world at large is not the stage whereon to look for the actings of providence (*ibid.*). Hidden from the main part of humanity, these 'actings' could only be recognised by 'wise and confirmed Christians' (*ibid.*).
[1020] *Ibid.*, 1, 402.
[1021] *Ibid.*
[1022] *Ibid.*, 466.
[1023] *Ibid.*, 452. Emphasis added. For a description of this state, see *Remains*, 3, 266-7.
[1024] *Ibid.*, 3, 276.
[1025] *Ibid.* See *Remains*, 3, 270-76 in which Knox argues the case for believing in 'the ultimate reign of righteousness on earth' (276).
[1026] David Bebbington, *Patterns in History: A Christian Perspective on Historical Thought*, second edition, Grand Rapids, MN: Baker Book House, 1990, (1979), 68-9. See, also, above, 130-2.
[1027] Avihu Zakai, *Jonathan Edwards's Philosophy of History: The Re-Enchantment of the World in the Age of Enlightenment*, hereafter, *Jonathan Edwards's Philosophy of History*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003, 7.

Another context in which Knox's thought needs to be set is that of the ardent millennialism[1028] which marked early nineteenth-century Ireland. There was, at this epoch, a widespread feeling that what Jebb, in an 1806 sermon, called 'the awful and unprecedented events of these latter times,'[1029] heralded the dawn of a new age. This was the case amongst both protestants [1030] and Roman Catholics, the latter re-enforced in their millennialist speculations by 'Signor Pastorini,' whose *General History of the Christian Church* (1777) predicted the victory of Roman Catholicism over protestantism in 1825.[1031]

In a letter to Miss Ferguson written at the end of 1812, there is a hint that Knox may have shared the expectations of his contemporaries:

> I conceive of everything which is now occurring to be pregnant with results; and I feel my solicitude grow more intense as the movements [of history] appear more momentous.[1032]

[1028] Speaking of the Irish protestant context, Crawford Gribben describes millenialism as 'the hope of a better world,' distinguishing it from apocalyticism which he defines as 'the expectation of impending cosmic doom' ('Introduction: Antichrist in Ireland: Protestant Millenialism and Irish Studies,' in Crawford Gribben and Andrew R. Holmes, eds, *Protestant Millennialism, Evangelicalism and Irish Society, 1790-2005*, hereafter, *Protestant Millenialism*, Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2006, 1-30, 2.

[1029] Jebb, *Practical Theology*, 1, 243. Jebb is referring to the French Revolution (1789) and the subsequent war between Britain and France.

[1030] See Crawford and Holmes, eds, *Protestant Millenialism*, especially chapter 3, Irene Whelan's essay, 'The Bible Gentry: Evangelical Religion, Aristocracy and the New Moral Order in the Early Nineteenth Century,' hereafter, 'Bible Gentry,'52-82.

[1031] Sig[nor] Pastorini, [Charles Walmesley] *The General History of the Christian Church, from Her Birth, to Her Final Triumphant State in Heaven, chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle*, no place of publication or publisher, 1771. 'Pastorini' was the pseudonym of Charles Walmesley (1722-97), vicar-apostolic of the western district of England; see *O.D.N.B.*, on-line edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101028585/Charles-Walmesley, accessed 27th June 2011. Knox writes that he 'was led to examine … attentively' what he calls 'the scheme of Bishop Walmsley [*sic*], *alias* Pastorini (*Remains*, 4, 580). For the impact of 'Pastorini's' prophecies on the Irish Roman Catholic populace, see James S. Donnelly, Jnr., 'Pastorini and Captain Rock: Millenarianism and Sectarianism in the Rockite Movement of 1821-24,' in Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly, Jr., *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest: 1780-1914*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983, 102-39.

[1032] *Remains*, 4, 256. More generally, one may discern throughout Knox's writings an interest in the meaning of the Apocalypse: see, for example, *Remains*, 1, 162-3; 198-9; 3, 276; 4, 517; 580-2. Compare, however, his early letter to Schoales, dated 1801 by Hornby, in which he describes speculation about Revelation as 'not … the most beneficial part of biblical study,' on account of the obscurity of that 'mysterious book' (*Remains*, 4, 85). One gets the impression from the evidence of these passages that Knox was led to study the Apocalypse *malgré lui* by the interest shown in it by his contemporaries and the questions asked of him about it by his correspondents.

By 1829, however, one finds Knox commenting on 'the present millenarian speculation,' that he could not understand on what grounds 'they conclude the nearness of the advent which they suppose approaching.'[1033] They' are not specified, and, amidst what Hempton and Hill call the 'epidemic of prophetical speculation [in Ireland] in the 1820s and 1830s,'[1034] it is impossible to say who precisely was being envisaged. Possibly Knox was talking about the group formed round his old acquaintance Robert Daly, then rector of Powerscourt, Co. Wicklow, hardly ten miles from Bellevue.[1035] Whoever was being envisaged, what is interesting is how relatively sober Knox's views were in comparison to those of many of his evangelical and Roman Catholic contemporaries.

In the drama of providence, Knox spoke of a central role having been given to England.[1036] It had, he held, been set apart, quite literally, 'separated from the continent,'[1037] to be prepared as a special instrument for the 'restoration of the nations to the destined fullness of moral health and happiness.'[1038] It was a restoration which he depicted as being accomplished through the Church, which, despite the obstacles it had to face in his day, he was confident would 'at length [be] made more than ever a praise in the earth.'[1039] As he concluded in his essay 'On the Situation and Prospects of the Established Church:'

> My persuasion of the radical excellence of the Church of England does not suffer me to doubt that she is to be an illustrious agent in bringing the mystical kingdom of

[1033] *Remains*, 4, 536.
[1034] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society: 1740-1890*, 93.
[1035] See Whelan, 'Bible Gentry,' 66-7. For Daly, see above, 110.
[1036] *Remains*, 3, 215; 329; 4,128; *Correspondence*, 1, 227-31. Knox speaks variously in these quotations of England and Britain. The view of England/ Britain as an object of special providence was by no means unusual at the time. See Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914*, London: Pearson Longman, 2008.
[1037] *Remains*, 3, 329.
[1038] *Ibid.*
[1039] *Ibid.*, 216. Knox is alluding to Isaiah 62, 7: 'And give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth' (Authorised Version).

> Christ to its ultimate perfection. Her history, hitherto, seems marked by providential interferences only less remarkable than the miraculous interpositions in the case of the Jews. Arguing, therefore, from every feature of the case, I think an approaching depression more than probable: but I cannot doubt that the end will be glorious.[1040]

As well as God's providence in relation to the world and to the church, Knox also believed in 'the actings of providence for individual good,'[1041] 'particular providence,' as he called it,[1042] and it is this which was the main theme of his 1815 essay. In this essay he argued that God's providential care was limited almost exclusively to those 'who fear God and keep his commandments.'[1043] By this care, Knox wrote, God:

> [provides] for the minutest of our wants, directing, guarding and assisting us each hour and moment, with an infinitely more vigilant and exquisite care than our utmost self-love can ever attain to.[1044]

Knox thus held that Christians could not but have the greatest confidence in God, something that provided them with 'an inestimable support'[1045] throughout life's trials. At the same time, belief in providence demanded 'total resignation of one's self to the will and guidance of God.'[1046]

4.6.2. Sources

With respect to providence, Knox asserted:

[1040] *Remains*, 1, 68-9.
[1041] *Ibid.*, 2, 287.
[1042] *Ibid.*, 4, 604.
[1043] *Ibid.*, 2, 294.
[1044] *Remains*, 2, 292-3. See, also, 4, 537-8: 'God knows best what is good for me … I know nothing.'
[1045] *Ibid.*, 4, 557. See, also: 1, 368; 4, 96; *Correspondence*, 2, 371; 374-5; 561-2.
[1046] *Correspondence*, 1, 46.

> [T]he fountain-head of our information on this subject must be found in the sacred scriptures. We have here the principles of divine providence laid down, its purposes declared, its movements infallibly exemplified.[1047]

It was therefore by reference to this standard, he affirmed, that all thought and reflection on providence was to be assessed.[1048]

Despite his appeals to scripture, there can be little doubt that Knox was influenced in his understanding of providence by Wesley. For Wesley, there was 'scarce any doctrine in the whole compass of revelation … of deeper importance,'[1049] and it was a doctrine which he personally sought to impress on the mind of 'young Alleck.' One of his earliest letters to Knox speaks of God's 'watchful care'[1050] and of 'the wisdom and goodness of divine providence'[1051] directing Alleck's life; and this idea was repeated in almost every subsequent communication.

Like Knox, Wesley emphasized the doctrine of particular providence: God watched especially over those whom Wesley called 'real Christians.'[1052] They were in 'the innermost circle' of God's providence, Wesley asserted.[1053] Besides the 'innermost circle' of providence, Wesley described two further circles: '[t]he outermost circle … the whole race of mankind;'[1054] and, then, 'all that are called Christians, all that profess to believe in Christ,'[1055] in other words, the visible church as a whole.

[1047] *Remains*, 2, 298.
[1048] *Ibid.* See, also, 289.
[1049] John Wesley, Sermon 67, 'On Divine Providence,' 7, *Works*, 2, 534-50, 537. Providence, Outler remarks, was one of Wesley's 'favourite themes' (Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 2, 534).
[1050] *Remains*, 4, 1.
[1051] *Ibid.*
[1052] Wesley, Sermon 67, 'On Divine Providence,' 18, *Works*, 2, 543.
[1053] *Ibid.*
[1054] Wesley, Sermon 67, 'On Divine Providence,' 16, *Works*, 2, 542.
[1055] Wesley, Sermon 67, 'On Divine Providence,' 17, *Works*, 2, 543.

Wesley described God's providence with respect to the church in his sermon on 'The Wisdom of God's Counsels' (1784), in which he reviewed the providential working of God in ecclesiastical history. To quote his own words, his theme was:

> the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God ... most eminently displayed in his church; in planting it like a grain of mustard seed, the least of all seeds; in preserving and continually increasing it, till it grew into a great tree, notwithstanding the uninterrupted opposition of all the powers of darkness. This, the apostle justly terms the manifold wisdom, πολυποίκιλος σοφία, of God. It is an uncommonly expressive word, intimating that this wisdom, in the manner of its operation, is diversified a thousand ways, and exerts itself with infinite varieties. [1056]

For Wesley, providence was guiding the church to a glorious destiny. He looked forward to the time when 'all [the] glorious promises made to the Christian Church' would be realized.'[1057] As he declared:

> All unprejudiced persons may see with their eyes, that [God] is already renewing the face of the earth. And we have strong reason to hope that the work he hath begun, he will carry on unto the day of the Lord Jesus; that he will never intermit this blessed work of his Spirit, until he has fulfilled all his promises, until he hath put a period to sin, and misery, and infirmity, and death; and re-established universal holiness and happiness.[1058]

[1056] John Wesley, Sermon 68, 'The Wisdom of God's Counsels,'5, *Works*, 2, 551-66, 553. The same appeal to the 'manifold wisdom' of God (Ephesians 3, 10) with regard to the way in which divine providence directs the church is made by Knox in *Wesley*, 489-95.
[1057] John Wesley, Sermon 63, 'The General Spread of the Gospel,' 26, *Works*, 2, 485-99, 498.
[1058] Wesley, Sermon 63, 'The General Spread of the Gospel,' 27, *Works*, 2, 499.

This providential reading of history, which, as we have seen, Knox shared, was something which dated back to the Hebrew scriptures.[1059] It marked, too, the theology of the New Testament, [1060] and appeared in the early church in such writers as Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263-339) and Lactantius (c. 240-c. 320).[1061] Under the influence of Augustine, this reading of history eventually disappeared,[1062] but was revived at the Reformation, not least of all in England.[1063] Milner, whose importance to Knox has already been noted, [1064] exemplified the tradition. One of the stated aims of his *History of the Church of Christ* was '[t]o see and trace the goodness of God by his providence and grace in every age taking care of his church.'[1065]

Another example of the providential reading of history was furnished by Jonathan Edwards in his *History of the Work of Redemption* (1774), a book which Knox regarded as giving 'the clearest outline of what I have ventured to call the grand organisation of the gospel-scheme that has yet been given, as far as I know, to the world.'[1066] Speaking of providence 'as it manages the great commonwealth of human society,'[1067] Knox quoted directly from Edwards's *History*:

> God doubtless is pursuing some design, and carrying on some scheme, in the various changes and revolutions which, from age to age, have come to pass in the world ... There is some great design, to which providence

[1059] See, for example, Gerhard Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: Volume 1: The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*, translated D.M.G. Stalker, with an introduction by Walter Brueggeman, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001, (1957).
[1060] See, for instance, Oscar Cullmann, *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History*, translated by Floyd V. Filson, revised edition, London: S.C.M. Press, 1962, (1946).
[1061] For Eusebius (c. 263-339), 'the father of church history,' see R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980. For Lactantius (c. 240- c. 320), see Elizabeth de Palma Digeser, *The Making of a Christian Empire: Lactantius & Rome*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.
[1062] For the early Christian treatment of history, see L.G. Patterson, *God and History in Early Christian Thought: A Study of Themes from Justin Martyr to Gregory the Great*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1967.
[1063] See Zakai, *Jonathan Edwards's Philosophy of History*, 168-73.
[1064] See above, 223.
[1065] Milner, *History of the Church of Christ*, 1, xiii.
[1066] *Remains*, 1, 439. For Knox's appreciation of Edwards, see above, 82.
[1067] *Remains*, 1, 324.

> subordinates all successive changes in the affairs of the world. And it is reasonable to suppose that all revolutions, from the beginning of the world, are but the various parts of the same scheme, all conspiring to bring to pass what the great creator and governor of the world has ultimately in view.[1068]

For Edwards, the whole of human history was 'so many steps and degrees of the accomplishment of one event.'[1069] This event was the establishment of the kingdom of Christ, which was destined, eventually, to be 'set up ... everywhere throughout the whole habitable globe.'[1070] 'All the world shall then be as one church,' Edwards wrote.[1071] The similarities with Knox are plain. In fact, the only major difference between the two writers is that for Edwards America, not England, was the nation which would play the predominant role in preparing the way 'for the future glorious times of the church.'[1072]

Another thinker who influenced Knox's view of history was George Miller. We have seen that Knox attended Miller's lectures at Trinity, and took a lively interest in them.[1073] Miller's thesis was that 'human history is a drama of the divine providence;'[1074] his lectures were thus, as he expressed it, 'an attempt ... to trace in the events of history the arrangements of the superintending wisdom of the deity,'[1075] the same idea that we find in Knox.

With regard to Knox's teaching on providence more generally, parallels will also be found between his thinking and that of the seventeenth-century moderates. One may cite, for instance, John Smith, who affirmed that:

[1068] *Ibid.* The passage Knox quotes, *History of the Work of Redemption*, 3, 10, will be found in Edwards, *Works*, 3, 430. Knox's version varies slightly from the original.
[1069] Edwards, *History of the Work of Redemption*, 3, 1, *Works*, 3, 327.
[1070] Edwards, *History of the Work of Redemption*, 3, 5, *Works*, 3, 376.
[1071] Edwards, *History of the Work of Redemption*, 3, 8, *Works*, 3, 408.
[1072] Edwards, *History of the Work of Redemption*, 3, 5, *Works*, 3, 376.
[1073] See above, 52.
[1074] Miller, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Modern History*, 1, xiii.
[1075] *Ibid.*, viii.

> there is an all-seeing eye, an unbounded mind and understanding, that derives itself through the whole universe, and sitting in all the wheels of motion, guides them all, and powerfully governs the most eccentrical motions of creatures, and carries them all most harmoniously in their several orbs to one last end.[1076]

Like Knox, Smith asserted, too, that 'nothing can issue and flow forth from the fountain of goodness, but that which is good;'[1077] and that, therefore:

> a wise man that looks from the beginning to the end of things, beholds them all in their due place and method, acting that part which the supreme mind and wisdom hath appointed them, and to carry on one and the same eternal design, while they move according to their own proper inclinations and methods and aim at their own particular ends.[1078]

Again, like Knox, Smith insisted on the benefits and obligations of belief in providence. The consideration of providence, Smith wrote:

> quiets the spirits of a good man ... [and] keeps him in a calm and sober temper, in the midst of all storms and tempests ... [and] makes him most freely to engage himself in the service of providence, without any inward reluctancy or disturbance.[1079]

The ultimate source of Knox's teaching about providence lies in the patristic period. One of the main architects of a Christian doctrine of providence was Clement of Alexandria,[1080] with whose teaching Knox shares several common features. Like Knox, Clement asserted that providentially all things were for the best.[1081] Providence arranges all things for the best, he taught. For 'not only does the divine wisdom, excellence and power create good ... it knows also how to bring good even out of

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[1076] Smith, Discourse 9, 'The Nobleness and Excellency of True Religion,' 9, *Select Discourses*, 471-2.
[1077] Smith, Discourse 9, 'The Nobleness and Excellency of True Religion,' 9, *Select Discourses*, 471.
[1078] Smith, Discourse 9, 'The Nobleness and Excellency of True Religion,' 9, *Select Discourses*, 473.
[1079] Smith, Discourse 9, 'The Nobleness and Excellency of True Religion,' 9, *Select Discourses*, 470.
[1080] Jon D. Ewing, *Clement of Alexandria's Reinterpretation of Divine Providence: The Christianization of the Hellenistic Idea of Pronoia*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008.
[1081] Eric Osborn, *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957, 69.

evil.'[1082]

Knox's doctrine of providence reflected the teaching of the Anglican liturgy. The Prayer Book proclaimed that God's 'never-failing providence ordereth all things in heaven and earth;'[1083] and, more especially, that it never fails 'to help and govern those whom [God brings up] in [his] steadfast fear and love.'[1084]

Finally, one may note that experience was a source of Knox's teaching on providence. 'Providence,' he told Jebb, 'has … mercifully guarded, guided and sustained me through … life;'[1085] while to another, un-named, correspondent he testified:

> Providence … has graciously sustained me through the vicissitudes of life, and has done more for me than once I could have conceived imaginable, in matters respecting this world, and, I trust, not less with respect to that which is to come.[1086]

4.6.3. Predestination

From Knox's teaching on providence, I turn next to his teaching on predestination. I have annexed the discussion of predestination to that of providence, since Knox understands predestination in terms of foreknowledge, which is a part of providence, God's watchful care of the creation.

Despite the attention which Knox paid to the doctrine of providence, he spent almost no time on the subject of predestination. He saw little profit in dogmatising about 'such deep mysteries'[1087] as he believed the doctrine to entail, truths, as he called

[1082] Clement, *Stromateis*, 1, 17; *P.G.*, 8, 801.
[1083] Collect for the Eighth Sunday after Trinity, *B.C.P.*, 138. See, also, the Collect for the Second Sunday after the Epiphany, *B.C.P.*, 72.
[1084] Collect for the Second Sunday after Trinity, *B.C.P.*, 131.
[1085] *Correspondence*, 2, 371.
[1086] *Remains*, 4, 533.
[1087] *Remarks*, 5.

them, 'too mysterious for human explanation.'[1088] He did, nonetheless, reject the Calvinist position as unscriptural. This doctrine, Calvin expressed as follows:

> We call predestination, God's eternal decree, by which he determined with himself what he willed to become of each man. For all men are not created in an equal condition; rather, eternal life is foreordained for some, eternal damnation for the rest.[1089]

This decree had nothing to do with human merit or demerit. It was solely 'founded on [God's] freely-given mercy, without regard to human worth.'[1090] The doctrine shocked Knox. 'I think of few things I can be more sure,' Knox informed Jebb, 'than that Calvinistic predestination is not in the Bible.[1091] In fact, not only was it not in the Bible, it was, in Knox's view, contrary to the Bible, wholly at odds with what he termed 'the loveliness of the Gospel.'[1092] The Gospel revealed, according to Knox, a God who is 'infinitely kind to every creature that he has made,'[1093] the antithesis of the predestinarians' portrayal of the deity as 'unyieldingly vindictive... [and] inexorably severe,'[1094] 'an inexorable sovereign rather than a loving and gracious Father.'[1095] As well as unscriptural, the Calvinist doctrine was, also, in Knox's view unnatural,[1096] being 'gloomy and repulsive.'[1097]

If Knox rejected Calvinism, he nonetheless refused to be labelled an Arminian. As he wrote to Jebb:

> I am ready, sometimes, to say of myself that I am neither Arminian nor Calvinist, yet, I believe, Calvinists would call me an Arminian. But I imagine the name

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[1088] *Remains*, 2, 346.
[1089] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, two volumes, edited by John T. McNeill, translated by Ford Lewis Battles, London: S. C. M., 1961, (1536), 3, 21, 5, (2, 926).
[1090] *Ibid.*, 3, 21, 7 (2, 931).
[1091] *Correspondence*, 1, 185. See, also, 192.
[1092] *Remains*, 4, 346.
[1093] *Ibid.*, 269.
[1094] *Ibid.*
[1095] 'Preface to the second Dublin edition,' lxvi.
[1096] See above, 264-5.
[1097] *Wesley*, 476. See, also: *Remains*, 1, 463; 3, 258-9.

> does not belong to me; nor did it, I think, belong to John Wesley. He assumed it, but, I conceive, too inconsiderately. I suspect Arminius had something of the Pelagian in him, and his followers were wholly so, if not worse.[1098]

What Knox meant was that he and Wesley were Arminians only in the loose sense of being anti-Calvinist. They were not Arminians in the proper sense of the term, adherents of the theology of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609),[1099] which Knox felt to be defective.[1100] In taking this stance, Knox misrepresented both Arminius and Wesley. Knox misrepresented Arminius, whom he seems to have judged not so much by reference to the teachings which he actually held, as by reference to those of some of his later followers, who had moved to a more 'rationalistic' position: what G.F. Nuttall has described as 'Arminianism of the head.'[1101] Knox misrepresented Wesley, who, theologically, was 'a faithful representative of Jacobus Arminius,' to quote the title of a 2002 article by W. Stephen Gunter.[1102]

Knox propounded a doctrine which he termed 'providential predestination,' by which he meant that God so ordered events that people heard the Gospel in circumstances that disposed them to accept it.[1103] Knox also equated predestination with foreknowledge: God predestined those whose faith and good works were

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[1098] *Correspondence*, 1, 184-5.
[1099] For Jacobus Arminius or Jakob Hermanszoon (1560-1609) and his teaching, see Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation*, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1971.
[1100] *Remains*, 1, 360-1; 379.
[1101] Nuttall makes a distinction between those who maintained an 'Arminianism of the heart' and those who held an 'Arminianism of the head,' which, according to Nuttall, tended in the direction of Unitarianism and rationalism ('The Influence of Arminianism in England,' in *The Puritan Spirit*, London: The Epworth Press, 1967, 67-80, 78-9).
[1102] W. Stephen Gunter, 'John Wesley, A Faithful Representative of Jacobus Arminius.' Paper presented at Oxford Institute of Methodist Theological Studies, held at Christ Church, Oxford August 13th -22nd, 2002, http://www.oxford-institute.org/docs/2002papers/2002-2Gunter. pdf, accessed March 30, 2010.
[1103] *Correspondence*, 1, 185; see, also, 193.

foreknown to the divine mind. Thus made predestination depend on the wisdom as well as on the will of God, Knox argued.[1104]

4.6.4. Sources

Knox's discussion of predestination must be set against the background of the dispute with Calvinism which had marked the career of John Wesley.[1105] It was a dispute into which Knox had been personally initiated by Wesley, whose letters to 'Alleck' maintain a firmly anti-Calvinistic position.[1106] Wesley's rejection of the doctrine of predestination arose directly from his doctrine of God. To quote Maddox:

> Wesley's most characteristic complaint about predestination was ... that it conflicts with the universal love and goodness of God ... [T]heir most basic disagreement ... [lay] in their respective defining models of God. For the Calvinists, the defining model was a sovereign monarch ... By contrast, Wesley more commonly employed the model of a loving parent.' [1107]

Like Knox, Wesley linked predestination to foreknowledge. Thus, for example, in his sermon 'On Predestination' (1773), quoting Romans 8, 29, 'Whom [God] did foreknow, he also did predestinate,' Wesley asked: 'Who are justified? None but those who were first predestinated. Who are predestinated? None but those whom God foreknew as believers.'[1108]

The moderates also rejected Calvinism. They did so, like Knox and Wesley, on account of their belief that it portrayed the deity as, to quote Cudworth, 'cruel and

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[1104] *Ibid.*, 192-3. This was actually one of the major tenets of Arminius's teaching; see Sell, *The Great Debate*, 11.
[1105] The details of this debate are summarised by Sell, *Great Debate*, especially chapter 3, 'In Full Spate,' 59-87.
[1106] See above, 179.
[1107] Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 56.
[1108] John Wesley, Sermon 58, 'On Predestination,' 14, *Works*, 2, 413-21, 420. This sermon was preached by Wesley in Derry (Outler in Wesley, *Works*, 2, 414), and one can scarcely doubt that Knox heard it.

dreadful.'[1109] This they held to be a false notion of God. As Whichcote put it: '[W]hosoever doth not think God righteous and merciful, he doth not do God right … and is wholly a stranger to gospel-revelation.'[1110] Rather, to quote again from Cudworth, the God of scripture had as 'the sweetest flower in all the garland of his attributes … the richest diadem in his crown of glory' the fact that 'he is mighty to save.'[1111] To cite Whichcote: 'When you have done all you can, the best notion you can have of deity is *goodness*.'[1112]

The roots of Knox's anti-Calvinism, like that of the moderates and Wesley, are to be found in the Greek Fathers, Clement and Chrysostom not least of all. Clement speaks of predestination and election, but he links them to foreknowledge. 'Those whom God predestined,' he writes, 'God knew would be righteous from before the foundation of the world.'[1113] Thus, he contends, 'election is secured by the effect of discipleship and purification and good works.'[1114] As for Chrysostom, the foundation of his preaching is 'the exceeding love of God towards us.'[1115] 'To have mercy,' Chrysostom says, 'is the peculiar and excellent attribute of God, and the most inherent in his nature, whence [Paul] calls him the God of mercy.'[1116] Because of this love and mercy, God 'earnestly desires, earnestly wills our salvation,' Chrysostom affirms.[1117] If scripture

[1109] Cudworth, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' *Works*, 4, 320.
[1110] Benjamin Whichcote, Discourse 40, 'The Moral Part of Religion Reinforced by Christianity,' [part 2], *Works*, 2, 228-43, 235.
[1111] Cudworth, 'Sermon to the House of Commons,' *Works*, 4, 319.
[1112] Benjamin Whichcote, Discourse 59, 'The Unnatural Ingratitude of the Profane and Irreligious,' [part 1], *Works*, 3, 195-217, 200-1. Emphasis in the original.
[1113] Clement, *Stromateis*, 7, 17; *P.G.*, 9, 552.
[1114] *Ibid.*, 5, 1; *P.G.*, 9, 13.
[1115] Chrysostom, *On Those who are Scandalized by Afflictions*, 6; *P.G.*, 52, 488. 'The most persistent theme in Chrysostom's preaching was God's … love towards humanity' (Young, 'God's Word Proclaimed: The Homiletics of Grace and Demand in John Chrysostom and John Wesley,' in Kimborough, ed., *Orthodox and Wesleyan Scriptural Understanding and Practice*, 142.
[1116] Chrysostom, 'Homily 1 on 2 Corinthians,' 3, *P.G.*, 61, 385-6.
[1117] Chrysostom, 'Homily 1 on Ephesians,' 2, *P.G.*, 62, 13.

speaks of predestination, therefore, it does so in relation to God's foreknowledge, he teaches. As he explains:

> If human beings chose what is best, this is even more the case with God. The fact of being chosen is at one and the same time a token of God's mercy and of human virtue ... Predestination is not only a question of love, but also of virtue. Were it just a question of love, then everyone would be saved; were it just a question of virtue, then Christ's coming, and the whole economy, would have been pointless. And therefore we say that predestination is a result neither of God's love alone nor of our virtue alone, but of both.[1118]

Or, as Chrysostom puts it elsewhere, more briefly: 'Although it be mercy, it seeks the worthy,'[1119] a sentiment which finds a clear echo in Knox's claim that the 'grand error of Calvinism is the disjointing of God's favour and preference from moral qualifications.'[1120]

4.6.5. Short Conclusion

This section has examined, first, Knox's teaching on providence. It described the importance of the doctrine for Knox, and looked in detail at the three spheres in which he saw providence at work: the world, the church, and the life of the individual. It also examined his teaching about predestination. In both cases, the sources of his doctrine were likewise explored.

[1118] Chrysostom, 'Homily 1 on Ephesians,' 2, *P.G.*, 62, 12. For a summary of the teaching of the Fathers in general on predestination, see, James Jorgenson, 'Predestination according to Divine Foreknowledge in Patristic Tradition,' in John Meyendorff and Robert Tobias, eds, *Salvation in Christ: A Lutheran-Orthodox Dialogue*, Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1992, 159-69; and Robert Wilken, 'Free Choice and the Divine Will in Greek Christian Commentaries on Paul;' in William S. Babcock, ed., *Paul and the Legacies of Paul*, Dallas: Southern Methodist Universities Press, 1990, 123-40.
[1119] Chrysostom, 'Homily 2 on 2 Corinthians,' 4, *P.G.*, 61, 397.
[1120] *Correspondence*, 1, 159.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to delineate and analyse 'Mr Knox's system' of theology, paying particular attention to the sources from which he drew. In so doing, I have sought to demonstrate how Knox's doctrine corresponded to the concerns of his age; how it related to the teaching of Wesley and the seventeenth-century moderates; how it was rooted in the patristic period; and how it reflected the Anglican formularies.

The chapter opened with an explanation of the order in which I intended to treat the particular topics of Knox's theology, relating them to his central theme of justification.

Because Knox located the origin of justification in the love of God towards human beings, the first section examined Knox's doctrine of God and his anthropology. It demonstrated the importance which Knox laid on the Trinity, not as a speculative doctrine but a lived reality encountered in the process of salvation. With regard to his anthropology, I showed the significance which he gave to the idea of happiness, the key to which he represented as Christianity, which he conceived of as God's plan for fulfilling all the desires and demands of human nature. The calamity of the fall was that it deprived human beings of this happiness, a theory which Knox opposed to what he regarded as the contemporary evangelical doctrine, that fallen humanity was the object of God's wrath.

The second section delineated Knox's Christology and pneumatology, which was focused on the work of Christ and the Spirit as the agents of justification. In his soteriology, Knox sought to correct what he saw as the imbalance of contemporary evangelicalism, and its over-emphasis on the cross, which resulted from the theory of substitutionary atonement. Instead of this theory, Knox portrayed Christ as attracting

human beings by his moral beauty, assimilating them to himself so that they could become his imitators, a process in which the Spirit worked as joint-agent.

This conjoint work of Christ and the Spirit was the work of justification, and section three examined the nature of this concept for Knox. Knox rejected the contemporary evangelical view of justification as a purely forensic act. He esteemed this doctrine to have produced what he castigated as a 'weak and struggling piety,'[1121] wholly at odds with what he believed to be the biblical imperative to seek after holiness, and, as such, a virtual antinomianism.

In place of the evangelical doctrine, Knox taught that justification was accomplished through an imparted righteousness, by which the Christian was made 'righteous in heart and mind,'[1122] and only after this was righteousness imputed. The impartation of righteousness enabled Christians so to grow in holiness as to reach a state of perfection, which Knox defined as 'habitual victory over all known and palpable sin,'[1123] a doctrine which perhaps more than any other showed his distance from contemporary evangelicalism.

Section four examined Knox's doctrine of baptism and the eucharist, which Knox regarded as intimately bound up with justification. Baptism, he taught, initiated Christians into the justified state, bestowing the inward grace of regeneration on all those who did not place an obstacle in its way. Knox identified this grace with the Holy Spirit, which came to dwell within believers, acting as the principle of a new life of holiness. As baptism initiated the justified state, so, Knox held, the eucharist sustained it. Rejecting both memorialism and receptionism as ill-conducive to piety, Knox propounded the doctrine of virtualism, which held the eucharistic elements to

[1121] See above, 299.
[1122] See above, 300.
[1123] See above, 315.

be 'vehicles of [Christ's] saving and sanctifying power.'[1124] Although Knox taught the elements themselves were not to be worshipped, he was the first Anglican writer to speak about eucharistic adoration, insisting that Christ as present in the eucharist was the object of veneration. Besides his teaching about the eucharistic presence of Christ, Knox also maintained the doctrines of eucharistic sacrifice and ministerial priesthood, although he developed neither of these points.

Section five examined Knox's doctrine of the church, a society which he saw as constituted by the sacraments, and in which justification was accomplished. Knox frequently spoke of the church as 'mystical,' indicating its supernatural origin as the object of God's great plan or μυστήριον, which was to make the church the successor to Israel. As such, Knox insisted that the church was, like Israel, a visible, hierarchical or episcopal society. Knox described this society, which he identified as the catholic church, as a 'tree dividing,'[1125] an image which recalls the 'branch theory' which was later to be developed by Jebb's pupil, William Palmer. Knox contrasted the churches which make up the catholic church with what he called sects or societies. These served a providential purpose, but, he argued, they were not true churches, because they lacked the episcopate. As a visible body, Knox held that the church was mixed society, composed of good and bad. He held also that establishment was a fundamental characteristic of the church, which it had inherited from Israel. The section concluded by looking at various factors which stimulated, or may have stimulated, his ecclesiological thinking.

Section six turned to the second main topic of interest to Knox as a theologian, the doctrine of providence, together with which I discussed predestination, which Knox

[1124] See above, 346.
[1125] See above, 371-2.

viewed as a part of providence. Knox regarded providence as separate from but analogous to justification, seeing the latter as a description of God's interior activity in the soul, the former as a description of God's exterior activity in the world.

Knox rejected what he termed 'general providence,'[1126] affirming that God was directly involved in human affairs, guiding the events of history, watching over the church, and caring for individuals, at least those who 'fear God and keep his commandments.'[1127]

Knox was especially concerned with God's providential care of the church, which he developed at some length. He held that providence was guiding the church to a glorious future on earth, an idea which needs to be seen in relation both to the optimism of the post-Enlightenment period and to the millennialism rife in early-nineteenth century Ireland.

With respect to predestination, Knox rejected both Calvinism and the label Arminian. He enunciated a doctrine of what he termed 'providential predestination,'[1128] as well as teaching that predestination was based on foreknowledge.

Knox's teaching thus formed a coherent whole. This is the first conclusion to be drawn from the present chapter: Knox's theology constituted a system, in which all the parts fitted together, connected by the analogous themes of justification or providence. Second, the content of this system was clearly marked by his situation in the post-Enlightenment period, reinforcing the point already made in chapter two. Knox's theory of virtualism, for example, exemplifies the Romantic interest in symbolism, the idea that material things can mediate spiritual realities, in which they

[1126] See above, 386.
[1127] See above, 391.
[1128] See above, 399.

partake. Another example is the importance which he gave to the church, which corresponded to the place accorded by Romanticism to community. One could likewise cite Knox's vision of the church moving towards a glorious future on earth as an instance of post-Enlightenment optimism, although one could also argue that it was a reaction to the secularisation of history in this period. The best example of Knox's Romanticism, however, is the central tenet of his system, the doctrine of deification. The teaching that God dwells intimately in the human heart, ruling its affections, instantiates Romantic religion's stress on the subjective and the affective.

The example of deification also illustrates the third conclusion to be drawn from this chapter, that Knox's theology was not simply a product of the Romantic period, but formed part of an older tradition, that of Christian Platonism, a conclusion which again reinforces what was said in chapter two. Knox's teaching constantly and consistently reflected the doctrine of Wesley and the Anglican moderates, a doctrine to which he frequently made explicit appeals. For example, in his teaching on perfection, Knox several times spoke of how much he owed to Wesley, 'more than to any human instrumentality.'[1129] At the same time, he also invoked the authority of 'our best English divines,'[1130] citing by name Cudworth, Lucas, Smith, Taylor, and Worthington. Even when Knox did not appeal to them directly, his proximity to them is clear. For instance, his anti-Calvinism mirrors that of both Wesley, who personally inculcated this sentiment in him, and the moderates.

Knox did not follow Wesley or the moderates slavishly, and did not hesitate to dissent from them when he felt it is necessary. Thus, for example, he did not follow Wesley's teaching on total depravity or on prevenient grace. Likewise, he rejected

[1129] See above, 321.
[1130] See above, 322.

Wesley's belief in the sudden attainment of perfection. Nor was his appeal to Wesley or the moderates always entirely justified. For example, Knox's soteriology, which concentrated on the actual salvific of Christ in the believer's heart, represented one side of their teaching, but failed to do justice to the equal emphasis they placed on the value of the cross. Nor were Wesley and the moderates the only Anglican divines to whom Knox appealed. For instance, in his teaching on the eucharist, he cited the authority of Thomas Jackson;[1131] John Overall; Samuel Horsley and Nicholas Ridley. Similarly, in his ecclesiology he invoked John Pearson and Joseph Milner, as well as the Non-Conformist Anna Laetitia Barbauld. Nonetheless, in the great majority of cases what he taught was the same doctrine as that of Wesley and the moderates. This similarity of doctrine, linked to the similarities in the general traits which characterise them, as well as their shared concern for deification, argue for seeing them as representatives of a common tradition, the tradition of Christian Platonism.

For its inspiration the English Platonic tradition looked back to the patristic period, and a fourth conclusion to be drawn from the present chapter is how firmly Knox's theology is anchored in the teaching of the Fathers, once more re-enforcing what has been argued in chapter two. Knox's constant care was to show that whatever he taught was not his own thinking but 'the prevalent and continuous doctrine of the ancient church.'[1132] For example, with regard to his core teaching about justification and perfection, he invoked especially the witness of Clement of Alexandria, Macarius, and Chrysostom, as well as Irenaeus, Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine; while for his ecclesiology, he appealed to Cyprian. Even when he did not acknowledge it, the influence of the Fathers on his thought is often visible. For instance, much of his

[1131] Jackson, 'the Oxford Platonist,' may, however, be classed as a moderate; see above, 352.
[1132] See above, 310.

ecclesiology came, ultimately, from the anti-Donatist writings of Augustine, while his teaching on priesthood and sacrifice corresponds to what one finds in Clement of Rome, Cyprian, and Chrysostom.

As a final conclusion to this chapter, Knox's Anglicanism should be noted. The whole of his theology was permeated by an appeal to the formularies of the Church of England. For instance, in his teaching on original sin he cited Article nine of the Thirty-Nine Articles, while in his teaching on the eucharist he appealed to Articles twenty-five, twenty-eight and twenty-nine, as well as to the Catechism. His chief authority was, however, the Book of Common Prayer, the thought and language of which run throughout his writings, even when he did not invoke it directly. Thus, for example, his doctrine of providence and his pneumatology both echo the Prayer Book collects. Nonetheless, direct appeal to the Prayer Book was frequent in Knox. For instance, in his teaching on perfection he appealed to the 'devotional formularies' of the Church, quoting a *catena* of collects in defence of his position.[1133] Similarly, for his baptismal doctrine he took the liturgy as 'an authentic vehicle of instruction;'[1134] a strategy which he likewise followed in his eucharistic teaching.

[1133] See above, 328.
[1134] See above, 341.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the theology of Alexander Knox. I shall now summarise the preceding chapters, and state what conclusions may be drawn from the study of Knox's life and teaching.

1. Summary

To introduce Knox and to help understand his theology, chapter one examined his life. The chapter was divided into four sections and a conclusion. The first section gave a short survey of the historical background. The second section was biographical. Since his life was inextricably linked to religion, the third section explored his thinking on Anglicanism, Methodism, and Roman Catholicism, the three denominations with which he most concerned. The final section examined the influence of his life and work.

Chapter two placed Knox's theology in its intellectual and spiritual context. The chapter was divided into two sections, with a conclusion. The first section analysed Knox's thought in relation to the Enlightenment and Romanticism, the two great intellectual movements which dominated the period in which he lived. Included in this analysis was a comparison between Knox's thought and that of the two major theologians of the epoch, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Friedrich Schleiermacher. The second section considered Knox's theology as an instance of heart religion, and, more specifically of Christian Platonism, examining the connection between Knox's thinking and that of those whom he presented as exemplars of this tradition: the Greek Fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Pseudo-Macarius, and Chrysostom; the seventeenth-century Anglican moderates; and John Wesley.

Chapter three considered two general issues related to Knox's theology, each dealt with in a separate section. The first section studied the general characteristics of Knox's theology; the second section dealt with Knox's methodology, examining his understanding of theology as a science, and the elements he used in the construction of his theology: scripture; the *consensus omnium*; the *consensus patrum*; and experience. Knox's teaching on experience raised the question as to whether or not he could be classified as a mystic, and the chapter also explored this issue, as well as investigating the terms which Knox used to define the Christian life.

Chapter four constituted the main section of the thesis, looking in detail Knox's teaching on individual points of doctrine. This teaching, as Knox himself suggested, can be formed into a coherent whole, centred round the theme of justification, and it was this that constituted 'Mr Knox's system.'[1] The chapter began by exploring Knox's doctrine of God and his teaching about humanity, since he held God to be the author of justification, humanity the object of God's justifying love. Section two analysed Knox's Christology and pneumatology, Christ and the Spirit being for Knox the primary agents of justification. The nature of this justification was discussed in section three, as well as perfection, the state to which Knox viewed justification as leading. Section four dealt with the two sacraments recognised by Knox: baptism and the eucharist, both of which he related to the process of justification, one as its commencement, the other as its sustenance. Section five explored Knox's ecclesiology. Although it is more usual to treat the church before the sacraments, I reversed the order, first because of the link between justification and the sacraments in Knox's thought; second, because it was the sacraments which, for Knox, built the church: baptism granting admission to it, the eucharist expressing its unity. The

[1] See above, 252-3.

church fitted into 'Mr Knox's system' as the place in which justification occurred; its God-given purpose was 'to receive all and make as many as possible what they ought to be.'[2]

Knox's second major area of interest was the doctrine of providence, which he saw as analogous to justification, justification concerning God's activity in the soul, providence God's activity in the world. Section six explored Knox's teaching on the subject, examining his treatment of providence in relation to the world, the church, and the individual. The section also dealt with the issue of predestination, which Knox regarded as a part of providence.

2. The Importance of Alexander Knox

What conclusions may be drawn from this thesis? To put the question another way, what is the importance of Alexander Knox? In the introduction I set out several reasons for holding that the study of Knox is valuable; here I want to amply those reasons, and show how I have demonstrated their validity, as well as suggesting, where relevant, they might have practical implications.

Knox is important, first, because he provides an Anglican example of Romantic theology. The whole of his thinking was marked by the age in which he lived. In contrast to the Enlightenment's exclusive appeal to reason, which produced a portrayal of God as a remote and distant deity, Knox's theology gave full play to all the human faculties, especially the imagination, and, above all, the affections. Consequently, Knox's image of God was of one who was intimately experienced in a shared life. This subjectivism was balanced by the prominence which Knox gave to the church and its tradition, reflecting the Romantic concern with community.

[2] See above, 371.

The thesis of Knox's Romanticism was first adumbrated in chapter two, in which I demonstrated the Romantic features of his thought in general terms, as well as comparing him to Coleridge and Schleiermacher, whose Romantic traits he shared. The thesis was confirmed in chapters three and four. In chapter three I showed that Knox's methodology was marked by several post-Enlightenment characteristics: the conception of theology as a science; the idea of a progressive understanding of scripture; the study of the Christian past described in scientific terms; and the stress laid on experience. In chapter four, I showed that his treatment of particular doctrines was likewise marked by his post-Enlightenment environment. One example is provided by the emphasis he gave to the theme of happiness; another by his virtualism, which reflected the Romantic doctrine of symbolism.

Second, Knox provides an example of heart religion, illustrating what this concept means: a religion in which primacy is given to the affective and the experiential. More specifically, Knox's theology is an instance of Christian Platonism within Anglicanism. The existence of a Platonic tradition in English religious thought has been demonstrated by W. R. Inge, but the study of Knox helps to give this tradition greater definition. Central to it is the doctrine of deification, the idea that human beings were called to be God-like, a goal achieved by the help of the indwelling Spirit. Knox did not use the term deification or θέωσις, nor did he speak of God-likeness: yet his teaching on Christian perfection contained the same idea, which he shared with Wesley and the moderates of the seventeeth century. Deification was not the only distinctive feature of the tradition and, as I demonstrated in chapter four, Knox's teaching on specific doctrinal points constantly echoed that of Wesley and the moderates, even when he did not appeal to them overtly. I also demonstrated, in chapter three, that the theology of Knox, Wesley and the moderates possessed several

general characteristics which permit one to define the tradition further. Looking for its inspiration to the Greek Fathers, it was concerned with life, rather than dogma; reducing the latter to a few essential truths, it was marked by tolerance and openness to those of other opinions; it was eclectic, and, in Knox's phrase, 'philosophic,'[3] eschewing authoritarianism in favour of rational reflection. The tradition also emphasised experience: Knox, Wesley, and the moderates all proclaimed the importance of an experimental knowledge of religious truths, while at the same time teaching the possibility of an intuitive knowledge of God, akin to that derived from the senses.

Third, arising from the previous point, Knox's theology was particularly close to that of Wesley. As Knox declared: '[T]here is not one of his own nominal followers who agrees with him more identically than I do,' when it came to 'the very pith and marrow of Mr Wesley's views, and ... those matters which through his life he most prized, most dwelt upon, and which lay nearest to his heart.'[4] Knox frequently invoked Wesley in support of his teaching. For instance, in relation to the doctrine of Christianity's congruence with human nature, Knox cited 'my old friend's *most matured* theology;'[5] while in defence of his soteriology, Knox appealed to Wesley's teaching on 'inward and spiritual salvation.'[6] Even when Knox did not appeal to Wesley specifically, Wesley's influence on his thought is manifest. Thus, for example, although Knox did not claim Wesley as an authority for his eucharistic doctrine, his virtualism mirrored Wesley's thinking. Similarly, although Knox made no explicit mention of Wesley in teaching on providence, there was a clear correspondence between their positions. The influence of Wesley appeared even in

[3] See above, 203.
[4] See above, 182.
[5] See above, 267.
[6] See above, 281-2.

Knox's most high church views. The topic of virtualism has already been mentioned; but Knox's doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice and priesthood also had parallels in Wesley. Likewise, his doctrine of the church, although more developed than Wesley's, was inspired by principles he had learned from Wesley.

Wesley's influence on Knox is not surprising. Wesley had known Knox since Knox was a child, and corresponded with him over a fifteen year period, inculcating in his letters a number of doctrines which were later to appear in the mature Knox. Moreover, as Knox recorded, even after Wesley's death he continued to make Wesley's teaching the subject of his 'deep reflection.'[7] Because of the closeness of Knox to Wesley, the study of Knox, fourth, contributes to the study of Wesley. Knox's depiction of Wesley in his *Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley* provided, to quote Outler, 'one of the most probing of all the theological appraisals of Wesley by any of his own contemporaries.'[8] Its significance lay in the portrait it painted of Wesley as a 'Church of England man of the highest tone,'[9] a picture which the evidence suggests to be substantially accurate, although the *caveat* must be made that Wesley escapes neat and easy categorisation. Knox's portrayal of Wesley as a high churchman has two practical applications: an appreciation of Wesley's Anglicanism should, first, encourage Anglicans to study his thinking as a part of their own inheritance and, second, it should help Methodists and Anglicans 'to grow together,' in the words of the 2002 Church of Ireland and Methodist Covenant, 'so that unity may be visibly realised.'[10]

Four, the roots of Knox's theology extended beyond Wesley and the moderates back to the patristic period. Knox desired to unite himself as closely as possible to the

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[7] See above, 89.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Church of Ireland-Methodist Covenant, 2002, http://www.ireland.anglican.org/about/47, accessed 12th July 2011.

Fathers, '[imbibing] their views, sentiments and divine enthusiasm and then [pouring] it forth in [his] own words.'[11] He wished to be and professed himself to be 'a Christian of the first six centuries.'[12] This was exemplified by his perfectionism, which he presented as the doctrine of Clement of Alexandria, Macarius, and Chrysostom. But it was true, too, of every aspect of his teaching. As I demonstrated in chapter four, on each individual point of doctrine, the source of his thinking can be traced to the early church. For example, his teaching on predestination reflected the doctrine of the Greek Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria and Chrysostom, who linked predestination to the divine foreknowledge 'of those who, 'in Clement's words, 'would be righteous.'[13] Another example is provided by his teaching on the priesthood, which echoed that of Clement of Rome, Cyprian, and Chrysostom. The one exception is his virtualism; yet even this he defended as the doctrine of the Fathers.

The significance of the appeal to the Fathers is three-fold. First, it provides a major example of the Anglican use of antiquity.[14] Second, in Knox's case this use foreshadowed the position of the Tractarians and thus helps shed light on the origin of their thinking. Like the Tractarians Knox made antiquity, not the teaching of the Reformers, the standard by which to interpret the teaching of the Church of England, whose catholic identity he thus emphasised, while denying its protestant nature. Third, the appeal to the Fathers has ecumenical implications: antiquity is a common ground on which those who are now divided may find agreement.

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[11] See above, 220-1.
[12] See above, 221.
[13] See above, 401.
[14] On the Anglican appeal to the Fathers see, Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the Seventeenth-Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Five, Knox is important on account of his influence. Charles Kingsley spoke of him having, together with Coleridge, an impact on 'thousands.'[15] This is not an exaggeration, if one considers not only his personal influence, through conversation and correspondence, but also the wide diffusion of his writings, as well as his indirect influence through those whom his thinking touched: clergy such as Charles Dickinson and Henry Woodward; dons like William Jacobson and Francis Paget; and authors like John Jebb junior.

Related to the question of influence is Knox's contribution to the theology of the Oxford Movement. This was not, however, a topic which I was able to explore fully within the parameters of this thesis, but it is one which merits further investigation. The relationship between Knox and the Tractarians is a reminder of the existence of a high church tradition within the Church of Ireland, of which Knox was a pre-eminent, but no means unique, example. This tradition is also a topic which deserves further investigation, but one, again, which the demands of space have excluded from this thesis.

Six, Knox is of significance ecumenically. Not only did he hold that providence was working towards the visible unity of all Christians, but he also laboured directly for that unity by his efforts to maintain the Methodist movement within the established Church, both in England and Ireland. His teaching that all denominations have their role to play in the divine plan, and, as such, are good and valuable, also had ecumenical implications, as did his openness towards the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time, in a number of areas his thought has the potential to contribute to contemporary ecumenical dialogue. Knox's understanding of baptism, for example, combines a 'catholic' emphasis on regeneration with an 'evangelical' stress on the

[15] See above, 111.

necessity of faith and repentance. Not only are these requisites for adult baptism, Knox taught, but also the infant who has been baptised needs to grow in faith and love, he held. This growth and baptism are, in fact, organically related in his teaching. Likewise, Knox's virtualism also appears to offer ecumenical possibilities with regard to the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist. Presence by power is a real presence, yet one which escapes the objections commonly raised against the doctrine of what Knox termed 'a literal transubstantiation.'[16] Similarly, his teaching on justification likewise seems to suggest a way out of the post-Reformation impasse, which opposes a forensic explanation to an ontological understanding of the way in which sinful human beings are reconciled with God. Instead of opposing, Knox synthesised: in his teaching righteousness is both imputed and imparted; faith, when genuine, is inseparable from works. But as well as offering a way in which Roman Catholics and protestants can bridge their differences, Knox's doctrine, which is that of θέωσις in all but name, provides an important point of contact between western and eastern Christianity.

Seven, Knox is important as an Anglican theologian. We have seen throughout this thesis that he loved and venerated what he called the Church of England, and that he constantly sought to conform to its 'doctrines and genius.'[17] Not only was he one of the first writers to use the term 'Anglican,' he also produced a coherent theory of what it means to be Anglican: steering a middle course between the extremes of Roman Catholicism and protestantism, following without deviation the rule traced out by Vincent of Lérins, holding and teaching what had been taught and held *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*. One of the interesting features of this theory is how, despite its apparent conservatism, it represented an adaptation of the Church to the demands of

[16] See above, 103.
[17] See above, 16.

the period, when it could no longer be seen simply as the nation at prayer; when it was expanding throughout an empire; and when it had to distinguish itself both from Roman Catholicism and protestantism, all of which were issues of particular importance for Knox as a member of the early nineteenth-century Church of Ireland.

In his theology, Knox employed a method which many would see as 'classically Anglican:' an appeal, as he put it, to 'the sacred word and the writings of holy men and his own meditations on them.'[18] It was a method which he employed with a desire 'to combine,' as he expressed it, 'apparently opposite truths.'[19] This desire for synthesis is one from which present-day Anglicans, with their intra-denominational divisions, could benefit, as they could, too, from Knox's insistence that more important than holding particular doctrines are the virtues of 'humility, meekness, purity, and love.'[20]

To the 'classically Anglican' method of scripture, tradition, and reason, Knox added a fourth element: experience. This, too, offers several points for modern Anglicans to ponder. The first is the rather banal idea that instead of focusing on dogmatic differences with other Christians, believers' energies should be directed primarily to growth in holiness. The second is more substantive: a thought I owe to Rowan Williams. In his introduction to a recent edition of Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century*, Williams suggests that the meaning of theological language needs to be related to use, and that one of the reasons for 'some of the bitternesses and anxieties in current theology' lies in 'an isolation of formulae from practice.'[21] One of the examples which Williams gives is the Chalcedonian definition; one might equally

[18] See above, 230.
[19] See above, 200.
[20] See above, 134.
[21] Rowan Williams, 'Introduction' to John Henry Newman, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, with an Introduction and Notes by Rowan Williams, Leominster: Gracewing, 2001, (1833), xix- xlvii, xliv.

well cite the doctrine of the Trinity, which Knox defended not on a speculative basis, but in relation to experience.

Finally, Knox is important as a practical theologian. As well as being one of the first writers to employ the term 'Anglican,' he was also one of the first to speak of 'spirituality' in relation to the Christian life; [22] and it was with 'life' that he was most concerned when dealing with theology. Thus, for instance, his doctrine of virtualism was aimed at promoting a 'melting ardour'[23] in opposition to memorialism and receptionism, theories by which he believed that piety had been 'deeply chilled.'[24] Similarly, his opposition to the evangelical doctrines of total depravity, substitutionary atonement, and justification by faith alone, was engendered by the concern that these teachings undermined the cultivation of 'life of deep and habitual devotion.'[25]

Gladstone spoke of Knox's teaching as nothing other than the unfolding and explication of that 'little-considered and ill-comprehended clause of the Nicene Creed, I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and *Giver of Life*;' [26] and it was this which, for Knox, was the 'one thing needful:' a vital relationship with the Triune God.[27] Growth in this relationship is what motivated Knox's theology which, significantly, he defined as 'the science of true piety.'[28] There is no better way to conclude a study of Knox's theology than with that definition.

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[22] See above, 247-8.
[23] See above, 346.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] See above, 299.
[26] See above, 288.
[27] See above, 194-5.
[28] See above, 208.

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4. Letter to Knox, [1806?]
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3. Prerogative Will Book, 1831, K-Z, T/810/373, transcript of Knox's will, 15th July 1831

Trinity College, Dublin

1. Ms 1461, volume 5, Correspondence of Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810), fols 3-8; 17; 92; 93; 99-100; 103; 105; 116-7; 129; and 134-7, ten letters written by Knox between 11th February 1802 and 29th August 1803 to Walker, mainly in relation to Knox's work on the poetry of William Cowper

2. Ms 1461, volume 6, Correspondence of Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810), fols 71-2 and 182-3, two letters on the poetry of William Cowper, dated 10th April 1806 and 19th March 1808

3. Ms 1461, volume 7, Correspondence of Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810), fols 143-4, a letter from Knox on the poetry of William Cowper, dated 18-19 May 1802

4. Ms 6392, Charles Forster Correspondence, fols 4-7 and 12, bulletins from Forster to Knox about Jebb's health after his strokes in 1827 and 1829; and 16, a letter of condolence from Forster to Knox, dated 20th March 1830, on the death of Knox's housekeeper, Miss Ferguson

5. Ms 6396-6397, Jebb Papers, Correspondence 1795-1827, fol. 7, a letter to Knox from Jebb, 23rd September 1808, comprising news of mutual acquaintances; fol. 9, an 'Itinerary' written by Miss Ferguson, which describes the journey to England she undertook with Knox and Jebb, 14th July- 19th September 1809; fol. 19, a letter from Charles Forster to Jebb, 21st December 1814, in which he mentions Knox's close escape from falling masonry brought down by a storm in Sackville Street; fol. 20, a letter from Forster to Jebb, 23rd December 1814, which mentions how Knox had bested Dr Graves in a theological debate; fol. 183, a letter from Knox to Jebb, 18th March [1824], describing daily life at Bellevue; fol. 184, a letter from Charles Forster to Jebb, 15th September 1819, relative to Knox; fol. 207, a letter from Knox to Jebb, 15th October 1824, about 'turbulent spirits.'

6. Ms 6398, Correspondence of the Reverend John Jebb (1805-1886), 1827-1869, fol. 53, a letter from John Jebb junior to J.J. Hornby, 2nd October 1836, on the controversy surrounding Knox's death

2. Published Works of Alexander Knox (in chronological order)

Free Thoughts Concerning a Separation of the People called Methodists from the Church of England, addressed to the preachers in the Methodist Connection by a Layman of the Methodist Society, London, no publisher given, 1785; second edition, 1786, no place of publication, or publisher given

Considerations on a Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church, addressed to such of them as are friendly to that measure and particularly to those in the City of Bristol, by a Member of the Established Church, Bristol: printed by Bulgin and Rosser, 1794

Candid Animadversions on Mr Henry Moore's Reply, by the Author of Considerations on a Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church, Bristol: printed by Bulgin and Rosser, 1794

Essays on the Political Circumstances of Ireland, written during the administration of Earl Camden, with an appendix, containing thoughts on the will of the people: and a postscript now first published. By a Gentleman of the North of Ireland, Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1798; second edition, London: 'printed for the author by J. Plymsel,' 1799

A Brief Confutation of the Rev. Mr. Daubeny's Strictures on Mr. Richard Baxter in the Appendix to his Guide to the Church: and also of his Animadversions on Mrs. Hannah More, in a letter to the editor of Sir James Stonehouse's letters, by a layman of the Established Church, Shrewsbury: J. and W. Eddowes, 1801

Remarks on an Expostulatory Address to the Members of the Methodist Society by the Rev. J. Walker, B.D., F.T.C.D., M.R.I.A., in a letter to that gentleman, Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1802

The Doctrine of the New Testament Respecting Military Duty, Dublin: B. Dugdale, 1803

An Answer to the Right Honourable Patrick Duigenan's Two Great Arguments against the Full Enfranchisement of the Irish Roman Catholics, by a Member of the Establishment, Dublin: C. La Grange, 1810

Lives, Characters, and a Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Hon. Robert Boyle by Gilbert Burnet, Lord Bishop of Sarum, Dublin: W. Watson, 1803; second edition, 1815; third edition, 1824

An Inquiry on Grounds of Scripture and Reason into the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols, Dublin: Richard Beere and Co., 1824

Letters on a Reunion of the Churches of England and Rome from and to the Right Reverend Dr Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, John O'Driscol, Alexander Knox and Thomas Newenham, Esquires, Dublin: Richard Moore Tims, 1824

The Judgment of the Tract Committee of the Association for Discountenancing Vice &c. Respecting the Homilies Reviewed and Vindicated in a letter to the Reverend C.R. Elrington, D.D., M.R.I.A., Dublin: Milliken, 1826

Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb, D.D., F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, and Alexander Knox, Esq., M.R.I.A., edited by Charles Forster, London: James Duncan and John Cochran, 1834

Remains of Alexander Knox, [edited by J.J. Hornby], four volumes, volumes one and two, London: James Duncan and John Cochran, 1834; second edition 1836; volumes three and four, London: James Duncan, 1837

The Doctrine of the Sacraments, as exhibited in several treatises, first published in the Remains of A. K., Esq., edited by J. J. Hornby, London: James Duncan, 1838

Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley, appended to Robert Southey, *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, edited by C.C. Southey, two volumes, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846, 409-504

The Grace of the Sacraments: Being Treatises on Baptism and the Eucharist by Alexander Knox, edited, with a preface, by William Dalrymple Maclagan, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905

3. Secondary Works (1): Books

- *Appendix to the First Report of the Commission on Education in Ireland*, London: House of Commons, 1825

- *The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1815, (1662)

- *Certain Sermons appointed by the Queen's Majesty to be declared and read by all parsons, vicars, and curates, every Sunday and holiday in their churches; and by Her Grace's advice perused and overseen for the better understanding of the simple people*, edited by the Syndics of the University Press, London: John W. Parker, 1850, (1574)

- *Ecclesiastica Historia, integram ecclesiae Christi ideam, quantum ad locum, propagationem, persecutionem, tranquillitatem, doctrinam, hæreses, ceremonias, gubernationem, schismata, synodos, personas, miracula, martyria, religiones extra ecclesiam, & statum imperii politicum attinet, secundum singulas centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens: singulari diligentia & fide ex vetustissimis & optimis historicis, patribus, & aliis scriptoribus congesta, per aliquot studiosos ac pios viros in urbe Magdeburica* ,eleven volumes, Basle: Oporinus, 1559-71

- *Eighth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry: Roman Catholic College of Maynooth*, London: House of Commons, 1827

- *Sancti Gregorii Primi Papae Cognomento Magni Opera Omnia*, four volumes, Paris: Claude Rigaud, 1705

- *Sixth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry: The Hibernian Society for the Care of Soldiers Children &c*, London: House of Commons, 1827

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Notes and Queries

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