The Anglican Exemplary Tradition

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A distinctive strand of Anglican thought addressing Christian faith and Christian life may be described as the exemplary tradition, represented by Jeremy Taylor, Thomas Traherne, Joseph Butler, F. D. Maurice, and Kenneth Kirk. This virtue tradition within Anglicanism seeks to bring persons more fully into relationship with God as a matter of practices that shape fundamental intentions. This strand is informed by contemporary ethical theory while offering claims and raising questions beyond what theory provides in order to form a unified account of the Christian moral life. This constructive archeology of tradition is what is needed in order to insure theory and the lived traditions of Christian faith inform one another.

“Christianity is all for practice,” says seventeenth-century Anglican divine Jeremy Taylor.1 Similarly, in The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living, he speaks of Christianity as a matter of piety—piety in the traditional sense of the word, not overly wrought religious practices but a way of life. Through reading Scripture, prayer, baptism, and eucharist, persons enter and form a community of faith marked in the great commandment given in the Old and New Testaments that summarizes this life as a matter of love of God and love of neighbor. Certainly belief informs practice, but religious knowledge is given in the practice of faith which in turn informs belief. This is expressed in the liturgical principle lex orandi lex credendi: the order of prayer is the order of belief.2

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The Anglican thinkers who understand Christian faith as a matter of practical piety constitute a distinct strand of Anglican thought. This strand or tradition within Anglicanism constitutes a virtue ethic. As a virtue ethic, the Christian life is understood in the Aristotelian language of form and matter. An account of Christian faith must identify the end (or form) of the Christian life in terms of the intentions that form human action. In turn, the matter or content of this life must be described in terms of the actions tied to the ends intended. This account of virtue was, at least since Augustine, developed as a matter of the classical cardinal virtues of temperance, fortitude, prudence, and justice in relationship to the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love. The actions that realize these virtues may be called practices, such as prayer and eucharistic worship, forgiveness, and love of neighbor or what we now describe more specifically as hospitality to the stranger. In this tradition, worship expresses and shapes the character of the Christian life as a matter of the love of God as given in Jesus Christ. As such, the Anglican virtue ethic is an exemplary ethic in which Christ reveals the shape or form of what it is to be human and specifically that life as given in relationship to God. In this sense, Christ is the archetype, the exemplar, the model of what it is to be human. Christ is the second Adam, human life as redeemed.

It may be helpful to place the exemplary tradition within Anglicanism within the larger context of moral traditioning. By moral traditioning I mean the passing down of moral reflections on the Christian life. As different questions are raised within the community of faith, reflections are varied in purpose and style. Often writings serve a variety of purposes, for example, to convert, to understand, to form, to counsel, and to exhort. Such reflections are not “silod off” from one another but inform each other. A tradition of thought is then only identified retrospectively, looking back at writings and drawing them together in terms of some common features.

The development of theories of ethics—since Aristotle’s reflections on the good, on virtues, and on principles—has shaped moral reflection and moral theology or ethics as a discipline of study.

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Sharpness of focus, however, at times obscures broader questions and wisdom within a tradition. In other words, the moral tradition may be construed too narrowly in accord with a theory of ethics as opposed to the range of reflections that constitute a tradition. This study of Anglicanism in terms of the exemplary tradition is the first of a set of essays to be published in the *Anglican Theological Review*, each of which seeks to work back through the reading of primary Anglican texts in order to discern what questions were asked, how they were answered, and what is the wisdom to be passed on.4

**Virtue Ethics in the Anglican Tradition**

According to Aristotle’s definition, a virtue ethic is a description of a way of life where acts realize ends that constitute the values and purposes of life. As a way of life these ends are connected and unified in what Aristotle identifies as “the good,” as distinct from the many goods of life. A description of this way of life focuses on acts and intentions which together are the basis for human action. Human actions form the human person. A person becomes loving by acts of love. The intent to be realized (whether temperance, wisdom, friendship, love, or justice) is only realized (made real) and experienced in specific acts. Without the act, the intent to love is not embodied, love is not realized and experienced, and the person is not formed in love. To describe the acts and intentions that realize the good is to develop a virtue ethic where virtues are understood as the realization through choice of the capacities or powers of the human person by which humans come to know and experience the good.5

In describing a way of life, individual acts and intentions must be clustered together in terms of descriptions of the intentions that draw together individual acts in terms of larger purposes. To use the example of building a ship, specific actions such as sizing, cutting, shaping, sanding, and fitting are part of the larger practice of shipbuilding. Particular actions are learned and shaped in relation to each other in terms of the larger intent or purpose of building a ship. These broader

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4 See “Anglican Evangelicals on Personal and Social Ethics” by Jeffrey P. Greenman in this issue. Additional essays are to be published in the Fall 2012 issue of the *ATR.*

actions may be called practices. To give an account of a good life, practices are then related together in terms of some unifying intent or purpose.

Accounts of the Christian life are varied in specificity as authors move from act to intent, from the language of virtues to the language of practices. The Pauline epistles, for example, exhort the reader by appealing to specific virtues. In 1 Corinthians 12:4–10, Paul lists the gifts of the Spirit (wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, prophecy, discernment, speaking in tongues, and the interpretation of tongues) and connects these gifts in terms of the work and purpose of the one Spirit, which is love. The virtue of love is then specified by more specific acts and intentions: one is not noisy like a gong or clanging cymbal, one does not boast or insist on one’s own way (1 Cor. 13:1, 4–5). Instead, the intent is not to resent another or to boast but to bear each other’s burdens (13:7) and so to care for the other because we are one body (12:12).

In Romans 12–15, Paul focuses more on the broader intent and practices that constitute the shape of the Christian life. Christian life, he writes, is a matter of spiritual worship, of offering our “bodies as a living sacrifice” (12:1). He then describes this practice or way of life in terms of intentions and acts: “Rejoice in hope, be patient in suffering, persevere in prayer. Contribute to the needs of the saints; extend hospitality to strangers” (12:12–13). In Philippians this account is understood as a matter of the imitation of Christ: “Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus” (2:5), again with its emphasis on kenosis as the giving up of oneself, the offering or sacrifice of oneself to God and to neighbor.

As a matter of form and matter, a virtue ethic always has a certain eschatological character. Intent always exceeds the act. To be

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courageous, thankful, patient, or loving, acts of courage, thankfulness, patience, and love must be done. Therein is the realization and experience of the intent. However, I am not realized or completed in the act. I continue to live. If I am to be courageous, thankful, patient, or loving then I must act again and again, each time in a way that is similar to but different from before. I realize and know the good which I intend, but it is never completely grasped. Form stretches out before the act and afterward remains as the goal of future actions. The good is already but not yet, hence eschatological. This does not preclude a radical understanding of grace, of God acting upon us in the experience of God’s grace. A virtue ethic knows that the Christian life is an ongoing process of living in the presence of God given in the movement between intent and act.

Given that Jesus Christ reveals this way of life denoted in virtues as a matter of acts and intent, Christ is the great exemplar. As Athanasius claims, God “became man that we might become God” or, more literally, God “was humanized that we might be divinized.” Christ is the exemplar. He reveals what it means to be human as he reveals how to be divine. Again, exemplar is not to be confused with a moral ideal or example. Instead, exemplar is the example. As reflected in the understanding of the preexistent Christ, Christ is the essence or the form of what it is to be human. Jesus Christ as God incarnate is the revelation in human form of the character of life lived fully in relationship to God. The writings of the early church, as taken up by the Eastern Orthodox tradition, develop what may be called the exemplary tradition as a matter of theosis, literally translated as divinization, more accurately understood not as becoming God but as participation in the divine life or union with God.

Taylor and an Exemplary Ethic

In Anglicanism Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667) may be considered to stand at the beginning of the Anglican exemplary tradition. Certainly other writings, such as the religious poetry of John Donne

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(1572–1631), offer an account of the journey of heart and soul (the experience and transformation of the intent of the person) in relationship to God. What is distinctive and foundational about Taylor’s work is his explicit focus on an ethic of virtue and on the development of practices to form such virtues.

Taylor’s writings from 1638 to 1667 arose in the transition following the death of Queen Elizabeth and the increasing conflict between Catholics and Protestants, culminating in the English Civil War. Subsequently in the interregnum, Taylor offers an apology for Christianity in a sermon titled “Via Intelligentiae,” preached at the University of Dublin in 1662. This sermon provides a perspective on his basic assumptions that shape his earlier writings and specifically his understanding of Christian faith as a way of life.

Taylor begins his sermon with the claim that “Christianity is all for practice” which is “wholly made up of truth and peace.”10 Here by truth is not meant theoretical knowledge—knowledge about things, about the ultimate nature of things or understanding in terms of cause and effect, about origins, and about predictable futures. Instead, Taylor shares the classical understanding about the nature of the good and of God as matters of practical wisdom. This is knowledge gained through the experience of something, like the knowledge of another person and his or her love toward us. This is knowledge gained through participation and not the knowledge of a detached observer. Knowledge of God is then tied to peace, to that which finally gives wholeness, that which reconciles and redeems life itself.

This fundamental assumption that Christian faith is a kind of personal knowledge is evidenced in Taylor’s opening lines of his sermon. Taylor begins by telling how ancients told the story, that while truth and peace are one,

when Jupiter espied the men of the world striving for truth, and pulling her in pieces to secure her to themselves, he sent Mercury down amongst them, and he with his usual arts dressed error up in the imagery of truth, and thrust her into the crowd, and so left them to contend still: and though then by contention men were sure to get but little truth, yet they were as earnest as ever, and lost peace too, in their importune contentions for the very image of truth.11

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The problem in knowing God, says Taylor, is when speculations, “like the reflections of a multiplying glass,” are substituted for Christian faith as a way of life. Such “truths” remain speculative and are used to advance individual interests. “Disputation cures no vice, but kindles a great many, and makes passion evaporate into sin.” He concludes, Christ as the Prince of Peace and Truth itself taught religion as a matter of practice, as “doing the will of God” (John 7:17), as the way we come to know God and thereby come to peace.12 “The way to judge of religion is by doing of our duty; and theology is rather a divine life than a divine knowledge.”13

In the period of three years from 1649 to 1651, Taylor wrote three books which stand at the center of his focus on life in Christ and the development of the exemplary tradition in Anglican ethics: The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life (1649), The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living (1650), and The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying (1651). Beginning with an exhortation to imitate the life of Christ, The Great Exemplar is of a different order than Thomas à Kempis’s The Imitation of Christ. Following the classical mystical stages of purgation, illumination, and union, Kempis effects the interior life of holy intention through meditations and ejaculatory prayers. Taylor also assumes the mystical way, but his meditations and prayers are given by way of the biblical narrative, from annunciation and baptism to crucifixion and resurrection.14 The intent that is holy, that draws a person into relationship with God, is incarnate in Jesus as a piety that is “passionate and eucharistical, full of love, and wonder, and adoration,”15 as well as reflected in those persons, such as Mary, who respond to Christ’s presence in their lives. Holiness is a matter of virtue, intention tied to action, for example, in the care of children (including the nursing of one’s own children), and in the formation of our intentions through meditation and prayer, which is begun in the act of reading The Great Exemplar.
For Taylor the journey of faith is the experience of holiness in the transformation of intent. Initiated by Christ, this begins in baptism as the covenant of the gospel and is realized in the life that follows, as witnessed in the gospel stories of those who turn to Christ and in his teachings, especially as given in the Beatitudes, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer. The shape of this life is fully realized and revealed in Jesus’ passion, death, and resurrection. In our lives, this is celebrated and effected in Holy Communion. The shape of this life—its form or end—is Kenotic. Life in God is given in adoration and joy, thankfulness and acceptance, humility and obedience. Suffering—literally the experience of or the press of the world upon us—reveals our limitations, that we are not God, that we are finite. In our suffering we may witness fully to the truth of our lives in giving up our selves to God, receiving the good for what it is, rejoicing in the good, giving thanks, and adoration. In the love of God we are with humility drawn out in obedience to God’s command to love of neighbor.

The Rule and Exercises of Holiness Living offers a further account of what Taylor calls “the practices of piety and religious walking with God.” The structure of piety is outlined in Holy Living in three chapters addressing sobriety, justice, and religion: (1) “our deportment in our personal and private capacities, the fair treating of our bodies and spirits,” (2) “our duty to all relations to our neighbours,” and (3) “the offices of direct religion, and intercourse with God.” The final end of the love of God and neighbor is given in specific intentions embodied in particular actions such as matters of eating and drinking, care for those in need, and prayer and worship. Again, the relationship between intent and action is that of the integral relationship between form and matter. In this way an account of the Christian

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19 See David Brown, Divine Humanity: Kenosis Explored and Defended (London: SCM, 2011) for an account of understandings of kenosis beginning with the different interpretations of Philippians 2:7. As an exemplary tradition of moral thought, the focus is on virtue or the way of life exemplified and not on the ontological or metaphysical understanding of “divine humanity.”
21 Taylor, Holy Living and Holy Dying, I.2.i, 60.
faith as a way of life offers an apology for Christian faith as a matter of meaning and purpose and as guidance in the practice of such a faith.

In *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying*, Taylor narrows his focus to the art of dying. For Taylor Christian faith is fundamentally an *ars moriendi*. From his beginning meditation on the transiency of life—a human person like a bubble, all the world a storm, floating upon the face of the waters, rising and falling, “in perpetual motion,” “sinking into flatness and a froth”; like a vapour appearing, an apparition, nothing real—the purpose is to transform human intention through practices of meditation and prayer. To know the finite and temporal character of creation is to open the soul to love the things of this world not as things to be possessed and consumed but as gifts of creation with their own grace and beauty. Through the change of intent, creation is taken away and given back to us as a gift to be loved as it was meant to be. Such love is expressed in praise, thanksgiving, and care. It is in this sense that holy living is holy dying. Damnation, says Taylor, “is called eternal death: not because it kills or ends the duration; it hath not so much good in it; but because it is a perpetual infelicity. . . . The curse and the sting of death, that is, misery, sorrow, fear, diminution, defect, anguish, dishonour, and whatsoever is miserable and afflicting in nature, that is death. Death is not an action, but a whole state and condition.”

The love of God for Taylor is a matter of repentance and reconciliation which comes only through the practices of religion. The practices of religion he sees in the tradition of the mystical way of purgation, illumination, and union. All of his works are structured with this in mind. Purgation moves from meditations on the finite and temporal character of life to fasting as a bodily awareness of frailty and the opening of the heart to what endures. Purgation is a matter of the turning of the soul in terms of its deepest intent and so cannot happen apart from illumination. Scripture and specifically Christ reveals the truth of our lives, a truth which is known in worship and most fully in the Holy Eucharist. In this experience of letting go and of knowing the presence of God, there is reconciliation, peace, union with God. As finite, temporal beings in time, inordinate attachments

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as given by inordinate love continue to arise; hence the practices of purgation, illumination, and union are themselves integrally related as part of an ongoing temporal process of repentance and reconciliation. With his unswerving focus on Christ as exemplar, human intention and the love of God are primary and inseparable from the actions that constitute the practices of Christian faith as a way of life.

As reflected in his final book on casuistry, *Ductor Dubitantium, or The Rule of Conscience,* Taylor held to a world ordained by God which emphasized order and authority and the obedience of the individual to the laws which support that order for the sake of the common good. His delineation of virtues and of practices is in this sense conservative. They place the life of the human individual in relationship to the larger purposes of creation. Sobriety, justice as right ordering and obedience, and religion as religious obligations or duties focus moral virtues on living faithfully within one’s given role in society. The givenness of the present order of things precludes focus on contemporary questions of social justice, including such matters as what hospitality to the stranger means and requires, resistance and response to oppression, or crimes against humanity and questions of restorative justice.

What is central to Taylor’s ethic of virtue is his deeply theocentric vision. Human powers are transformed in faith grounded in the love of God, not for the sake of human fulfillment but for the love of God. From the love of God all other virtues flow: thankfulness, hope, patience, humility, a rightful sense of injustice, mercy and a forgiving spirit, as well as the classical virtues of temperance, fortitude, and practical wisdom (knowing what to do and when to do it). These may be variously identified, as expressed in the paranetic passages in Scripture, as the gifts of the Holy Spirit or as eschatological virtues.

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24 *Ductor Dubitantium, or The Rule of Conscience* (London: J. L. for Luke Meredith, 1696) was the last book Taylor published, and on which he long labored as his *magnum opus*. He considered it as providing a definitive Anglican moral theology to provide guidance to confessors hearing private confession, as distinct from Roman Catholic and Puritan books of casuistry. Intention remains central to human actions, but the text moves from the focus of virtue ethics to that of casuistry.

25 On paranesis see footnote 7 above. Contemporary Roman Catholic moral theologian Bernard Häring was the first to call these religious virtues “eschatological virtues.” See volume 1 of Häring’s *Free and Faithful in Christ: General Moral Theology for Clergy and Laity* (New York: Crossroad, 1978), 201–202. For the central importance of the virtues of Christian faith as a “forgotten concept” in much of the work of contemporary Roman Catholic moral theologians, see Kathleen A. Cahalan, *Formed*
The devotional or meditational character of Taylor’s writings, especially in *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying*, is distinctive to his exemplary Christian ethic. As reflected in the prayers that are integral to all of his writings, he seeks to form a practice of meditation and prayer. Image is tied to event so that the reader can meditate on her or his own actions in terms of intent and so transform intent, desire, and love. Through prayers of examination and repentance, praise and thanksgiving, intercession and petition, intentions are formed and transformed. If moral theology as a matter of casuistry is to develop the capacity for moral deliberation and discernment, an exemplary ethic has the constructive task of describing the practices that form life in Christ. As a Christian, theocentric vision, an exemplary ethic has the specific task of developing the meditations that form the minds of individuals so that they deepen their sense of the presence of God in their lives. In forming the intentions that shape a life lived in relationship to God, these meditations must address the question of what endures amidst the change that is time. The development of an *ars moriendi* is central to Christian meditations that draw the human person into the everlasting presence of God.

**A Theocentric Vision of Virtue**

Thomas Traherne (1636/37–1674) is a second early Anglican divine who shares Taylor’s focus on an exemplary ethic. His influence on subsequent Anglican thought is far more limited than Taylor’s, but the discovery and publication in the twentieth century of previously unknown manuscripts has led to an appreciation of his thought as a significant mystical voice focusing on the love of God. His meditations, such as those titled *Centuries of Meditations*, published in 1908, point back to Traherne’s central work in ethics: *Christian Ethicks, or, Divine Morality: Opening the Way to Blessedness, By the Rules of Vertue* in the *Image of Christ: The Sacramental-Moral Theology of Bernard Häring, C.Ss.R.* (Collegeville, Minn.: Michael Glazier, 2004), 131–133, 151.

26 In contemporary Christian ethics this has been the contribution of Stanley Hauerwas, as he has moved from the assessment of normative theory and quandary ethics to the development of a virtue ethic that places virtue in the context of narrative in order to provide a normative account of the practices of Christian faith in which Jesus as exemplar becomes the primary focus. See *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983) and *The Hauerwas Reader*, ed. John Berkman and Michael Cartwright (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 165–366.
and Reason. Submitted for publication in 1674 just after Traherne’s death, with a publication date of 1675, Christian Ethicks is the first text in English moral thought to explicitly focus on Christian virtue. As Traherne says, “The design of this Treatise is . . . to elevate the Soul, and refine its Apprehension, to inform the Judgment, and polish it for Conversation, to purifie and enflame the Heart, to enrich the Mind, and guide Men . . . in the way of Virtue; to excite their Desire, to encourage them to Travel, to comfort them, in the Journey, and so at last to lead them to true Felicity.”

Standing in the line of the English mystical tradition informed deeply by classical studies of Plato and Aristotle, Traherne’s Christian Ethicks begins with an account of the ultimate end of life, describes the nature of the human powers and affections that enable the human person to respond and enter into relationship with God, turns to the knowledge that brings one into relationship with God, and then offers an account of virtues. The account of virtues is distinctively Traherne’s. He begins with God’s order and the virtues of justice and mercy. Given this order, the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love of God and neighbor are placed in the context of repentance. The classical cardinal virtues of prudence, courage, and temperance follow, after which he develops an account of the virtues of patience, meekness, humility, contentment, magnanimity, modesty, liberality, magnificence, and gratitude.

For Traherne, love refers both to desire and to the pleasure that is desired. “The pleasure we take in any Object is the root of that Desire, which we call Love; and the affections, whereby we pursue the pleasure that is apprehended in it, is part of the Love that we bear unto it; the end of which is the Completion of that pleasure which it first perceives.” As a good Platonist, particular loves are grounded in divine love which is the very nature of Being itself. “He Loves, that
he may love, and begets that love, which is his essence. His love is the foundation of all his treasures, the cause and end of the whole creation, and that alone by which he proceeds from himself (to all his creatures, and by those) to himself again for ever.”30 For humans, therefore, the good is not some individualized set of goods but is given in relationship to being itself. Such love is the end of life. Resting in love, which is to say, resting in God, is no stark stoic *apatheia*. Resting in love is what Traherne terms felicity, which is experienced as sweetness and beauty.31

Given the nature of sin, the virtue of love is for Traherne a process. Humans are turned in upon themselves. They are condemned to be separated from God except for the mercy of God given and revealed in Jesus Christ. This revelation is the knowledge of love as sacrifice, as the offering up of life for the other and in the other. Such is the nature of repentance, turning from self to God so that “it is not the love of God to us, so much as our love to him, that maketh Heaven.”32 Such love cannot separate heaven and earth without falsely turning heaven into an object of fulfillment. As God is love, the love of God is to love the neighbor not for benefit but simply as a matter of love.33

There is little here in Traherne of Taylor’s focus on the practices that form human intentions and by which human persons experience the ends intended. Nor are there the narrative reflections that ground *The Great Exemplar* and *Holy Dying*. Instead, Traherne’s thought is scholastic in approach but in the style of a metaphysical poet. Actions and practices are assumed. The focus turns to the nature of love as the love of God and love of neighbor. This yields an account of the end of the Christian life that illuminates the nature of love beyond normative claims about what love requires.

Since Anders Nygren’s *Agape and Eros*,34 understandings of love of God and neighbor have often focused narrowly on normative claims and specifically on questions of self-love and the love to be given to

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30 Traherne, *Christian Ethicks*, 44.
31 Traherne, *Christian Ethicks*, on *apatheia*, 60; on felicity, 18–22; on sweetness and beauty, 66. This is more personally explored in Traherne’s *Centuries of Meditations* (New York: Harper, 1960). The text is divided into five centuries, four of which have one hundred entries and a final fifth uncompleted with ten entries. References are made by century and entry. On felicity see III:46, 52–68.
others. Contemporary explorations continue to consider normative questions through more descriptive accounts of the particular experiences of men and women given differences of society, culture, and class. What Traherne offers instead are meditations on the intentions that constitute a life lived in relationship to God. So, for example, the relationship between the love of God and neighbor is understood in terms of repentance rather than competing claims between duties to God and to neighbor. As a virtue repentance is a “purgative virtue” that, like all virtues, must be grounded in love as a matter of our deepest and truest desires. Given the nature of love, love of God and neighbor are themselves grounded in gratitude. Moreover, gratitude or thankfulness as a virtue is itself not narrowly a matter of trust and hope in future reward but is grounded in the experience of the love of God as joy in what has been given to us in the midst of human travail.35

As a Christian ethic of virtue, Traherne’s strong claim is that an account of Christian faith and life must be theocentric. The motive for action is always a matter of the love of God which is given as joy and delight in what is good beyond narrow notions of human benefit. The shape of such an ethic is kenotic, the opening and offering of the human person in love to the world beyond the self.

Developing a Moral Psychology

The subsequent centuries—the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries—pose specific challenges to those seeking to make sense of Christian faith and to pass on Christian faith to new generations. As Charles Taylor describes, atheism became an intellectual possibility because God became a speculative hypothesis for explaining the world in terms of cause and effect instead of understanding the world in terms of its purposes. By the nineteenth century, historical consciousness and the sense that ideas are shaped by history marked an increasing challenge to Christian understanding. Scripture was not a singular account of the world in relationship to God but a set of historical texts bearing witness to the faith as received and experienced given particular cultural contexts. The twentieth century further increased the understanding of how beliefs are

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35 Traherne’s *Christian Ethicks* concludes (though there is an appendix that follows) with the final chapter titled “Of the Beauty of Gratitude”; see esp. 258–277.
contingent and ideological in the sense that religious beliefs reflect human interests for power and privilege and to justify and assure.  

Given these challenges, an account of Christian faith and life turns to the subject and appeals to the experience of that faith. Christian belief is not jettisoned but is true as it makes sense of the experience of Christian faith. A larger, theological account of the world as revealed in Scripture is understood as necessary to make sense of the experience of Christian faith. This turn to the subject is not a turn to subjectivism but to the primacy of effects, which warrant belief in God. The broader philosophical task is to understand what belief in God entails as claims about the world. The critique of this liberal method of correlation, as triumphed by Karl Barth, turns to focus on the text itself and its creation or revelation of a new world and saving grace, in which those who have ears to hear and eyes to see may live. However, even in Barth, the truth of Christian faith is given in the reception of the Word of God as saving knowledge and not as speculative truth. Grounded in Scripture, Christian faith is above all a matter of “love and practice,” an “affective and pragmatic reorientation or conversion.”

Reflecting this critical turn to the subject in light of the natural sciences, Joseph Butler (1692–1752) seeks in his 1729 publication of Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel to provide an apology for Christian faith through an account of the moral life. Butler begins with an account of human action as a matter of appetites, passions, and affections and the principle of reflection, or what is called conscience. Appetites, passions, and affections present objects to the self as matters of desire. Reflection or conscience is able to make judgments about what objects of desire should be pursued through action. As Butler emphasizes, self-love is not necessarily selfish since it only refers to the desire to delight in that which will give the self joy, delight, what ancients called beatitude, what Traherne calls felicity, and what moderns and Butler call happiness.

In developing his moral anthropology, Butler expands his analysis to describe what he views as the primary affections of compassion and anger and argues for both justice and the forgiveness of injuries as the letting go of anger turned to resentment (what Butler calls “deliberate anger”). In a narrower sense, resentment is moral, better called “indignation raised by cruelty and injustice,” an indignation appropriately desiring punishment whereby the moral order would be confirmed and effected. The end is “to prevent and to remedy such injury and the miseries arising from it.” What is immoral is when resentment becomes “hatred, malice, and revenge” which seeks the injury of the other and destroys beneficence in the self. In a narrower sense, resentment is moral, better called “indignation raised by cruelty and injustice,” an indignation appropriately desiring punishment whereby the moral order would be confirmed and effected. The end is “to prevent and to remedy such injury and the miseries arising from it.” What is immoral is when resentment becomes “hatred, malice, and revenge” which seeks the injury of the other and destroys beneficence in the self. Moreover, since resentment tends toward excess and abuse, it evokes in the other excessive resentment. The cycle of retaliation and revenge begins. Given these dynamics, forgiveness is the affirmation of the more fundamental bond of unity between persons. It is “absolutely necessary” if there is to be beneficence between persons.

Butler goes on to give an account of self-deceit in which the objects of our desires are disordered, given our “unreasonable and too great regard to ourselves,” an “overfondness.” This “falseness of heart” is the “corruption of the whole moral character in its principle” such that human persons are “under the power of this temper” and “fortified on every side against conviction,” although they still sense “that all is not right, or as it should be.” In the face of human sin—which appears to be original in the sense that it is fundamental to the human condition—he goes on to argue that love of neighbor, benevolence, is the proper end of our appetites, passions, and affections. In fact, such love “consists in love to the whole universe.” This, he argues, can only happen given a more fundamental love of God.

In Butler’s account of the love of God, he again begins with a description of affections, in this case religious affections, and then proposes that these are central to Christian worship. Such affection, he claims, is “an affection absolutely resting in its object as its end” in which “the gain, advantage, or interest, consists in the delight itself.” He goes on to speak of this as “resignation to the will of God” such

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39 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, VIII.3–7, IX.9, 13.
40 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, VIII.28.
41 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, X.6, 11.
42 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, XII.2, XI.12–15.
that “our will is lost and resolved up into His; when we rest in His will as our end.”43 Such an account is what would unify the many appetites, passions, and affections of the self in terms of the experience of a purpose that the self would experience as happiness or felicity. As Butler says, “Religion does not demand new affections, but only claims the direction of those you already have.” The fact of such a reality and the basis of Christian faith are given in “this temper exerted into act,” which is the experience of “devotion or religious worship.”44

In something of a coda, in Sermon 15, titled “Upon the Ignorance of Man,” Butler returns to the primacy of experience and Christian faith as a way of life. “Knowledge is not our proper happiness.” “Our province is virtue and religion, life and manners; the science of improving the temper, and making the heart better.”45 Jesus Christ is the exemplar of true piety, of life lived fully at one with God, an incarnation of divine purpose and felicity.46 Such happiness confirms the truth of the Christian claims about God as Creator, Governor, and Redeemer, as revealed and effected in Jesus Christ. The heart of Christian faith stands as a matter of piety, a matter of the love of God and neighbor given in the “habitual sense of God’s presence with us.”47

In Butler’s account of virtue are the hallmarks of the exemplary tradition in Anglican thought. Moreover, alongside Taylor and Traherne, Butler shares their conviction about the theocentric character of Christian faith and the moral life. The moral life requires a theological ground and that ground is the love of God for God’s sake and not for narrow claims of human betterment or fulfillment. Such love displaces the self from the center of the world and opens the self to God and others. Again, Christ is the exemplar and reveals the kenotic character of ethics. What is distinctive, however, about Butler’s virtue ethic is his development of a moral psychology. He offers a description of primary human emotions and how they may be addressed in terms of larger purposes, for good or ill. Such a description of Christian faith as a way of life is both an apology for Christian faith and a virtue ethic that focuses on intention and leads to specific acts and practices.

43 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, XIII.5, XIV.5.
44 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, XIII.12, XIV.6.
45 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, XV.16.
46 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, for example, V.13, XI.22, XIII.9.
47 Butler, Butler’s Fifteen Sermons, XIV.6.
In what may be called the progression of the exemplary tradition in Anglican thought, Fredrick Denison Maurice (1805–1872) places his description of the Christian life in historical terms as a matter of Christian faith and culture and the practices of faith. At the heart of this account is Christ as exemplar understood sacramentally through the life and worship of the church. The practice of faith by which we recognize and live more fully into the presence of God is revealed in Christ, as known in a way of life celebrated and effected in the church. The focus of virtue is a matter of reconciliation as union with God described in terms of the events of suffering and tragedy that constitute history. The exemplary tradition of Christian thought comes to the fore in this sacramental understanding of Christ as the sacrament of God and the church as the sacrament of Christ for the redemption of the world.

As Maurice develops his argument in *The Kingdom of Christ*, we are members of a family, a universal family, which is revealed in Scripture as the kingdom of Christ. Christ is exemplar, the positive revelation of the end of our life, not as an idea but as the reality of God. As a matter of the reconciliation of our lives, the kingdom of Christ is a matter of our daily life, embedded in family and society and shaped by culture. However, given the particularity of the communities in which we live, love is shaped in terms of those communities. We live in a world where fulfillment is narrowly conceived and where our loves are narrowly given, whether family, tribe, or the successful triumph of our sense of the order of things. In contrast, baptism declares our true identity. Eucharist is the sacrament, the sign and experience,
of that identity as life given in the experience of communion with God. Through its worship the church signifies and effects Christ as exemplar. Through participation in worship that reflects and effects a way of life, persons come to participate and share in the divine life.  

Maurice’s sacramental understanding makes the strong claim that in worship we are drawn into communion with God. In worship the end of life is given. Our ultimate intent is formed so that we are able to see and experience the presence of God in all of our lives. Declared in baptism, in eucharist the unity that is the foundation of all of life is given. In eucharist the believer becomes one with Christ so that with Christ and in Christ persons receive “the highest felicity which we can attain.” Such resting in God in joy and thanksgiving is to be in union with Christ who as “one with the Father did in all the acts of his life exhibit this perfect sympathy with him and delight in him, and submission to him; that the voluntary sacrifice of his body to death was the final and consummate act of sympathy, delight, submission; that as self-will and disobedience are the obstacles to the communion of men with their Creator, so are they obstacles to communion with each other.”

Here the understanding of Christian faith, salvation, and eternal life are given as matters of virtue, as the transformation of human persons in the love of God for God’s own sake by which persons are reconciled to the world and from which comes the love of neighbor and all of creation. As expressed in Maurice’s Theological Essays in 1853, “eternity in relation to God has nothing to do with time or duration.” Rather, “eternal punishment is the punishment of being without the knowledge of God” and “eternal life is . . . having the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ.”

In The Kingdom of Christ and in his subsequent lectures and books, Maurice’s primary focus is not on the development of specific practices of faith, a theory of virtue, or a moral psychology. Instead, Maurice provides a theocentric vision in terms of the social and historical character of human life, contrasting idolatry and faithfulness,

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and with that developing a sacramental understanding of Christ and the church. In this way Maurice develops his exemplary ethic in the larger context of worship and in terms of the relationships between religion and culture.

Maurice’s exemplary Christology and sacramental theology within England at the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century was primarily developed within the liberal Anglo-Catholic tradition, from Maurice to William Temple. In terms of sacramental and liturgical theology, A. G. Hebert, an Anglican monk of the Society of the Sacred Mission, was a central figure in introducing the liturgical movement to England. With explicit reference to Maurice, Hebert offered an account of “the shape of the liturgy” as forming a people in Christ and so standing in critical relationship to society. This sacramental vision was further grounded by Dom Gregory Dix’s greatly influential The Shape of the Liturgy. As this developing tradition evidenced, the exemplary tradition in Anglican ethics and the development of a virtue ethic must include a theology of culture and a sacramental theology. The distinctiveness of Christian faith as given in the church and its ongoing life and worship can only be described in critical relationship to the culture.

For example, liturgies and virtues in Jeremy Taylor assumed a divine ordering that consecrated the established order, so that justice was a matter of doing one’s duty within one’s “station in life.” Acts of charity such as giving to the poor were called for; however, the recognition, embrace, and inclusion of the outsider as a matter of hospitality and justice were literally inconceivable. This is reflected in his description of virtues, in which act and intent are focused on obedience to the given order. More broadly, the practices of the Christian

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53 In American Christian ethics this was the primary focus of the work of H. Richard Niebuhr, who as Professor of Christian Ethics at Yale Divinity School from 1938 until his death in 1962 and through his many publications was formative for several generations of Christian ethicists. His focus was also significantly shaped by the work of Maurice, whom he introduced to his students and who is the concluding figure in his normative model of the relationship of Christ and culture. See H. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper, 1951), 218–229.


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life were similarly limited, and this vision of the Christian life was reflected and celebrated in the liturgies of worship. Quite simply, while the vision of God and the end of the Christian life—what Maurice calls the kingdom of Christ—stand beyond any particular culture, the church is cultured. Its vision and expression of Christian faith are shaped by cultural assumptions. A Christian ethic focusing on an account of the Christian life must critically assess culture, that of church and society in relationship to each other. In this light the focus of a virtue ethic moves toward a theology of culture and prophetic critique. This may be the greatest contribution of Maurice’s account of the Christian life and why he has been understood as the father of Anglican Christian socialism.

Christian Ethics and the Anglican Tradition

These four Anglican divines—Jeremy Taylor, Thomas Traherne, Joseph Butler, and F. D. Maurice—have two interrelated foci in their works: a theory of virtue and Christ as exemplar. The unity of the self depends upon the unity of virtue and so a unified set of acts and intentions as given in a life lived. Sometimes the focus is on specific acts, which can lead to the specific concerns of moral theology and casuistry, what to do and when to do it. More broadly, however, the focus is on the practices that form the Christian life. This requires an account of the acts that form a practice such as hospitality, reverence, and prayer. It also requires an account of how the practices work in shaping and deepening intentions.

The development of an ethic of virtue may variously focus on the practices of the Christian life, a unified theory of virtue, or a moral psychology. These are grounded in the Anglican tradition in an understanding of Christ as the great exemplar, the second Adam, in the sense that Christ reveals the shape or form of life lived that is ultimately redeemed and reconciled—in short, life lived in communion with God. This common conviction is why the virtue tradition in Anglicanism may be called the Anglican exemplary tradition. Tied to the Anglican exemplary tradition are two central claims: a theocentric vision of redemption and a sacramental understanding of church in relationship to society. The theocentric vision is grounded in the kenotic character of Christ, that giving up the self to God is what the love of God is all about and is the only true source for the delight in and love of neighbor. As a matter of virtue and practical wisdom, this new life is
given in and through the church as a way of life lived, told in Scripture and celebrated in worship. The church is the body of Christ and sacrament of Christ for the world.

In summary, six themes are central to the Anglican exemplary tradition: the practices of the Christian life, a unified theory of virtue, a moral psychology, a theocentric vision of the redemption, an exemplary Christology, and a sacramental understanding of church and society. In terms of the Anglican exemplary tradition in the first half of the twentieth century, the most significant Anglican thinker to address these themes was Kenneth Kirk. In 1920 in Some Principles of Moral Theology he sought to develop a moral psychology that would make concrete the classical Christian tradition of virtue in terms of the movement toward God from repentance to a way of life given in worship. In 1931 he published The Vision of God, in which he more broadly addressed the question of Christian practice and formation as a matter of action and intent, and the corrupting power of actions that narrowly focus on right actions—what he developed as the problems of rigorism, formalism, and institutionalism. His work in casuistry was thus grounded in his understanding and development of the Anglican exemplary tradition—hence his focus on the primacy of intent and the pastoral character of church discipline as the cure of souls.56

The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have seen a turn among Anglican thinkers to the distinctive practices of Christian faith that form Christians in a post-Christian world. Such work on practices stands within the Anglican exemplary tradition and emerges from a broad variety of perspectives. In the United States, for example, this focus is found in the work of Scott Bader-Saye, Thomas Breidenthal, Ellen Chorry, David Cunningham, Mark McIntosh, Kathryn Tanner, and Samuel Wells.57 In England, contemporary moral reflections on


these matters include the work of David Brown, Sarah Coakley, David Ford, and Rowan Williams.58 Given the ecumenical character of theological education, these works are broadly informed; however, there is only a limited conversation with the Anglican exemplary tradition. It is, therefore, not altogether obvious how these works extend and deepen a unified account of Christian faith and the moral life, or what questions remain outstanding.

One further contribution to the developing literature addressing Christian faith and practice have been accounts “from the margins,” reflecting the experiences of those who have not been privileged, such as women, the oppressed, indigenous people, and postcolonial peoples. Anglican voices from the margins are distinctive but often stand apart from a sense of the larger Anglican tradition.59 Without this conversation, their distinctive claims are lost from view, although


they are claims which provide insight into what is central to Anglican understandings of Christian faith and life and what within Anglicanism remains captive to its Englishness.

Given the sheer diversity of contemporary works in addressing Christian practices and the character of the Christian life, the greatest challenge may be to identify the central practices of Christian faith and how they embody and shape human intention. Without such clarity there can be no unified theory of virtue or, more practically, the focus necessary to convey Christian faith as a way of life amidst secular and narrowly religious voices. From the Anglican exemplary tradition, two practices need to be addressed: worship and hospitality.

The practice of worship must be developed in terms of how it shapes and integrates human intention so that the person wills one thing and so integrates human desire and actions. Worship itself is constituted by a number of distinct actions clustered together: readings, preaching, meditations, intercessions, thanksgivings, all of which are enacted in the interactions of the community, from personal greetings to singing to breaking bread together. How these are interconnected can only be described in terms of how the acts effect human intention and with that a rich description of the intention which traditionally has been spoken of as love of God. Of the many specific questions, Jeremy Taylor’s claim that Christian faith is an *ars moriendi* is particularly provocative, especially given the death-denying culture of capitalism. And if Christian faith is an *ars moriendi*, the next question is, what should a contemporary *ars moriendi* look like?

The second practice Anglican ethics should address has been traditionally spoken of in terms of love of neighbor. Given a stable political and social order where the order of things is assumed to be ordained by God, love of neighbor becomes a matter of charity, of recognizing and helping those in need through alms and acts of kindness. Their otherness is not addressed, including how as other they are not recognized but excluded. The language of hospitality and the investigation of the practices of hospitality have begun this work. As a unified account, this consideration of how hospitality is practiced must ask how intentions are transformed in the recognition and embrace of the other. It then must be asked in turn how actions are transformed from charity to a just love that addresses the larger matters of the ordering of society.
While, as noted earlier, contemporary Anglican moral thinkers have addressed both of these matters, what is central to raising such questions and drawing these works together in terms of a unified account of the Christian moral life is continued attention to the Anglican moral traditions, and specifically to the Anglican exemplary tradition. This conversation with tradition prevents contemporary theory from narrowly defining the constructive questions and resources for Christian ethics. A reading of an ecclesial tradition—in this case the Anglican exemplary tradition—provides a point of reference for these conversations and for continuing research that in turn informs writing and teaching. Such historical development of a tradition is the necessary condition for its constructive development in terms of its distinctive vision and claims.