

GEOFFREY R. TRELOAR

Lightfoot the Historian

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

103

Mohr Siebeck

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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

103



Geoffrey R. Treloar

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The Nature and Role of History in the Life and
Thought of J. B. Lightfoot (1828–1889) as
Churchman and Scholar

Mohr Siebeck

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For Linda

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Robert Menzies College
Macquarie University, N.S.W.
31 March 1998

Geoffrey R. Treloar

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Abbreviations

1. *Unpublished Sources and their Locations*

BLL	Benson Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, London
BLO	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CPO	Church Papers, Pusey House, Oxford
CUA	Cambridge University Archives
CUL	Cambridge University Library
CUR	Cambridge University Register
DGC	Davies Papers, Girton College, Cambridge
DUL	Durham University Library
FCC	Farrar Papers, Canterbury Cathedral Library
GBL	Gladstone Papers, British Library, London
GEC	Gwatkin Papers, Emmanuel College, Cambridge
JBO	Jowett Papers, Balliol College Library, Oxford
LAC	Lightfoot Papers, Auckland Castle
LDC	Lightfoot Papers, Dean and Chapter Library, Durham Cathedral
LKO	Liddon Papers, Keble College Library, Oxford
LPO	Liddon Papers, Pusey House, Oxford
LRO	Liverpool Record Office
PLAB	Private Letters of Archbishop Benson
SDS	Selwyn Divinity School, Cambridge
SPL	St Paul's Cathedral Library, London
TCC	Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge
TLL	Tait Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, London

2. *Other Printed Sources and Biographies*

Alumni	Venn, <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i>
BL	<i>Bishop Lightfoot</i>
Crockfords	<i>Crockford's Clerical Directory</i>
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography</i>
DDC	<i>Durham Diocesan Calendar</i>
DDG	<i>Durham Diocesan Gazette</i>
DDM	<i>Durham Diocesan Magazine</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
LB	<i>The Life of Edward White Benson</i>
LD	<i>Lightfoot of Durham</i>
LH	<i>Life and Letters of Fenton J.A. Hort</i>
LT	<i>Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury</i>
LW	<i>Life and Letters of Brooke Foss Westcott</i>
PP	Parliamentary Papers
RCC	<i>Report of the Church Congress</i>
Reporter	<i>Cambridge University Reporter</i>

RV *Revised Version of the Bible*
 YJC *York Journal of Convocation*

3. Lightfoot's Published Writings

AF *The Apostolic Fathers*
 BE *Biblical Essays*
 C *St Paul's Epistle to the Colossians and to Philemon*
 Ch *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham*
 CIR *The Epistles of S. Clement of Rome*
 CIRA *S. Clement of Rome. Appendix*
 CP *Christian Progress*
 CS *Cambridge Sermons*
 DJCS *An Address Delivered to the Durham Junior Clerical Society*
 EWSR *Essays On a Work Entitled Supernatural Religion*
 G *The Epistle of St Paul to the Galatians*
 HE *Historical Essays*
 IACC *Inaugural Address. Delivered at the Cooperative Congress ... 1880*
 IP *The Increasing Purpose of God*
 LA *Address on the Distribution of Scholarships and Prizes of the Liverpool
 Council of Education*
 LNC *Leaders of the Northern Church*
 LO *Living Oracles*
 LS *"J.B. Lightfoot On Strauss and Christian Origins"*
 MD *Manifesto on Disestablishment*
 MSL *The Mustard Seed and the Leaven*
 NEP *Notes on the Epistles of St Paul*
 NTI *"J.B. Lightfoot and New Testament Interpretation: An Unpublished Manuscript
 of 1855"*
 OA *Ordination Addresses*
 OFR *On a Fresh Revision of the New Testament*
 OSCG *"On the Style and Character of Galatians"*
 P *St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*
 PC *Primary Charge*
 PH *"Papias of Hierapolis"*
 RE *"Recent Editions of St Paul's Epistles"*
 RRH *"Results of Recent Historical and Topographical Research Upon the Old and
 New Testament Scriptures"*
 S *Sermons*
 SCEG *"On the Style and Character of the Epistle to the Galatians"*
 SMPW *Strength Made Perfect in Weakness*
 SSP *Sermons in St Pauls*
 SSO *Sermons On Special Occasions*
 THCH *"They That Are of Caesar's Household"*
 TTT *The Three Temples*
 UC *The Unity of the Church*
 WCA *An Address to Members of the White Cross Army*
 WDWI *What Disestablishment Would Involve. A Warning*

Prefatory Note

Apart from those specifically assigned to other locations, all manuscript sources referred to in the notes belong to the Lightfoot Papers housed in the Dean and Chapter Library, Durham Cathedral. Manuscript sermons are cited by an abbreviated title and the year in which they were first delivered. The word(s) used for citation purposes are italicized in the bibliography where the sermons are listed in chronological order.

In his unpublished writings Lightfoot's punctuation was often unconventional or incomplete. In particular, he tended to use dashes instead of full stops. As the story told about his sending rough versions of manuscripts to the printers suggests, and as the extant manuscripts confirm, he seems to have left the work of tidying up the formal aspects of his writings to compositors. In quotations, except where there is scope for misreading or misunderstanding, the punctuation and spelling is that of the original document.

Part I

Introduction

Chapter One

Lightfoot the Historian

“There is nothing sufficient on ... Lightfoot.” So declared G.S.R. Kitson Clark, then doyen of the historians of Victorian England, in the Scott Lectures for 1964.¹ At one level his observation regrets the absence of a *Life and Letters*, the customary monument to, and basis for subsequent reflection upon, a notable Victorian life. This was probably due to a lack of suitable materials rather than the reasons usually given, Lightfoot’s “own earnest desire”,² and the lack of a widow or child to carry out the conventional act of filial piety.³ Certainly such a work was contemplated,⁴ and in the “sons of the house” at Auckland Castle there were suitable workers for the task.⁵ But it did not come to fruition. The absence of a *Life and Letters* — and the preservation of valuable diary entries and revealing personal letters — should not therefore be lamented. Such materials do not seem to have existed in a sufficient quantity for a biography of the kind — massive and adulatory — the Victorians liked to write.⁶

¹ G.S.R. Kitson Clark, *An Expanding Society 1830-1900* (Melbourne & Cambridge: Melbourne University Press/Cambridge University Press, 1967) 98. Cf. G.M. Young, *Portrait of an Age. Victorian England* (annotated edition by G.S.R. Kitson Clark; London: Oxford University Press, 1977) 299.

² LD 149.

³ Eg. M.L. Loane, “Joseph Barber Lightfoot Bishop of Durham 1828-1889,” *Three Faithful Servants* (Blackwood, South Australia: New Creation Publications, 1991) 91.

⁴ J.R. Harmer to E.A. Macmillan, 30 May 1893, indicating that the Lightfoot Trustees were interested in the publication of a biography. An appeal for letters appeared in *The Times* on 2 June 1893. A. Hort to J.R. Harmer, 18 May & 22 May 1893, indicating that there were not many letters of Lightfoot’s among his late father’s papers.

⁵ For the Auckland Brotherhood, see 225-6 below.

⁶ On the characteristics and assumptions of Victorian biography, see R.D. Altick, *Lives and Letters. A History of Literary Biography in England and America* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979 [originally published, 1965]) esp. ch. VI & VII; and R. Hoberman, *Modernizing Lives. Experiments in English Biography, 1918-1939* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987) ch. II.

At a second level Clark's observation registers the absence of a substantial scholarly study of Lightfoot's life and work. For Clark this was a matter of some importance. His observation was made in the context of a dual protest: against the depreciation of Victorian religion by historians of the twentieth century; and against their canonization on the basis of abiding interest and importance of a handful of eminent thinkers as representative of the spiritual and intellectual history of nineteenth century Britain, to the exclusion of others "of considerable intelligence and also ... great power".⁷ Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828-1889), successively Hulsean and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University (1861 to 1879), Bishop of Durham (from 1879 until his death), and allegedly the greatest English language commentator of all time on New Testament texts,⁸ was among those who, according to Clark, warranted detailed consideration if the Victorians were to be understood on their own terms and the variety and complexity of the period duly appreciated. In the ensuing thirty years much has taken place to rectify the situation of which Clark complained. The place of religion in Victorian society is now better appreciated in secular historiography,⁹ and many of the individuals nominated have received the attention for which he called. B.F. Westcott, mentioned by Clark in the same sentence as Lightfoot, has been — to take the particularly pertinent example of his close friend, colleague, collaborator, and successor as Bishop of Durham — the subject of at least two major studies.¹⁰ Yet the position with

⁷ A more recent plea for genuinely historical treatment of Victorian intellectual and cultural figures occurs in F.M. Turner, *Contesting Cultural Authority. Essays in Victorian Cultural Life* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993).

⁸ See J.D.G. Dunn, *Testing the Foundations. Current Trends in New Testament Study* (Durham: University of Durham, 1984) 1; & "Lightfoot the Critic," *A Christian Heritage - a Collection of Addresses in Honour of the 900th Anniversary of Durham Cathedral* (ed. C. Yeats; Bangor: Headstart History, 1993) 59.

⁹ Eg. D. Thompson, "The Making of the English Religious Classes," *The Historical Journal* 22.2 (1979) 477-91; D. Bebbington, "Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 32.4 (1989) 997-1004, esp. 1004; & H. McLeod, "Varieties of Victorian Belief," *Journal of Modern History* 64.2 (1992) 321-37.

¹⁰ W.G. O'Dea, "Westcott the Theologian" (unpublished M.Litt. thesis; Cambridge University, 1972). F. Olofsson, *Christus Redemptor Et Consummator. A Study in the Theology of B.F. Westcott* (trans. by N. Tomkinson assisted by J. Gray; Studia Doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensia 19; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1979). There have also been several studies of the third member of the Cambridge 'triumvirate', F.J.A. Hort. See I.M. Bubb, "The Theology of F.J.A. Hort, In Relation to Nineteenth Century Thought" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis; Manchester University; 1956); & the two works by G.A. Patrick, "A Study of the Writings of F.J.A. Hort, and an Assessment of Him as a Biblical Scholar" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis; London University, 1978); & *F.J.A. Hort Eminent Victorian* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1987).

Lightfoot is unaltered. More than a century after his death there is still "nothing sufficient on ... Lightfoot".¹¹

Not all would agree that this is an important need. Of Lightfoot's contemporaries, F.W. Farrar, a pupil and a friend, doubted that the predictable biography would be of much use.¹² There was little to reveal of a character so simple and straightforward, and of a public life so uneventful. Lightfoot's books would be sufficient monument to his life and thought.¹³ But this perspective assumes that the meaning and significance of the books is self-evident, a proposition which, a century later, is doubtful. Nor was Farrar a close associate (although an ex-pupil and regular correspondent), so that he takes much for granted. His, moreover, was a typically nineteenth century perspective on the function of biography. No longer concerned with memorializing, historical biography has moved on and aims rather at a critical appreciation of a life and the issues it raises in relation to its times in order to explain the individual, and to bring out both what he reflects of wider social developments, and also the contribution he made to the course of events and character of the times.¹⁴ Lightfoot's life has not yet been approached in this manner.

Among contemporary scholars, the iconoclastic John Kent claims that the significance of Lightfoot has been exaggerated. This is because of the place assigned to him by the "Anglican Mythology" which, "largely formed in the Victorian period in Anglican circles", attributed to Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort "something like the intellectual salvation of Christianity".¹⁵ But this only indicates the need for the tradition to be reassessed. The influence of which Kent complains is precisely the point that needs to be explained. Moreover, the implication that Lightfoot was orthodox and conservative is based on later standards, not those of his own day, and therefore requires revision. There has also been a questionable tendency to see Lightfoot in

¹¹ A desire for a biography is expressed again by C.S. Rodd, "Commentator Supreme," *Expository Times* 104 (January 1993) 128.

¹² F.W. Farrar, "Bishop Lightfoot," *Contemporary Review* 57 (February 1890) 170-1.

¹³ R.H. Malden, "Bishop Lightfoot 1828-1889," *Great Christians* (ed. R.S. Forman; London: Nicholson & Watson, 1933) 335, says exactly the opposite:

It is a matter for regret that one of his greatest predecessors, and his only namesake, Joseph Butler, lives for us only in his books. Beyond what they reveal, nothing is known about him. It would have been lamentable had similar oblivion been allowed to overtake Lightfoot.

¹⁴ See D. Beales, *History and Biography. An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge: University Press, 1981).

¹⁵ J. Kent, "The Study of Ecclesiastical History Since 1930," *The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology* (eds J. Daniélou, A.H. Couratin and J. Kent; Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969) 304.

terms of Westcott and Hort.¹⁶ To be sure, he was (at least outwardly) less concerned with theology than either, but the implication that he had no theology to speak of is misleading. Lightfoot must surely rank among those noteworthy Anglicans who, according to Kent in later works, are due for scholarly reassessment.¹⁷ A critical study will partly redress this larger deficiency as well as offer a much needed revaluation of a prominent Victorian Church leader.

This is not to say that Lightfoot has been entirely neglected. From among contemporaries F.J.A. Hort and H.W. Watkins furnish narrative outlines of his life. Hort poured out what was left of his own life on the *Dictionary of National Biography* entry.¹⁸ A friend and fellow student at Trinity College, collaborator in theological projects, and colleague in the Cambridge Divinity faculty and professoriate, Hort is most informative on the University and scholarly aspects: the episcopate he knew mainly by report. These positions are reversed for Watkins' memoir.¹⁹ Brought to Durham from St Augustine's, Canterbury, to be Archdeacon of Northumberland, he rapidly became Lightfoot's chief *aide de camp*, and in the eyes of some, the real bishop of Durham.²⁰ Both men were well placed to observe closely one or other of the two main phases in the public career, and they wrote soon after the events recounted. Minor errors apart, their complementary accounts provide a narrative framework which, so far as it goes, it is unnecessary to challenge.

Less satisfactory is the volume which has served as the main source for Lightfoot's life over the last sixty years. In 1932 members of the Auckland Brotherhood published *Lightfoot of Durham: Memories and Appreciations*.²¹

¹⁶ Eg. L. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era* (2nd ed.; London: Lutterworth Press, 1946) ch. 15; & *English Thought 1860-1900. The Theological Aspect* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956) esp. 119-20.

¹⁷ J. Kent, *The Unacceptable Face of the Church. The Modern Church in the Eyes of the Historian* (London: S.C.M., 1987) 82-106; & William Temple, *Church, State and Society in Britain, 1880-1950* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992).

¹⁸ F.J.A. Hort, "Lightfoot, Joseph Barber," *DNB* XI.1111-1119. For the personal significance of Hort's article, see D.L. Edwards, *Leaders of the Church of England 1828-1944* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971) 190.

¹⁹ "Bishop Lightfoot," *Quarterly Review* 176 (January 1893) 73-105. Republished as *Bishop Lightfoot. Reprinted From the Quarterly Review, With a Prefatory Note by B.F. Westcott* (London: Macmillan, 1894), to which future reference is made. For the attribution, *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900* (ed. W.E. Houghton; Toronto & London: University of Toronto Press/Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966) I.774.

²⁰ Watkins was "both hand & eye" to Lightfoot. Lightfoot to Watkins, 24 February 1880 (DUL, Ad'l MS 132). Also Lightfoot to Gladstone, 29 December 1882 (GBL, 44 478, f. 289). H.H. Henson, *More Letters of Hensley Henson* (ed. E.F. Braley; London: S.P.C.K., 1954) 70.

²¹ G.R. Eden & F.C. Macdonald (eds), *Lightfoot of Durham. Memories and Appreciations* (Cambridge: University Press, 1932). Not all contributors had been members of the Brotherhood, but all had come under Lightfoot's influence when they were young men.

Written on a larger scale than either Hort or Watkins, it preserves much detail about what might be called the “inside history” of the Durham episcopate, as well as many revealing personal anecdotes. On the other hand, the account reproduces the teleology implicit in the title. More than three quarters of the book are on the last decade. This suggests that the life at Durham is what made Lightfoot significant. All else was prelude to this. As a result the treatment is unbalanced, with the longer period at Cambridge and the eight years at St Paul’s in London being skated over. Most serious was the embarrassingly eulogizing tone which perpetuated the Lightfoot myth. At several points indeed Lightfoot’s mien seems to resemble that of Jesus, and the response of his “Sons”, that of the disciples.²² In fact the book is really about those who wrote it. The chief significance of *Lightfoot of Durham* is its documentation of the main influence in the formation of a number of Church leaders of the interwar period.²³

Some of these failings are reproduced in the one attempt to date at a scholarly life. D.J. Wilson’s Edinburgh doctoral thesis (of which Clark was evidently unaware) broke some new ground in its use of previously unknown letters by Lightfoot, and by relating his career to the history of ministerial training in the nineteenth century.²⁴ The specific concern of this study necessarily involved restoring the Cambridge period of Lightfoot’s life to proper prominence, while Wilson also gave the first account of Lightfoot’s theology.²⁵ Nevertheless, something of the older teleology survives. The Durham episcopate, and in particular the creation of the Auckland Brotherhood, is regarded as the high point of Lightfoot’s life. Moreover, some significant episodes in Lightfoot’s previous career, such as the Revised Version and the canonry at St Paul’s, are again overlooked. This was mainly due to Wilson’s heavy reliance on *Lightfoot of Durham* which he described as “an admirable book”.²⁶ His account was therefore similarly unrepresentative of the ca-

²² LD 43, 44, 80.

²³ Men such as G.R. Eden (1853-1940), Bishop of Wakefield, 1897-1928; J.R. Harmer (1857-1944), Bishop of Adelaide, 1895-1905, and of Rochester, 1905-30; J. Armitage Robinson (1858-1940), Norrisian Professor of Divinity, 1893-9, Dean of Westminster, 1902-11, Dean of Wells, 1911-33; & H.E. Savage (1854-1939), Dean of Lichfield, 1909-39. See further Appendix B, in LD 166-73.

²⁴ D.J. Wilson, “The Life of J.B. Lightfoot (1829 [sic]-89), with special reference to the training of the ministry” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis; Edinburgh University, 1956). See also the attempt to provide “an orderly chronological narrative” in Loane, “Lightfoot,” 91-119 (92 for the quotation).

²⁵ Curiously, however, he did not give any account of Lightfoot’s scholarship as such.

²⁶ Wilson, “Life,” 111. Cf. “the excellent book of reminiscences”, *ibid.*, 167. Wilson also made only a limited use of the main deposit of Lightfoot Papers at Durham Cathedral, while his account is marred by several errors of fact (for which, see the body of the study below).

reer as a whole, and while several criticisms were ventured, no fresh perspective was developed. These deficiencies are mostly traceable to its function as a "theological" biography. It aimed to abstract a system of thought, and gave insufficient recognition to the importance of the environment out of which the system emerged.

Students of the New Testament and early church, particularly those working in the Cambridge-Durham tradition,²⁷ have also evinced a significant interest in Lightfoot as a scholar they readily acknowledge as a progenitor.²⁸ Much of this has been eulogistic,²⁹ but in recent years C.K. Barrett has led a welcome shift to a more critical perspective.³⁰ Yet these studies are written from an internalist standpoint, and are characterized by the "whiggism" which inevitably arises from a concern with the "state of the question". Thus their purpose is to establish what Lightfoot contributed to the discipline as it is currently practised.³¹ There have been two important results for the interpretation of Lightfoot's life and work.

For one thing it has meant that the accepted setting for Lightfoot's scholarship remains the debate over the interpretation of early Christian literature provoked by the Tübingen School between 1830 and 1860. Within this line of study two issues have emerged. On the one hand, the image of Lightfoot as "the slayer of Tübingen" has persisted. However, the extent and effectiveness of Lightfoot's engagement with Tübingen has been challenged. Barrett pointed out that the number of direct references to the Tübingen writers is not so considerable as the received view would suggest and require. Barrett's re-appraisal, which assumes that Lightfoot conducted his case in a certain manner, attracted a powerful reply from Martin Hengel in relation to

²⁷ On which see the dedication of M. Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (London & Philadelphia: S.C.M./Trinity International, 1989). In explanation Hengel says, "I dedicate this book in gratitude to the theological faculties of the universities of Cambridge and Durham. A great scholar, Bishop Joseph Barber Lightfoot, worked in both of them, in the former as a professor, in the latter as a great church leader; our discipline owes much to him for his study of the second century and thus also of the Johannine corpus, and this year is his centenary."

²⁸ The culmination is J.D.G. Dunn (ed.), *The Lightfoot Centenary Lectures To Commemorate the Life and Work of Bishop J.B. Lightfoot (1828-89)*, *Durham University Journal*, extra complimentary number for subscribers (January 1992).

²⁹ Eg. W.F. Howard, *The Romance of New Testament Scholarship* (London: Epworth, 1949) ch. 3.

³⁰ C.K. Barrett, "Joseph Barber Lightfoot," *Durham University Journal* LXIV.3 (June 1972) 193-204; "Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit," *New Testament Studies* 28.3 (July 1982) 303-20; & "J.B. Lightfoot as Biblical Commentator," in Dunn (ed.), *The Lightfoot Centenary Lectures*, 53-70.

³¹ A striking recent example is J.D.G. Dunn, "Lightfoot in Retrospect," his contribution to Dunn (ed.), *The Lightfoot Centenary Lectures*, 71-94.

the Fourth Gospel.³² A full account of Lightfoot's scholarly career taking into consideration his actual mode of working will help to settle this question of the importance of the Tübingen School in his concerns as a New Testament scholar.

More interesting is the matter of how well Lightfoot answered Tübingen and whether the encounter had a reflexive effect on his own perspective. Barrett argues that Lightfoot's achievement was to destroy the dating of the Tübingen reconstruction and provide a solid chronological framework within which the New Testament documents can be placed. The effect was not to negate the conflicts said to be characteristic of earliest Christianity but inadvertently to push them and their consequences back into the first century.³³ Though he admitted conflict in the early church, Lightfoot did not face up to the issues this raised.

The second result of the internalist perspective is the use of the leader of the Tübingen School, F.C. Baur, as the yardstick by which to identify Lightfoot's distinctive characteristics as a scholar and to measure his achievement. Again this is best exemplified in Barrett. He contrasts Lightfoot's combination of a vigorous scholarship and an apparently timid attitude towards the New Testament documents with Baur's willingness to interrogate the evidence more radically in order to penetrate beneath the surface statements. For Barrett, Baur shows what sort of questions need to be asked, and Lightfoot how to answer them.³⁴ But this kind of comparison with (arguably) the most original and daring New Testament scholar of the day leads to the impression that Lightfoot was a theological conservative. He and Baur then become symbols in contemporary debate for different approaches to New Testament study.³⁵ For those wishing to justify and bolster a conservative view of the New Testament as the basis for Christian faith and practice, Lightfoot is a hero,³⁶ while those with more radical or strictly scholarly agendas tend to exalt Baur.³⁷ Either way the impression is left behind

³² M. Hengel, "Bishop Lightfoot and the Tübingen School on the Gospel of John and the Second Century," in Dunn (ed.), *The Lightfoot Centenary Lectures*, 23-51.

³³ This is the basis of Dunn's use of Lightfoot and Baur in J.D.G. Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London & Philadelphia: S.C.M./Trinity Press, 1991) 1-4.

³⁴ Barrett, "Quomodo," 318.

³⁵ Eg. W.W. Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1975) esp. ch. 6; & "Nineteenth-century Roots of Contemporary New Testament Criticism," *Scripture, Tradition and Interpretation* (eds W.W. Gasque & W.S. La Sor; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 146-56.

³⁶ Eg. W.W. Wiersbe, "Lightfoot: a Devoted Scholar," *Moody Monthly* 76 (April 1976) 127-31; & F.F. Bruce, "J.B. Lightfoot (died 1889): Commentator and Theologian," *Evangel* 7 (Summer 1989) 10-12.

³⁷ Eg. P.C. Hodgson, *The Formation of Historical Theology. A Study of Ferdinand Christian Baur* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

that Lightfoot himself was a conservative and held to a conservative view of the New Testament.

There is some tension for both points of view in this use of Lightfoot. He is freely recognized as a guarded protagonist of the new critical methods of Biblical study pioneered in Germany, and therefore the harbinger of important changes in the English approach.³⁸ This makes him more or less conservative depending on one's presuppositions. Moreover, the clear assumption in this debate is that 'conservative' meant the same thing in his day as in our own. Most importantly, therefore, it may be questioned whether juxtaposition with Baur is the appropriate method for appreciating Lightfoot's life and work. Against the background of the Victorian Church he does not look like a conservative. This is a term more aptly assigned, for example, to High Churchmen like J.W. Burgon and H.P. Liddon with whom Lightfoot disagreed on questions of text and exegesis.³⁹ Given the well known resistance to German methods among Victorian Churchmen,⁴⁰ Lightfoot's 'Germanizing' does not fit the categorization of 'conservative' either. Nor were the results of his early church studies universally acceptable to contemporaries.⁴¹ Yet his work was not so unsettling as that of another product of Birmingham's King Edward's School, Edwin Hatch.⁴² The ideological use of Lightfoot has obscured his standing as a New Testament scholar in his own day.

Their internalist perspective notwithstanding, the work of these writers has not been without important results. In particular they have raised the important question of the relation of Lightfoot's scholarship to the contemporary English context. Once more it was Barrett who took the lead by inquiring into the theological setting in which Lightfoot did his work in order to explain the differences to be discerned between him and Baur. Relying on an essay by John Rogerson, he claimed that Lightfoot was typical of the philosophical climate of contemporary English theology, with its emphasis upon the externality of the sources of knowledge, and the concomitant minimization of the role of the perceiving subject which has been

³⁸ J.A.T. Robinson acclaimed Lightfoot as "The Champion of Critical Scholarship", MS sermon preached at St Botolph's Church, Cambridge, 7 November 1976 [copy in the Wren Library, TCC]. Also his *The Roots of a Radical* (London: S.C.M., 1980) 155-61.

³⁹ Lightfoot might also be contrasted with an evangelical like Charles Perry with whom he disagreed strongly on ecclesiological matters. See Chapter 9 below. For Perry, see S. Piggin, "Perry, Charles," *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (ed. B. Dickey; Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994) 303-6.

⁴⁰ J.S. Andrews, "German Influence on English Religious Life in the Victorian Era," *Evangelical Quarterly* 44 (Oct.-Dec. 1972) 218-33.

⁴¹ See 333, 355-6, & 369-70 below.

⁴² On whom, see N.F. Josaitis, *Edwin Hatch and Early Church Order* (Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, S.A., 1971) esp. Chapters 4 and 5.

described as a "Lockean sort of supernaturalism".⁴³ According to this view, Lightfoot was predisposed religiously and epistemologically to a methodology which stressed the accumulation of evidence from received documents, and the derivation of conclusions from it. Since this approach was said to be controlled by the application of "ordinary sense", Barrett has characterized Lightfoot as a "common sense empiricist".⁴⁴

Clearly this is a legitimate and much needed line of inquiry, but its initial results involve several difficulties. It has to be said, first, that Barrett has oversimplified the intellectual context of English theology in the period.⁴⁵ A Lockean epistemology was widespread and influential in theology, especially in the 'evidences' approach. But it was not in undisputed possession of the field. S.T. Coleridge — regarded ever since John Stuart Mill as one of the two seminal minds of the age — had put up an alternative which was influential at Cambridge among Lightfoot's contemporaries (especially those with whom he was an undergraduate and Fellow at Trinity College in the late 1840s and 1850s).⁴⁶ *A priori* there is at least the possibility that Lightfoot was similarly aligned.

Second, the combination of "common sense" and "empiricist" is unfortunate. In fairness to Barrett, it should be allowed that he used the term in a non-technical sense as that inductive process which is natural to the inquiring mind, untroubled by the complications of metaphysics or methodology.⁴⁷ Yet placed against the backdrop of the period it is confusing, even a contradiction in terms. "Common sense" was a philosophy of intuitive knowledge developed in Scotland in the eighteenth century in reaction to the scepticism of David Hume.⁴⁸ It was carried forward into the nineteenth century by Sir William Hamilton and developed into an intuitionist philosophy by William Whewell, the Master of Lightfoot's Cambridge college. By this time the "empiricism" descended from Locke and Hume was represented by John

⁴³ J.W. Rogerson, "Philosophy and the Rise of Biblical Criticism: England and Germany," *England and Germany: Studies in Theological Diplomacy* (ed. S. Sykes; Frankfurt Am Main: Verlag Peter D. Lang, 1982) 63-79.

⁴⁴ Barrett, "Quomodo," 318.

⁴⁵ The standard accounts are V.F. Storr, *The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century 1800-1860* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913); & B.M.G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore. A Century of Religious Thought in Britain* (London: Longman, 1971).

⁴⁶ See below 51-7. The influence of Mill at Cambridge was perhaps not so unchallenged as Noel Annan suggests in *Leslie Stephen. His Thought and Character in Relation to his Time* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1951) ch. IV.

⁴⁷ This attitude was available among contemporaries in the thought of Macaulay. T.B. Macaulay, "Francis Bacon," *Edinburgh Review* lxx (1837) 1-104, esp. 81-92.

⁴⁸ S.A. Grave, *The Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960). For an historical account, G.E. Davie, *The Democratic Intellect. Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1961).

Stuart Mill. His *System of Logic* sought to establish the logic of the natural and social sciences together and held out the promise of such a progress of knowledge that a complete science of society would be possible in time. Throughout the early Victorian period a controversy raged between the two perspectives.⁴⁹ Both looked to induction as the method of discovery but differed on how discovery actually takes place. Whereas the empiricist Mill maintained that knowledge was derived as a generalization from particular instances, Whewell claimed the meaning of particular instances was perceived from the innate fundamental ideas of the observer which derive ultimately from the mind of God.⁵⁰ Victory in the battle is often said to have gone to empiricism, and Mill became influential in Cambridge in the 1850s and 1860s.⁵¹ By using "common sense" as he does, Barrett puts Lightfoot closer to Mill than to Whewell, an unlikely contingency. While his formulation has the great advantage of locating Lightfoot in one of the key debates of the period, he seems to put Lightfoot on the wrong side. Some other characterization, and some other explanation of Lightfoot's handling of New Testament texts, will have to be found.

The question of Lightfoot's relation to the setting of his own times was raised in another way by one of Barrett's colleagues at Durham. In his own attempt to differentiate Lightfoot from Baur, B.N. Kaye asked what wider social and ecclesiastical interests Lightfoot's scholarship served, and thereby raised the question of how it was affected by the situation of the contemporary English Church.⁵² This was a valuable contribution because it impugned the validity of the monocausal interpretation of Lightfoot's life and work implicit in the use of the Tübingen School as the frame of reference. But Kaye did not follow up the question at any length. While he touched on Lightfoot's treatment of the ministry in particular, the matter in general was left for others to pursue. Kaye's question is therefore still on the agenda. With it goes its reciprocal: what role did Lightfoot's scholarship play in contemporary Church life? The question of the relation of his scholarship to its intellectual, social and ecclesiastical context remains to be settled.

⁴⁹ E.W. Strong, "William Whewell and John Stuart Mill: Their Controversy About Scientific Knowledge," *Journal of the History of Ideas* XVI.2 (April 1955) 209-31. The controversy is a major theme of A. Ryan, *J.S. Mill* (London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974).

⁵⁰ This combination of thought with things in the generation of knowledge may be regarded as 'empiricism'.

⁵¹ N. Annan, *Leslie Stephen. The Godless Victorian* (New York: Random House, 1984) ch. 6.

⁵² B.N. Kaye, "Lightfoot and Baur on Early Christianity," *Novum Testamentum* 26 (1984) 193-224. Now General Secretary of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia, Dr Kaye was Senior Tutor at St John's College, Durham, when the paper was composed.

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