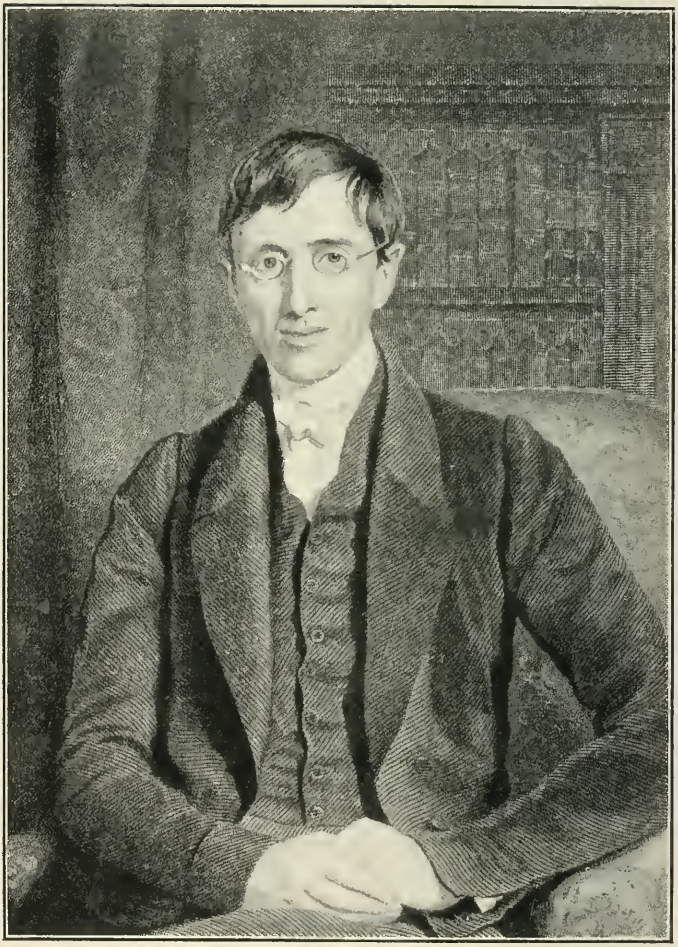
'TWIXT THE OLD AND THE NEW

W. ESCOTT BLOSS



CARDINAL NEWMAN.

From the painting by Sir W. C. Ross. 1847.

Frontispiece.]

'TWIXT THE OLD AND THE NEW

A STUDY IN THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN

BY THE
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PREFACE

THE following pages represent an attempt to interpret the life of a famous Englishman, and a great Christian leader. When originally composed there was no intention of giving them wider publicity. They were written for delivery as lectures, and retain their original form with very few alterations. The question of time made considerable abbreviation necessary when they were actually delivered, but they are now issued in their complete form with the addition of some appendices and a few explanatory notes.

The essay can be described as a study in human nature. It does not claim to be a biography. The historical movements with which Newman was connected and the principal events in his career have been briefly sketched; but the predominant aim throughout has been the discovery and elucidation of the prevailing ideas which governed his activity. The object of the present inquiry is a closer acquaintance with Newman's fascinating personality as manifested in his relations to the ecclesiastical life and thought of his age, with a view to the fuller appreciation of the value of his life and work. The development of his religious opinions, his mental outlook as an Anglican and

as a Roman Catholic, his conception of religious authority, and his criticism of progressive scientific thought, are questions of deep interest and vital importance which are illuminated by the study of his personality.

Newman has often been quoted as an example to prove that the Oxford Movement was alien to the spirit of the English Church, and that its legitimate outcome is Roman Catholicism. Newman undoubtedly thought that it was, but his judgment was mainly based upon his own individual experiences. The accuracy of this judgment depends upon the universal validity of his presuppositions. The key to the interpretation of the course of his career is to be found in the interaction of conflicting elements in his strangely complex nature, with an environment which appeared prejudicial to the interests of religious faith. English Churchmen have ample grounds for dissenting from Newman's conclusions, which are identical with those of his adverse critics, that the revival of Catholicism in the English Church was not in harmony with the Anglican formularies, but it was in direct antagonism to the popularly accepted Protestant interpretation which held the field during the greater part of the nineteenth century.

The examination of Newman's theological and philosophical work falls outside the scope of this essay. They have already been ably dealt with by modern writers, and there is no need to cover ground which has already been traversed by competent authorities. Little more than a brief indication of their general character has been attempted in the

present work, and that only in order to throw light upon the development of his religious opinions, and to indicate the nature of the underlying principles which determined the attitude he assumed in the controversies in which he was engaged.

The present writer makes no claim to originality. Standard works have been consulted throughout, and nothing more has been attempted than to bring together in a concise and readable form, information which is only available to those who have access to larger and more expensive books. The last chapter is based almost entirely upon Mr. Wilfred G. Ward's exhaustive and voluminous "Life," which, however, with the exception of the opening chapters deals only with that part of his career which was spent in the Roman Church. The numerous quotations from this book are reproduced by permission of the Owners of the Copyright, and Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., the publishers.

Newman stands "'Twixt the Old and the New." As leader among the pioneers of the Oxford Movement he witnessed the birth of the Great Church Revival. The Church to-day is a mighty spiritual force, her activity and her efficiency are recognised by her bitterest opponents. A hundred years ago the Evangelicals alone were alive to the greatness of their opportunities, and to the seriousness of their religious responsibilities, and they comprised a small and persecuted minority. It was Newman who inaugurated a movement which marked the dawn of a new age in the life of the English Church and which influenced every department of her activity.

Great changes were taking place throughout

the civilised world during the nineteenth century. Political ideals were affected by the rising tide of democracy. The adoption of scientific methods in the treatment of natural phenomena brought with it a large access of new knowledge. Old ideas were discarded as men became more familiar with the action of natural forces, and were able to discover the laws which governed their operation. The "old beliefs" of the Church were threatened by the "new knowledge." What was to be the attitude of the Church towards this "new thought" which seemed so strongly anti-Christian? This was a question which demanded an answer, and several answers were returned by prominent Churchmen. Newman's attitude will be described in the sequel, but here again it can be said that he stood between the "Old" and the "New." On one side there was the old conservative element which clung tenaciously to the traditional faith; on the other, the new party, which, doubtful of the permanent value of the old beliefs, sought to reconcile the Creed with the progressive thought of the age. Throughout the whole controversy, Newman's persistent aim was to soften the antagonism between these two parties, and to prevent a schism which would have been a catastrophe to the Roman Church.

These considerations point to the surpassing interest which attaches itself to Newman's life, and justify the inquiry in which we are about to engage. The object we have in view is to know him as a man, to watch him fighting a stern battle, to understand *his* aims, *his* purpose, and *his* conception of the issues at stake.

The religious controversies of the last century are still fresh in the memory of the present generation, yet a far better spirit prevails to-day. We have learned that God has more than one avenue of approach to the human soul, and that the same great religious ideas present themselves in different forms to different minds. The growth of toleration has paved the way for a better understanding between all parties in the English Church, and has also enabled us to appreciate the life and work of their great leaders. We are constrained to recognise our indebtedness to the men who did so much to raise the tone of English Christianity. So we can approach the life story of John Henry Newman, apart from the prejudice which his secession to the Roman Church creates in the mind of the average Englishman. In the pages that follow an attempt has been made to indicate the main principles involved in the great religious movements of the nineteenth century with which Newman was connected; for it is only in the circle of ideas in which he lived and moved that we shall find the key to the interpretation of his life.

The passages from Mr. Cornish's "English Church in the Nineteenth Century," and Mr. Purcell's "Life of Manning," which include several extracts from letters and other original documents, are printed by permission of the publishers, Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

W. Escott Bloss.

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CONTENTS

I.

Religious Movements in the Early Years of the Nineteenth Century.

II.

John Henry Newman—Early Life and Formation of his Religious Opinions.

III.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

IV.

Newman's Career as a Roman Catholic

APPENDICES

I.

Papal Aggression.

II.

Newman and Manning.

III.

Newman and Modernism.

IV.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

'TWIXT THE OLD AND THE NEW

I.

Religious Movements in the Early Years of Century XIX.

The names of those who have achieved distinction in the annals of fame will never fail to arouse feelings of reverence and veneration in the minds of men. The deification of the heroes of pagan antiquity as well as the canonisation of saints in Catholic Christianity can be traced to the instinctive desire to honour the brave and noble men who have merited a place among the real aristocracy of mankind. Their disciples tell the story of their lives, they seek to interpret their meaning and purpose, and at the same time to direct attention to the contribution they have made to human progress. But something more is needed in order to arrive at a right understanding of the lives of the great ones of this earth. They not only gave, they received as well. Heirs of a past tradition, they entered upon an inheritance which they enriched by their labours. Living among men the course of their career was determined by the circumstances in which their lot was cast.

Their words and deeds were relative to the existing conditions of the age, and some acquaintance with the nature of these conditions is indispensable to a fair appreciation of the value of their lives. In practical experience we only know a man in relation to his environment, and any attempt to divorce these two closely interwoven aspects of life will result in a partial and incomplete interpretation of his character. A bare narrative of events will, at the best, give us a superficial view of the course of his career, but acquaintance with those same events in relation to a series of given situations will reveal to us the man's heart ; we can sympathise with his hopes and aspirations, his trials and disappointments, we can catch glimpses of his greatness as he presses forward in the face of stern opposition : sometimes he seems to fail, but those failures become the stepping stones to permanent successes. To read the story of a man's life in the light of this fuller knowledge is to gain a fresh insight into his character. *Before*, we knew what he said or did ; *now* we know the man, and can admire the splendour of his life and work.

I.

John Henry Newman will always occupy a prominent place in the roll of honour of the nineteenth century. With his ability as a religious leader he combined a keen mental insight, and was an exceptionally able advocate of orthodoxy in the theological controversies of his age. As a philosopher and as a poet he made his contribution to

contemporary literature, and as a preacher he was able to stir the hearts of his hearers. Yet, important as was his work in each of these departments of human life, the secret of his greatness lay in the deeply religious nature which manifested itself through each of these several channels. The desire for Divine guidance possessed his soul, and his most severe critics at the present day are constrained to recognise the honesty and sincerity of his intentions.

Newman exercised a powerful influence wherever he went. In the English Church he was one of the pioneers of the famous Oxford Movement, which although it raised a storm of opposition, brought with it a revival of life and power in our National Church, and forced into prominence the long-neglected social aspect of Christianity. In the Roman Church he was the unconscious originator of a movement which at the present day is a source of trouble to the Papal See. The Modernists have taken his theory of development, and made it the basis of their unsparing attack upon the historic origins of Christianity.* Newman's antagonism to Liberalism in every form is well known: he is not, of course, responsible for the use which others made of his writings, but that his theories should have produced such startling results is, to say the least, surprising.

Such was the man whose career is to be the subject of these lectures. We must now by way of introduction give a brief survey of the state of the Church during the early years of the nineteenth

* See Appendix III.

century. Some acquaintance with the prevailing conditions and tendencies of the period is essential to the full appreciation of the meaning and value of his life.

II.

The English Church at the dawn of the nineteenth century can be fairly described as a Society which, having lost sight of its Divine mission, had become secularised as the result of conformity to the generally accepted standards of the age. Religious tests excluded Dissenters from influential positions in the political world, while the Church was regarded as an ancient and established institution. It was the great bulwark of stability, and provided a rallying ground for the conservative forces of the nation. The Church had little to fear from Dissent while it laboured under such heavy disabilities; nor did any serious danger threaten from the side of a Government in whose eyes the Church was little more than a department of the State and offered a fair field where political services could be rewarded with ecclesiastical preferments. The lowering of the religious tone was the inevitable outcome of acquiescence in such an ignominious position. The clergy as a class were content to move along the beaten track, they were suspicious of every form of enthusiasm, and highly prized the advantages of State recognition. The idea of the Church as a Divine Society was, to say the least, dormant at this period.

The great principles with which Churchmen are familiar at the present day were known and

understood by a very few. The importance of the sacraments, the sanctity of the priesthood, and the validity of Church authority and tradition were neglected, if not forgotten, truths. There was little to distinguish the clergy from the laity. "They were not a separate order, but shared the opinions and sentiments of the ruling class. They visited the sick and ministered to the poor, but many of them did little spiritual work, neglected Church observances, were careless about education, lived throughout the week much as the squires and lesser gentry to whom they preached on Sunday mornings, and administered the Sacrament once or at most three or four times a year." *

In English pictures of the customs of the day, the typical clergyman "is represented, often quite unsuspiciously, as a kindly and respectable person, but certainly not alive to the greatness of his calling. He was often much, very much, to the society round him. When communication was so difficult and infrequent he filled a place in the country life of England which no one else could fill. He was often the patriarch of his parish, its ruler, its doctor, its lawyer, its magistrate, as well as its teacher, before whom vice trembled and rebellion dared not show itself. The idea of the priest was not quite forgotten, but there was much—much even of what was good and useful—to obscure it. The beauty of the English Church in this time was its family life of purity and simplicity; its blot was quiet worldliness."†

* Cornish, p. 5. The references here given in an abbreviated form are to the bibliography on first page.

† Church, "Oxford Movement," p. 4.

These pictures are descriptive of the best type of the clergy, in a vast number of cases there is a very different story to tell. The absence of any clear and definite conceptions of the nature and functions of the Church and the ministry was bound to have an injurious effect upon parochial life taken as a whole. Not only were ministerial duties performed in a formal and mechanical way, but in some cases they were neglected altogether. A system had been allowed to grow up which seriously impaired the sacred relationship between priest and people. "It was no scandal 100 years ago, though it was beginning to be thought undesirable, for a clergyman to hold three or four livings at once, and it was not considered indispensable that he should supply a curate where he did not reside. A benefice was in sentiment as well as in law a freehold, and it was no more questionable to hold benefices than to own estates in more places than one. Promotion implied patronage, and it was taken for granted that in dispensing patronage, family claims came first." * "Patronage was sold for money as openly as votes at an election . . . A third of the whole number were pluralists, and cases existed where one man held five livings. The law required all spiritual persons to reside on their livings, but it was notoriously disobeyed; rectors lived where they liked, and handed over their parishes to miserably paid curates. One incumbent holding two rectories valued at £900 had no curate at all, and lived 200 miles away from either benefice." † Bishop Porteus (1731 to 1808) had a high reputation

* Cornish, p. 102. † Cornish, p. 109.

as an energetic man, and a conscientious and religious man, and in ecclesiastical politics he was in advance of his times, yet he held the rich living of Hunton in Kent together with the See of Chester. He gave up Hunton when he became Bishop of London, but was still able to spend some months of every year in a cottage at Sundridge in Kent. Bishop Watson, of Llandaff (1737–1816), appears to have visited his diocese only once; he held sixteen livings, and desired to be remembered as an improver of land and planter of trees.

"An old clergyman, named Field lived at Cambridge, and served three country parishes—Hauxton, Newton, and Barrington. On Sunday morning he used to ride to Hauxton, which he could see from the high-road to Newton. If there was a congregation, the clerk used to waggle his hat on the top of a long pole kept in the church porch, and Field had to turn down the road and take the service. If there was no congregation he went on straight to Newton, where there was always a congregation, as two old ladies were always present. Field used to turn his pony loose in the churchyard, and as he entered the church began the Exhortation, so that by the time he was robed he had progressed well through the service." *

Leisure was one of the privileges of high official position, and bishops spent their time as they liked. They were not even expected to live in their dioceses, if it was not convenient for them to do so. The Bishop of Winchester could finish his correspondence in the morning, and go out to sketch in the

* Ditchfield, "Parish Clerk," p. 19, Ed. 1913.

Park after luncheon.* The innumerable duties of a modern bishop show how vast is the change which has taken place during the past century. The increase in the population and the growth of modern industrialism have each contributed to bring about this change; but the principal cause is to be found in the deepening of the sense of responsibility among those to whom God has entrusted the "cure" of souls. Pluralism and non-residence were real abuses fraught with disastrous consequences to the religious life of the community. Bishop Porteus, in his Lent lectures delivered in London in 1800 and 1801, declared that the "moral and religious state of the Kingdom was so unfavourable, as to excite the most serious alarm." † The enthusiasm of the Methodists contrasted strongly with the apathy of the clergy, and the rapid growth of Dissent about this time was largely due to the callous indifference of the clergy to the spiritual needs of their flocks. This sad state of affairs was not only tolerated, it was encouraged by the unwillingness of the rulers in Church and State to enforce the law. In some cases the bishops were as guilty as the clergy, and they naturally sought to cover up their own misdeeds.

The Universities, too, shared in the general deterioration. At Oxford there were professors who never lectured, tutors who never taught, students who never studied. These, it has been said, were the rule rather than the exception.

* Cornish, pp. 100, 101.

† Eugene Stock, "English Church in the Nineteenth Century," p. 13.

"Oxford scholars of our own day question whether as late as 1830 there was even one single tutor, with the possible exception of Hampden, who could expound Aristotle as a whole, so utterly had the Oxford tradition perished."* For all the degrees in theology and law there was no more examination than there is for a bogus degree at Philadelphia. In point of fact they were bogus degrees and nothing more. When Dr. Hook underwent his examination it is said that he cut jokes with the masters all the time. He was asked to prove the errors of the Roman Catholics in worshipping images, and the folly of the Jews in wearing phylacteries, the absurdity of superstition, and the inutility of charms, and this with something about the doctrine of the Trinity made up the whole of his examination in Divinity. The theological education must have been very meagre. No pains were taken to instruct the rising clergy, beyond what was required for educated laymen. Youths brought up under such a system might well become victims of error. There was nothing to preserve them from false ideas of religion; scarcely enough to save them from the rejection of religion altogether. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, six Oxford students had been expelled for praying and reading the Scriptures in private houses, which led to the remark that extempore praying was forbidden, while extempore swearing was tolerated.†

Referring to this period, Mr. T. Mozley tells

* Morley, "Life of Gladstone," i. 38, Ed. 1911.

† Stoughton, "History of Religion," vii. 162–164. Stock, "English Church in the Nineteenth Century," p. 14.

us that there was hardly such a thing as Biblical Scholarship in the University. "Of course it could have no place in the much crowded, much circumscribed preparation for the schools. Our Oriel tutors gave exceptional attention to our New Testament lectures, but these consisted almost entirely in our construing the original, and having occasionally to be corrected on some point of mere scholarship. I remember being told . . . that a very learned tutor of a neighbouring college had not opened his mouth once during the whole lecture, except to observe on the words, 'Draw out now,' in the miracle of Cana, 'Whence we may infer that the Jews used spigots.'" *

What has been said refers to the theological, not the classical, training. Newman was elected Scholar of Trinity in 1818, and in a letter to his mother he describes the examination. "They made me first do some verses; then Latin theme; then chorus of Euripides; then an English theme; then some Plato; then some Xenophon; then some Livy . . . At last I was called to the place where they had been voting, the Vice-Chancellor said some Latin over me, then made a speech. The electors then shook hands with me. I immediately assumed the Scholar's gown." †

III.

The dawn of the nineteenth century brought with it the promise of better things. The conscience of

* Stoughton, vii. 163, quoted from Mozley, "Oriel College and Oxford Movement," i. 177.

† Ward, i. 33.

the nation was awakening, and the crying need for immediate and drastic reforms was not allowed to pass unheeded. New forces were at work, and the conditions which disgraced English Christianity were soon to pass away. The Church was being aroused from her slumber.

Two parties, neither of them numerically strong, made their presence felt about this period. Both alike were dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs and sought to introduce much needed reform. Beyond this, they had little in common, and frequently came into collision. The Evangelicals laid stress upon the spiritual aspects of religion, while the High Church party were staunch upholders of the existing order and sought to infuse new life into the old forms. Both alike were destined to exercise a profound influence upon the life of the English Church.

The Evangelicals came forward as the champions of individual religion. The idea of the Church as a corporate society occupied a subordinate place in their theology. They cared very little for the outward framework of the Church, nor do they appear to have recognised the visible Society as a Divine Institution ; their business was with personal salvation. The love of souls was their motive, and separation from the world their method ; for they held the sternest doctrine as to the wickedness of the world, and the imminent danger of eternal perdition. There is something grand and inspiring in the story of Evangelical activity at this period, they were a people ready to every good work, and the lasting monuments of their earnestness and

zeal are with us to-day. In a house at Clapham, the residence of Henry Thornton, banker and M.P. for Southwark, there met a small circle of Christian laymen, of whom it can truly be said that they "sought first the Kingdom of God." They were devoted to the Church, fervent in prayer, drawing the whole inspiration of their lives from a diligent study of the Bible. They were not men of conspicuous ability, nor were they scholars or theologians; they were Christian men and women working out the Christian life according to a common conception, and endeared to each other by common objects, associations, and occupations. The House of Commons had few men whom it respected more than Henry Thornton. Next door to him lived William Wilberforce, whom Pitt and Burke declared to be the greatest orator of the age. At Cambridge there was another circle in full sympathy with the "Clapham Sect." This Society was more learned and theological. Here lived Isaac Milner, the historian, and Charles Simeon, the leader of the party. Milner fought and won the battle which made a University education possible for Evangelicals; and Simeon by his saintly life and the intensity of his faith attracted the young undergraduates, many of whom went forth to preach his doctrines. Simeon made missionary work one of his principal cares, and among those who caught the fire at his altar, we find the well-known names of Thomason, Henry Martyn, and Daniel Wilson, who rendered yeoman service in India. Simeon was in 1783 appointed minister of Trinity Church in the Market Street. Here he learnt what it meant

to be known as an Evangelical. The presentation was extremely distasteful to the parishioners, and the seatholders deserted the Church in a body. They locked the doors of their pews so that no one else should use them. Simeon placed forms in the aisles, but the churchwardens threw them out into the churchyard, and for more than ten years his congregation had to stand. Rowdy bands of undergraduates used to try to break up the service. "For many years," wrote one of his contemporaries, "Trinity Church and the streets leading to it were the scenes of the most disgraceful tumults. Those who worshipped at this church were supposed to have left common sense, sobriety, attachment to the Established Church, love of the liturgy and whatever is of true and good report, in the vestibule." * Simeon patiently endured these insults and persevered in the prosecution of his design to build up an Evangelical tradition at Cambridge and to influence the young men at the University. The difficult work was carried on for a period extending over fifty years with results which no man can estimate. A teacher so wise and so spiritual, moulding the lives of the men from whom the bulk of the clergy were drawn, acquired a position almost unique in the English Church.

At this point two questions naturally present themselves: What was the numerical strength of the Evangelical Party? and, What did they accomplish? As regards the first it will be sufficient to notice the estimate of Mr. Eugene Stock, the historian of the *Church Missionary Society*. "The

* Balleine, "History of the Evangelical Party," pp. 129, 130.

Evangelical Party," he says, "represented a small minority, it was hated or despised by most Churchmen." On one occasion when Hannah Moore was staying at Fulham Palace, she expressed a desire to visit John Venn, the Rector of Clapham. Bishop Porteus, a Churchman of the best type at that period, would only lend her his carriage on condition that she would get down at a neighbouring public house. The episcopal horses must not be seen at the door of an Evangelical vicarage.* "The clergy of this school were looked upon as dangerous innovators and bad subjects." † Such was the position of the party at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

When we turn to our second question, What did the Evangelical Party accomplish? we have to return a very different answer. It is amazing that a small and despised circle of men should accomplish so much. Truly God chooses the weak things of the world to confound the wise. His strength is made perfect in human weakness.

On April 12, 1799, a public meeting was held in the Castle and Falcon Hotel, Aldersgate Street, and the famous Society now known as the *Church Missionary Society* was founded. Only twenty-five persons were present, but they were all keen and filled with enthusiasm. A committee was at once appointed, with John Venn, the Rector of Clapham, as chairman, and Thomas Scott as secretary. The Society had to face many discouragements, they experienced great difficulty in securing suitable men, but they believed that God had called them to the work they had

* Balleine, "History of the Evangelical Party," p. 147.
† Cornish, p. 8.

undertaken. It was "a day of small things," the Society was the organ of a despised party, but its existence reminded the Christian world of the long-neglected command of Christ to preach the Gospel to every creature. The Church was awakening to the consciousness of her mission to the heathen world. A month later (May, 1799) the *Religious Tract Society* was established in order to provide clean and healthy literature. Within two years more than a million tracts had been sold; they were translated into many foreign languages. Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Russia, and even India and China were visited by the Society's tract distributors. In 1804 the *British and Foreign Bible Society* was formed in order to encourage a "wider dispersion of the Holy Scriptures" both at home and abroad. The two last-named Societies were admittedly interdenominational, yet the pioneers of the movement were Evangelical Churchmen. In their eyes the distribution of Bibles and healthy literature provided a field of activity where Churchmen and Nonconformists could work together. Other Societies followed in the course of a few years. The present Bishop of Durham (Dr. Moule) tells us that the conversion of the Jews was the warmest object of Simeon's life. The Jews Society was founded in 1809 with this express object in view. Work among the Colonists in Newfoundland and Australia was undertaken by the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and the *Church Pastoral Aid Society* was formed to carry on Home Missionary work in the parishes in our own country. The proposal to

employ lay missionaries aroused a storm of controversy. Two leading Church papers strongly denounced this plan; the bishops of Exeter and London resolutely opposed this departure from established precedents. At the present day laymen take an important share of the work in every well-organised parish; and within recent years they have obtained official recognition by the revival of the office of "lay reader"; but in the first half of the nineteenth century other ideas prevailed. The employment of lay agents was regarded as a startling innovation, and the result of this controversy was the secession of the objectors and the formation of the *Additional Curates Society*.

The work of all these Societies is too well known to need any further comment, but it is significant that the men who had lost sight of the idea of corporate Christianity should have been the prime movers in the organisation of these voluntary Societies. By their actions they unconsciously bore witness to the need for corporate and visible fellowship as an essential for effective service.

At the present day, Evangelicals are often regarded as limited in their outlook, and narrow and bigoted in their views, yet however closely they cling to a theological system which is certainly open to the charge of exclusiveness, their activity in every good work clearly shows that Christianity is to them a vital reality. Let those who speak slightingly of this great party remember what they have done. They have rendered an incalculable service to the Church, and awakened in her the consciousness of her mission to all mankind.

IV.

During the eighteenth century, the High Church Party included a large number of men who accepted the Reformation as a cardinal fact in the history of Christianity, and heartily condemned the errors of Rome; they were careful to maintain the conventional interpretation of the Prayer-book, but were content with the minimum of ceremonial and religious observance. A new type of High Churchman was now coming to the front. The contrast between the teaching of the Prayer-book and the prevailing ideas about religion was too apparent to escape notice. A lax and careless generation had allowed doctrines, plainly taught in the formularies of the English Church, and implied in the order and arrangement of the services, to remain in the background. The men who brought these to light and assigned them their rightful place in the presentation of Christian truth were regarded as innovators by a people who interpreted the Prayer-book by existing practices. These new High Churchmen pursued an opposite course; they judged existing practices in the light of the Prayer-book, and sought to bring about a return to the old paths. Apart from this there was little that could be described as novel in their teaching and practice; it was in fact the doctrine of the more moderate reformers.

An influential Irish layman, Alexander Knox (1757–1831), a friend and correspondent of John Wesley, called attention to the fact that what the Church needed was not new doctrine, but assertion and clearer statement of the old infused with a

more vital spirit. Thomas Sikes (1767–1834), a Northamptonshire clergyman, is often regarded as the leader and inspirer of the movement. The doctrine which Sikes put prominently forward was that of the Holy Catholic Church. That article of the Creed seemed to him to have been suppressed, and he set himself the task of reminding all those whom he could reach, of the supreme importance of the corporate aspect of Christianity. In Sikes' conception of the Church is implied the whole theory of apostolical succession, and of divinely appointed pastors and teachers. Catholic unity was to be found wherever episcopacy and Catholic doctrine could be traced in unbroken succession from the Apostles. The denial of the catholicity of the continental reformed Churches was the only feature which can be described as really new in this teaching. In other aspects, this school based their position upon existing formulas and institutions which they infused with new life. It was a movement engineered by aggressive Churchmen whose ultimate aim was the revival of spiritual life and activity.

The Evangelicals met at Clapham; the other group had their headquarters at Clapton, and were known as the "Clapton Sect." A noteworthy feature of both these gatherings is the inclusion of prominent laymen. While Wilberforce and Thornton were at Clapham, Joshua Watson and William Stevens were at Clapton. Joshua Watson (1771–1855) was a prosperous London wine merchant. At the age of forty-three he retired from business and gave himself up to the service of the Church. William

Stevens belongs to the eighteenth rather than to the nineteenth century, as he died in 1807; nevertheless he was one of the keenest men belonging to this party of Church reformers. He was a wealthy London tradesman who was active in good works. He founded a club or society, and brought together a set of men both clergy and laity who were thoroughly intent upon doing good. Among the clergy we find the name of Henry Handley Norris, the incumbent of a district formed out of the parish of Hackney, who has been described as one of the most vigorous and uncompromising High Churchmen of his time,* and William Van Milder, afterwards Bishop of Durham, the most accomplished theologian of his day. The "Clapton Sect," or "Hackney Brotherhood," as they were sometimes called, was the rallying point for all orthodox Churchmen, who wished for a clear definition of doctrine and increased activity in Church work. They were not so prominent as the Evangelicals, their enthusiasm was of a different type, and the methods they adopted were not at the outset likely to bring them into violent conflict with the conservative spirit of the age. As they accepted the existing forms and standards of Churchmanship, so they supported existing societies and sought to improve their usefulness.

We must now glance at the practical work which this school of Churchmen took in hand. Naturally their convictions determined the direction of their activity. The aims and objects of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* and the

* Cornish, p. 70.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appealed to them, and they took steps to increase their efficiency. Joshua Watson became treasurer of the former Society in 1814, bringing with him not only the zeal of a loyal Churchman, but also the experience of a successful man of business. Needless to say both these venerable Societies began to show signs of renewed vitality, and rapidly increased in importance. But more than this was needed if the Hackney Brotherhood were to carry out their programme, and inspire their fellow Churchmen with their own lofty conception of the Church's mission. Educational schemes were in the air, and in 1811, at a meeting held in Watson's house, the *National Society* was formed. The name was suggested by a sermon preached at St. Paul's by Professor Marsh. "The Church of England was the National Church; the Church Education Society should be called the National Society." Here commenced the long-drawn-out battle which we are fighting at the present day. The *Royal Lancastrian Society* had been founded in 1808, and this Society was the nucleus of the *British and Foreign Schools Society* which was formed in 1814. This Society stood for undenominational and unsectarian teaching, all controversial religious subjects were to be excluded. Watson and his gallant colleagues would have nothing to do with such a system, they were going to be satisfied with nothing less than definite Church teaching, and the *National Society* was founded with the express purpose of providing for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church. The Church character of the Society was

impressed upon it from the first, and the Archbishops' cordial interest furthered its growth and prosperity.

Still Watson and his friends were not satisfied; their hands were already full, but the need for greater reforms led them on to further activity. Churches must be built in which the people could worship. During the early years of the nineteenth century the population increased rapidly. The Church accommodation was totally inadequate. The National Society might do excellent work, but it was bound to fail if, when the children had been taught, they did not find the means of carrying what they had learned into practice. The need was so great that the matter was discussed in Parliament, but although some help was ultimately obtained from this quarter, it was reserved for Churchmen to deal with this new problem. In 1818 the *Church Building Society* was formed. The Archbishop took the chair at the inaugural meeting, when sound lines of administration were determined upon. Grants of the Society were to supplement private liberality, and in no case were they to exceed more than one-fourth of the estimated expenses. The people in those localities where churches were needed were thereby encouraged to give what they could afford. Moreover preference was given to those churches in which all, or not less than half, the sittings were free. Thus commenced one of the most useful of all the good works begun by the High Churchmen of the early years of the last century.

Such, in brief, were some of the good works of the Hackney Brotherhood. Their activity was in

the direction of religious education, the building of churches, and missionary work at home and abroad, represented by the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* and the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. The Evangelicals laid stress on individual religion; the High Churchmen on corporate religion. The differences in aim produced diversity in method. There was keen rivalry as well as sharp antagonism between these two powerful and influential parties. Each owed something to the other; on each side the activity was determined by strong convictions, both were struggling to maintain and strengthen their own positions, and the enthusiasm and earnestness displayed by the leaders on the one side must have supplied an incentive to those on the other, not only to imitate, but also to surpass the splendid example of their rivals. So these parties grew and flourished, and both have left an heritage of which their successors need not be ashamed.

V.

Each of these parties had their own periodicals, which provided a further opportunity for ventilating their distinctive teaching. The *Christian Observer* was the organ of the Evangelicals. The first number appeared in January, 1802. The publication of a monthly review at *one shilling* was a bold venture, but it was justified by the results. Members of the Clapham sect were constant contributors. Articles on Church history and theology appeared each month, and the subjects dealt with included the lives of the Early Fathers, sketches of Reformation history and the doctrines which were specially

dear to this school of thought. In January, 1880, the review was replaced by the *Churchman*, which is now the principal organ of the party. The first number of the *Record* was published in January, 1828. This was primarily a political journal, but public questions were approached from the Evangelical point of view. Alexander Haldane, one of the first editors, was a keen controversialist, and the strong partisan spirit which he displayed in dealing with the burning questions of the day, not only annoyed his own supporters, but also discredited the " party " in the eyes of the more moderate section of the community.

The *British Critic* was the oldest of the High Church journals. It was started by Jones of Nayland, a typical High Churchman of the eighteenth century (1726–1800). In 1824 it came into the hands of the new school of High Churchmen, and the influence of Herbert Handley Norris was seen in subsequent issues. It became the official organ of the Tractarians and played an important part in the movement which will be the subject of a subsequent lecture. The Clapton sect were responsible for the appearance of the *Christian Remembrancer;* the first number was published in 1819. The new quarterly was similar in character to the *British Critic*, but in course of time it came to represent the opinions of the more moderate section of the party, and when in 1844 the *British Critic* was suppressed, it became the official organ of the movement. Both these magazines furnished many theological reviews of a valuable character.

The *British Magazine* appeared in 1832, and

was perhaps the most generally useful publication issued by this school of thought. It contained not only reviews of books, but original papers on ecclesiastical matters, correspondence, and a variety of information on almost every subject in which Churchmen were likely to be interested. The editor of this excellent periodical was Hugh James Rose, a talented young Cambridge divine. His early death in 1839 cut short a life which was spent in manifold labours for the Church of Christ.

VI.

The High Church Party were the precursors of the Tractarians, and we have now to consider the principal causes which strengthened their position and which ultimately were productive of the startling changes both in the teaching and practice of the Church during the fourth decade of the century. They can be summarised under three main heads. Evangelical Activity; The Progress of Scientific Thought; and the Secular Movements of the Period. The first two will only require a short notice, the last will need a more detailed examination.

(i.)

The activity of the Evangelicals compelled their rivals to draw up a definite programme. A clear statement of their policy, methods, and aims was essential if they were to maintain their position and win fresh adherents. Their activity was based upon certain beliefs, they must formulate those beliefs and justify them by an appeal to history and experience. They were in this way responsible

for the revival of the doctrine of the Church and the ministry, which occupied a prominent place in their teaching. It was reserved for their successors to draw out from these doctrines the implications which startled sober-minded English Churchmen a few years later.

(ii.)

The progress of scientific thought led to the commencement of the long-drawn-out battle between Faith and Science. The *British Association for the Advancement of Science* met for the first time at Oxford in June, 1832; and men in whose hearts the cause and fortunes of religion were supreme were filled with anxiety as they watched the progress of events.

The new London University was the headquarters of this school which avowedly separated the pursuit of knowledge from religious faith. A society was formed for the diffusion of useful knowledge, and a number of original and excellent books on science, biography, and history were written and published at a cheap rate. At the present day such a movement would be accepted as a matter of course. We have learned that there is no real antagonism between Science and Faith, and that the Church has more to fear from the suppression of truth than from its discovery and diffusion. But it was not so at the period we are now considering. Dr. Arnold, the most liberal of Churchmen, was shocked. "It does seem to me," he wrote, "as forced and unnatural in us now to dismiss the principles of the Gospel and its great motives from

our consideration, as it is to fill our pages with Hebraisms, and to write and speak in the words of the Bible. The slightest touch of Christian principle and Christian hope in the Society's biographical and historical articles would be a sort of living salt to the whole." * The result of one of the attempts to grapple with the danger was the foundation of King's College, London (founded 1829, opened 1831), "as a college in which instruction in the doctrines and duties of Christianity as taught by the Church of England should be for ever combined with other branches of useful education." †

This threatened danger led High Churchmen to still further emphasise the doctrine of the Church. They sought and found in a living Society with authority in Faith and Morals a guarantee for the preservation of the eternal truths God had revealed to man.

(iii.)

The secular movements of the period were far from favourable to ecclesiastical interests. It was an age of unrest in the industrial world. The forces of democracy were becoming conscious of their power, and it was uncertain how they would use it. The sad story of the French Revolution was still fresh in the memory of the people. The record of anarchy and bloodshed, the horrors of the Reign of Terror and the guillotine came as a stern reminder of the imminent danger arising from an infuriated and discontented populace. What had happened in France might happen in

* Stanley's "Life," quoted by Perry, p. 178. † *Ibid.*, p. 179.

England. Statesmen were face to face with a force which needed to be conciliated in order to be controlled.

The war with France and the victories of Napoleon further aggravated the national peril. Napoleon had planned a French invasion of England. "Flat-bottomed boats, to convey soldiers across the Channel, were talked of round every hearth in England, and were expected every day and every hour. In the Isle of Wight, though guarded by shipping, the inhabitants were afraid to go to bed, and provision was made to carry away women and children on the first appearance of the terrifying flotilla." * The peril called forth the patriotism of Englishmen, it was no time to question the creed of the gallant soldier who volunteered for active service. Union in the face of a common foe was the order of the day. The claims of Country and Fatherland were paramount, and it was clearly seen that diversity in religious belief was not inconsistent with loyalty to the English Crown.

VII.

These movements were wholly secular; apparently they did not touch the religious life of the nation, but they were fraught with tremendous consequences to the national life. They ultimately issued in a radical change in the constitution, and brought about a renewal of the old conflict between Church and State. The High Churchmen came forward as the champions of the Church and fought

* Stoughton, "History of Religion," vii. p. 9.

its battles as their fathers had done in days gone by. To do this they were compelled to consolidate their forces, and still further emphasise their distinctive doctrines. The influence of these movements was consequently indirect, but nevertheless it was real and powerful ; and they must be included among the causes which contributed to the strengthening of the party. We must now notice the steps leading up to the declaration which heralded the Oxford Movement.

(i.)

In the first place there was the movement in the direction of religious equality. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 afforded relief to the Dissenters and redressed some of their legitimate grievances. Under these Acts Nonconformists were excluded from all civil and municipal offices, and although for nearly a century they had not been strictly enforced, their retention upon the Statute book provoked the antagonism of dissenters, who made repeated and determined efforts to secure their repeal. The same measures were also distasteful to the best type of Churchman. The actual result of making the reception of Holy Communion an essential preliminary to all civil and municipal employment had been the gross profanation of this sacred service. The imposition of the sacramental test in every department of the Civil Service closed the door against the spiritually minded Dissenter who regarded the fulfilment of this condition a sin. The impossibility of enforcing these measures had rendered them practically

inoperative; moreover great changes had taken place in the national life since the second half of the seventeenth century. "Since the accession of the House of Hanover the Roman Catholics had become harmless or loyal, and the dissenters friendly; the latter were admitted freely to places of trust and honour, but the laws remained on the Statute book, though an annual Act of Indemnity was passed to render them ineffective; and the sense of injustice and the hope of remedy lived on from generation to generation as an abiding heritage of nonconformists' families." *

The bishops supported the bill for the repeal of these Acts. In the course of the debate the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley, said that he felt bound, on every principle, to give his vote for the repeal of an Act which had, he feared, led, in too many instances, to the profanation of the most sacred ordinance of our religion. Religious tests, imposed for political purposes, must in themselves be always liable, more or less, to endanger religious sincerity.† The Act passed without difficulty, and received the Royal Assent in May, 1828.

(ii.)

The relief afforded to Dissenters was, in the following year, granted to Roman Catholics. "Till near the end of the eighteenth century it was assumed by Protestants, both in England and in Ireland, that Papists had no rights; but the disaffection of Ireland forced the religious difficulty into

* Cornish, p. 172. † Stoughton, vii. p. 55.

prominence, and the emancipation of the Roman Catholics in both countries became, towards the end of the century, part of the accepted policy of the Whig party, which, ever since the Revolution, and till within a recent period, had been opposed to all concession." * George III. rigidly opposed any concession in this direction; he considered himself bound by his Coronation oath to maintain the tests, and quarrelled with his ministers when they urged the desirability of removing the disabilities of Roman Catholics. In England their numbers were inconsiderable, but in Ireland they formed five-sevenths of the population, consequently their exclusion from all political positions was a severe strain upon their loyalty. It can safely be said that had the Emancipation Act been passed a generation earlier, the history of Ireland would have been a different story.

"The penal code came into existence under William—immediately after the Revolution—and was extended under Anne and the first two Georges. It affected all human action and endeavour in every phase of life. (Roman) Catholics were prohibited from sitting in Parliament, and were deprived of the franchise. They were excluded from the Army, Navy, the Magistracy, the Bar, the Bench. They could not sit on Grand Juries or Vestries, or act as sheriffs or solicitors. The possession of arms was forbidden them. They could not be freemen of any corporate body, and were allowed to carry on trade only on payment of various impositions. They could not buy land nor receive it

* See Cornish, p. 135.

as a gift from Protestants ; nor hold life annuities or mortgages or leases for more than thirty-one years, or any lease if the profit exceeded one-third of the rent. Catholics were deprived of liberty to leave their property in land by will. Their estates were divided among all their sons unless the eldest became a Protestant, in which case the whole estate devolved upon him. Any Protestant who informed upon a Catholic for purchasing land became the proprietor of the estate. No Catholic was allowed to possess a horse of greater value than £5, and any Protestant could take the horse for that sum. A Protestant woman was, if she married a Catholic, deprived of her property. Mixed marriages celebrated by a Catholic priest were declared null. A wife or a child professing Protestantism was at once taken from under the Catholic husband or father's control, and the Chancellor made an assignment of income to them. Catholic children under age at the time of their Catholic father's death were placed under the guardianship of Protestants. Catholics were excluded from seats of learning. They could not keep schools or teach, or act as guardians of children, or send their children abroad to be educated." *

" In other countries majorities persecuted minorities ; in Ireland a very small minority were persecuting a very large majority." †

" By depriving the Catholic gentry of any share in civil and military life, by excluding them from

* Earl of Dunraven, "Legacy of Past Years," pp. 129–131. (The paging is from the cheap edition.)

† *Ibid.*, p. 132.

all participation in the conduct of affairs, by treating them as an unclean caste in their native land, it degraded them, and it deprived the people of their natural leadership. It reared artificial barriers between religion and religion, and between class and class, quite alien to Irish human nature. It debased the people, and by forcing them to seek all they held necessary for their spiritual and material welfare in evasion of, or by open defiance of, the law, it created a lasting feeling of distrust of and hostility towards law in the minds of a naturally most law-abiding people." *

Pitt hoped that the union of England and Ireland would render possible the removal of these disabilities. When Irish Churchmen and Dissenters were under the protection of the English Government, the principal reason for their continuance would be removed. Unfortunately thirty years passed before these grievances were redressed.

"The history of Ireland since 1800 might have been very different from what it has been if a federal arrangement had been carried out, and if Catholic Emancipation, State Provision for the Clergy (*i.e.* Roman Catholics), and Commutation of Tithes had followed close upon its heels. The failure to carry Catholic Emancipation was a great betrayal of the hopes of the people." †

The success of the Dissenters in obtaining the removal of their disqualifications created a precedent, and common justice demanded that similar

* Earl of Dunraven, "Legacy of Past Years," p. 133.
† *Ibid.* p. 192.

privileges should be granted to Roman Catholics. The Emancipation Act ultimately was carried by a large majority in both Houses in 1829. Roman Catholics became eligible for all, with the exception of a few of the highest, posts, civil and military, in the service of the Crown.

At this point it will be convenient to raise a question which is of considerable importance in the inquiry in which we are engaged. What was the reason for this exceedingly strong feeling against Roman Catholics? To answer this question we must go back to the period of the Reformation. On the Continent the moral abuses connected with the Papal system were largely responsible for the success of the leaders of this movement. The attack upon doctrine grew out of the widespread discontent with a Church which had deliberately utilised her spiritual functions in order to extend her temporal power, which was employed solely in the interests of the Roman See. In England there had always been a strong feeling against the political power of the Pope which finds expression in one of our Articles. "The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England." The Reformation was doctrinal as well as political, and the influence of the Continental divines can be traced in our Prayer-book and Articles, yet political reasons played an important part in the English Reformation. There was certainly little thought of creating a schism in the ancient Church of this land. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, out of 9400 priests, less than 200 protested against all change so far as to abandon their posts. In

1570 Pope Pius V. issued his famous Bull which compelled men to choose between allegiance to their own Church, and allegiance to the great (so called) centre of unity, and sole Vicar of Christ, the Bishop of Rome. Elizabeth and all her adherents were declared to have incurred sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the Body of Christ. Her subjects were forbidden to obey her laws, and all who did so were liable to incur a like anathema. This Bull marked the birth of modern Romanism in England, and it is not surprising that this Papal pronouncement gave rise to the belief that the Roman Catholics' obligations to the Pope were inconsistent with loyalty to the Crown. Their religion allowed that princes might be excommunicated, deposed, and murdered for the advancement of the Faith.* Naturally those who held the reins of government were reluctant to grant them their rights as citizens. The strong feeling against Romanism was consequently based on *political* as well as religious and doctrinal grounds, and the question as to which of these predominated is a question well worthy of a thorough investigation. Doubtless the two reasons given were often confused in subsequent controversies, but it is quite clear that political reasons figured largely in popular movements against Roman aggression in days gone by. We set out to inquire why exceptionally strong measures were adopted against Roman Catholics, and why they received different treatment to Dissenters. Had the grounds been doctrinal alone, it is not easy to find justification for this

* Perry, p. 192.

distinction; but when the political reasons are taken into consideration we see that a more severe line of action was necessary in order to ensure the security of the State. At the present day the Church of Rome has been compelled to face facts, and to adapt her methods to the requirements of the modern State, consequently the political menace is non-existent, at least in England.

On the other hand, the fear of the political power of the Pope is widespread among Irish Churchmen and Dissenters at the present day. In a recently published volume of essays, the Bishop of Down (Rt. Rev. C. F. D'Arcy) writes—

"There never was a time when there was in the minds of Irish Protestants so deep a dread of Roman aggression, and so firm a conviction that the object of that aggression is the complete subjection of this country to Roman domination. Recalling very distinctly the events and discussions of 1886 and 1893, when Home Rule for Ireland seemed so near accomplishment under Mr. Gladstone's leadership, the writer has no hesitation in saying that the dread of Roman tyranny is now far more vivid and, as a motive, far more urgent than it was at those epochs. Protestants are now convinced, as never before, that Home Rule must mean Rome Rule, and that, should it be forced upon them, in spite of all their efforts, they will be face to face with a struggle for liberty and conscience such as this land has not witnessed since the year 1690. That such should be the conviction of one-fourth of the people of Ireland, and that fourth by far the most energetic portion of its inhabitants, is

a fact which politicians may well lay to heart." *

We are here only concerned with the *fact* of the existence of these fears. A discussion of the position with a view to determine whether or not they are well grounded, falls outside the scope of the present inquiry.

The objection of the modern Protestant is grounded on the teaching of the Roman Church, and he can rightly claim that his attitude is the one which has been consistently maintained since the Reformation. Whether the likeness is only superficial, and whether this type of thought can be regarded as identical with the prevailing ideas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries depends upon the answer we return to the two leading questions. Were the objections at that period based upon the doctrines of the Roman Church ? or were they based upon the political power of that Church ? Again, if both reasons are alleged, which of these was the predominant reason which determined the attitude of the English State ? Why were Roman Catholics regarded as more dangerous than Dissenters ? It will at once be seen how these questions vitally affect the relations between the English and Roman Churches, and how much care must be exercised before introducing the charge of Romanising in ecclesiastical controversies.

(iii.)

As the result of this legislation, the English Church lost some of her exclusive privileges. Her

* "Against Home Rule," pp. 204, 205.

position in the councils of the nation was weakened by the admission of members of other Christian communions. The first step had been taken in the direction of the separation of religion from the civic and political life of the nation. Human life is a complete whole, yet these two aspects are distinct and must be kept distinct in practical politics. Their confusion always entails hypocrisy and other abuses. Nevertheless it is important to notice the direction which events were taking. It was now openly recognised that a man could be a good soldier or statesman or a faithful civil servant without being a good Churchman. Moreover, the course of debate showed that the English Church was no longer co-extensive with the nation, and that there were numerous Christians outside her communion. Hitherto members of Parliament had been Churchmen at least in name, now both Roman Catholics and Dissenters were qualified to take a share in the legislation, their position was acknowledged, and they were openly placed upon an equality with Churchmen. This equality is in our eyes a matter of ordinary justice, but the changes were startling innovations when they were introduced. The altered character of the House of Commons naturally revived the old question of the relation of Church and State; moreover it raised a further question. How long would the English Church be allowed to retain her ancient rights and privileges? Men with keen insight were not slow to read the signs of the times, and feared when they thought of the future of English Christianity.

(iv.)

The course of events in secular politics was a still more serious source of danger. The passing of the Reform Bill was one of the landmarks of English history, carrying with it important changes in the Constitution. The redistribution of seats, the adequate representation of important cities and towns, the wide extension of the franchise were changes of the first magnitude, and were regarded as revolutionary by the old conservative element. The first Bill was rejected in Committee in 1831; a dissolution immediately followed, and the Liberals were returned with a large majority. The Bill was introduced a second time, only to be thrown out by the Lords in the autumn. In the Upper House the majority was forty-one, and out of these twenty-one were bishops. The defeat of the Bill was followed by riots all over the country. "At Nottingham the ancient castle, the residence of the Duke of Newcastle, was burnt. At Derby the gaol was forced and the prisoners liberated; at Bristol, where the riots lasted several days, the bishop's palace was burnt and many of the public buildings and a great part of Queen's Square were destroyed, and about 100 persons were killed or wounded." * Bishops were openly insulted as they passed along the public streets, the Bishop of London dared not go out to preach; the Primate was mobbed at Canterbury, and on November 5 figures in episcopal robes were substituted for Guy Fawkes, and cast into bonfires amid jeering crowds.† The *Times*

* Hume, "History of England," p. 707. † Stock, p. 30.

represented an exasperated nation when it said, "It is the bishops who have crushed our liberties and destroyed us. But for them we should have had a free Parliament, a responsible Government, and the downfall of an oppressive oligarchy. Our character is lost, and it is to the anti-national spirit of the Church we owe this grievous disappointment. How shall we forgive the clergy?" * The Bill was introduced a third time and became law in 1832. The Upper House dared not again reject the measure, and under the threat of the creation of new peers, they withdrew and allowed the Bill to pass. It was a great popular victory, representing the increasing power of democracy; but it was the victory of a populace thoroughly incensed against the Church, which on account of the action of the prelates was regarded as the enemy of progress and the upholder of oppressive laws and unjustifiable privileges. Earl Grey, the Whig Premier, told the bishops to set their house in order. When Dr. Ryder, the Bishop of Lichfield met his clergy in 1832, he pointed out that four years "must elapse now, before we meet again on a similar occasion," and he added, "I feel that a more than common uncertainty hangs over such a prospect." †

VIII.

The movement in the direction of religious equality had deprived the Church of some of her exclusive privileges; they were, it is true, incapable of defence, but their loss weakened her influence

* Perry, p. 197.
† Cecil and Clayton, "Our National Church," p. 151.

in the State. The popular movement in the direction of reform had brought into power a Government avowedly hostile to the Church. The long-continued neglect of pastoral duties had widened the gulf between priests and people, who were admitted to their citizen rights under the Reform Bill. The situation was rendered more acute when the new Government declared its intention of introducing drastic measures for Church Reform. Now that religious tests were abolished, and both Dissenters and Romanists were admitted to the legislative council of the nation, the renewal of the old conflict between Church and State was inevitable. The competence of a Parliament constituted on these lines to deal with ecclesiastical questions was strongly disputed by the new school of High Churchmen.

"Deep was the consternation, and almost the despair of the friends of order and religion at this time, when we beheld our rulers sacrifice (avowedly under the influence of intimidation) a constitution, which in the very moment of its ruin, they admitted to be essential to the security of the Church. Deep was our alarm at being thus delivered over bound hand and foot into the power of a hostile ascendency; into the hands of a Parliament, reckless of the high and sacred interests of religion, and now for the first time numbering by law amongst its members Romanists and Dissenters." *

The Church was threatened, but she appeared powerless to defend herself. Convocation had been silenced in 1717, and it was not until 1847 that any serious attempt was made to revive this body. A

* Palmer, "Narrative of Events," quoted by Perry, p. 180.

Church without synods or any legitimate means of defending itself was unable to organise a definite policy to meet the existing emergency. There was a steadily growing belief that the new governors were preparing to invade the rights and to alter the constitution, and even the public documents of the Church.

The critical stage was reached in 1833 when the Government introduced the Irish Church Bill. They were face to face with a dwindling income. The opposition to tithes had become so violent that more money was spent in collecting them than the collected tithes would defray. The aim of the Bill was to provide relief for an impoverished Church, and in order to do this ten bishoprics were suppressed, and the amount saved, £60,000, was appropriated to general expenditure: *i.e.* "the augmentation of poor benefices, and the building and repairing of churches and parsonages." * The High Church party distrusted the State; every act of State intervention, whatever its character, was suspected, consequently the new proposals aggravated the exceedingly strong feeling which had already been aroused. A period of radical change is never favourable to a calm and impassioned judgment. On July 14, Keble preached his famous assize sermon, which was afterwards published under the title of "National Apostasy." The sermon was a declaration of war, it was a call to Churchmen to rally in the defence of the Church of the living God. That sermon marked the birth of the Oxford Movement, which is to be the subject of our third lecture.

* Cornish, p. 143.

IX.

No mention has been made in this lecture of a third party in the Church which was rapidly growing in influence. The old Latitudinarians were fast giving way before a new type of Churchmen, who came to be known as the "Broad Church Party." Some attention will be given to them in our next lecture, but without anticipating what will be said then, we can describe them as the pioneers of religious freedom and toleration. They recognised the growth of Liberal ideas, and considered that the Church must enlarge her boundaries. She must adapt herself to the new conditions of the age. "Dr. Arnold published a pamphlet advocating a scheme for comprehending Dissenters within the national Church, by allowing each sect to use its own form of worship in the parish church at different hours on Sunday." * Dr. Arnold was a prominent figure in this party which included many deeply religious men with a broad and comprehensive outlook, the declared opponents of all narrow and exclusive views in religion. This party played an important part in the Oxford Movement.

X.

A great change had taken place in the Church during the first thirty years of the century. At the latter date we have a Church fully alive to her responsibilities, full of activity in every department of human life. The multiplication of religious

* Perry, p. 179.

societies and organisations bore witness to the reality of the great revival which had taken place.

Our main concern in these lectures will be with the High Church party, and from what has been already said, it will be seen that the original aim was neither approximation to, nor imitation of Rome. It was rather a Church defence movement. The Catholic Church was a spiritual society finding visible expression in a corporate community. She was independent of the State with her own sphere of authority, and she claimed autonomy in all questions of faith and morals, and also in the administration of her own affairs. That was a sphere in which the State had no right to interfere. The movement can never be rightly understood unless we bear in mind the original aim and purpose. Its inspiration was a noble and lofty conception of the Holy Catholic Church ; its outcome was a type of teaching which laid stress upon the catholicity of the English Church, and traced her continuity back to the Apostolic age. The movement was strengthened by the opposition it encountered ; while the bitter persecution its advocates endured at the hands of their fellow Churchmen was partly responsible for the direction it subsequently took, and for the revival of distinctly Roman teaching. Nevertheless it was a movement which contributed greatly to the progress of English Christianity in the century which has recently closed.

Our next lectures will deal with the life of one of the pioneers, and we shall also follow the story of the wonderful Church revival to which Newman contributed so greatly by his life and work.

II.

John Henry Newman—Early Life and Formation of his Religious Opinions.

The late Professor James has shown in his well-known book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, to how great an extent religious beliefs and opinions are influenced by numerous causes, psychological, moral, and physical, which are often lost sight of by the average historian. "Every religious phenomenon has its history and its derivation from natural antecedents;" * and his volume of twenty lectures is devoted to the amplification of this dogmatic statement. In his study of the different types of religious character, the variety in the expression of religious faith is traced back to one or other of the causes which can be classified under one or more of these three main categories.

The distinction between the "reality of faith" and the "manner of the expression of that faith" is one which needs to be carefully drawn in all religious study. The more we know about human personality, the more we are astonished at its extraordinary complexity. The likeness is confined to certain main and general features; while there is

* P. 4.

a startling diversity in the manifold details which are the vehicles for the expression of personality. The external environment, the acquired habits and ideas, and the educational methods, on the one hand ; and the innate tendencies, tastes, personal idiosyncracies and peculiarities on the other contribute to the formation of ideas and determine the direction of the growth and development of individuality. It is true that the responsibility for faith and conduct rests with the individual, that an act of "*will*" is continuous throughout the whole course of development ; but it is equally true that the direction given to the life during the years of childhood and youth by one or other of the numerous causes already named, will exercise a profound influence upon the whole of the subsequent career of the individual.

The operation of this law shows the need for a careful study of the early years of Newman's life. It will be necessary to draw attention to details which at first sight will appear wearisome and tedious, perhaps to some minds they will appear very trivial and very ordinary ; but they are not really so. A little patient thought will discover in them indications of the bent of his mind ; they show the direction in which he was travelling. They provide a clue to the interpretation of his conduct in the troubled and checkered career upon which he entered when he undertook his difficult work as one of the foremost religious teachers of the age at a time when the Church was exposed to grave peril.

I.

The early years of Newman's life coincide with the period covered in the last lecture. He was born in London on February 21, 1801. "Much of his earliest childhood was passed at Grey's Court, Ham, near Richmond. So deep an impression was made upon him by this home (which the family left in September, 1807), that he writes of it nearly eighty years after quitting it: 'I dreamed about it when a schoolboy as if it were Paradise.' It would be here where the angel faces appeared, 'I loved long since but lost awhile.' On May 1, 1808, he was sent to a private school at Ealing, kept by Dr. Nicholas, of Wadham College, Oxford. His own entreaties aided those of his mother and schoolmaster in preventing his going to Winchester, and he remained at Ealing until he went to Trinity College, Oxford. Thus he never was at a public school. During the eight and a half years he spent at Ealing, he scarcely ever took part in any game. His character, however, made itself felt, and he was often chosen by the boys as arbitrator in their disputes." * He was always a quiet, serious boy, very thoughtful and fond of reading. At the age of eleven he used to read to the servants from serious books, and to explain their meaning. When he was fourteen he read Paine's tracts against the Old Testament, and found pleasure in thinking of the objections contained in them. He also read some of the essays of the philosopher and historian, David Hume (1711–76), whose writings had so profoundly

* Ward, i., p. 29.

influenced European thought. "Of all the English deistical works of the eighteenth century," writes Professor Lecky, "the influence of two and only two survived the controversy. Hume's essay on 'Miracles,' and the works of Edward Gibbon, the historian (1737–94), who remains the almost undisputed master of his own field." * Newman became familiar with Hume's famous argument against the credibility of miracles. Hume held that miracles are incapable of proof; at the best they rested on the testimony of fallible men, while our own experience of the uniformity of Nature is sufficiently strong and convincing to throw doubt upon the records of miraculous occurrences. Newman also displayed a keen love for accuracy in statement of facts; one of the family on one occasion pictured the great Duke of Wellington as a gigantic warrior; "the eldest brother reminds them all that the Duke is well known to be short of stature." † The use of "unreal words" was distasteful to him, and his ultimate separation from the Evangelical Party was probably due to the fact that the current phraseology found an inadequate correspondence in his own religious experience. "When in 1821 he tried to write a description of the typical Evangelical conversion, he added in a note, 'I speak of conversion with great diffidence, being obliged to adopt the language of books. My own feelings, as far as I can remember, were so different from any account I ever read, that I dare not go by what may be an individual case.'" ‡

* Lecky, "Rationalism," i., p. 175.
† Ward, p. 28. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In his "Apologia" he describes his religious thoughts and feelings at this period, and calls attention to two as worthy of special mention. "I used to wish the Arabian Tales were true; my imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers and talismans. . . . I thought life might be a dream, or I an angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow angels by a playful device concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world. . . . (2) The other remark is this: 'I was very superstitious, and for some time previous to my conversion' (when I was fifteen) used constantly to cross myself on going into the dark." * Years later he discovered his first Latin Verse Book, and was surprised to find that on the opening page he had drawn the figure of a solid cross upright, and next to it is what may indeed be meant for a necklace, but what he could not make out to be anything else than a set of beads suspended, with a little cross attached. At this time he was not quite ten years old, and he was far removed from any direct influence of Roman Catholicism. Doubtless somewhere or other he had seen these objects, and they had unconsciously attracted the attention of a highly imaginative nature. "The strange thing is," he adds, "how, among the thousand objects which meet a boy's eyes, these in particular should so have fixed themselves in my mind, that I made them thus practically my own. I am certain there was nothing in the churches I attended, or the prayer-books I read, to suggest them. It must be

* "Apologia," p. 2.

recollected that Anglican churches and prayer-books were not decorated in those days as I believe they are now." * In all these stories there are real characteristics of the future man.

Those who have read the writings of the late Mgr. R. H. Benson, will readily understand how forcibly the elaborate symbolism and ceremonial of the Roman Church appeals to highly imaginative natures. The outward forms become instinct with life, the material becomes the medium for the manifestation of the spiritual. Such souls cannot justly be charged with formalism. The forms are valued because of the rich spiritual experience they create and sustain. To them all Nature is but the garment which clothes the living God.

We can picture Newman as a lad, with a strong religious nature, a vivid imagination, and a genuine interest in all subjects connected with the Christian Faith. His choice of books is evidence of his sincere desire for a more exact knowledge concerning the things he had already learned.

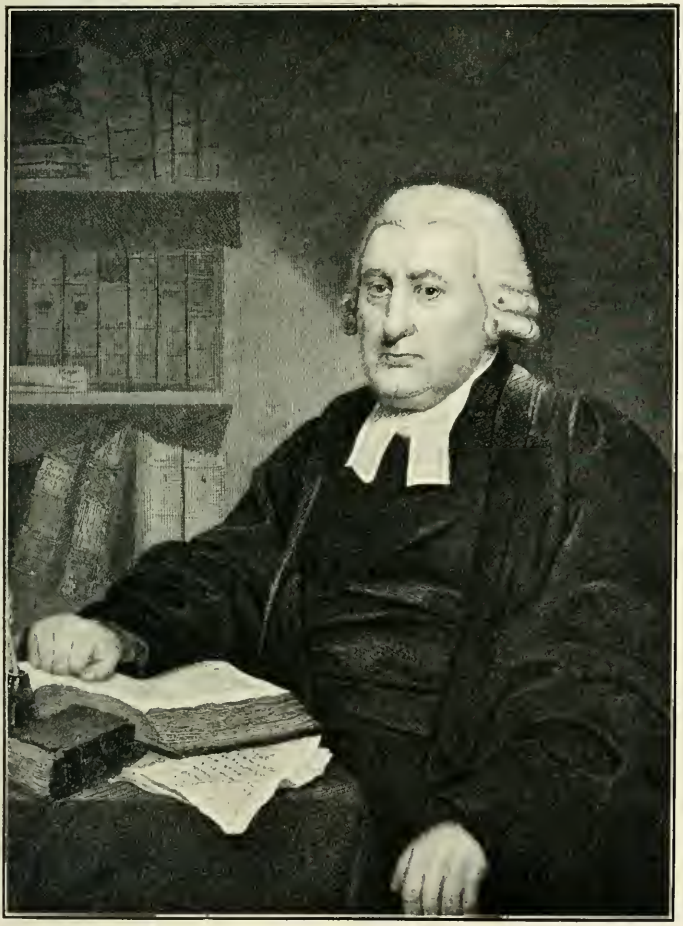
II.

We must now turn to consider the formative influences which contributed to the moulding of Newman's highly impressionable nature. The home influence was decidedly Evangelical. His mother was a member of a French Huguenot family which had come to settle in this country. His father was a London banker whose family came from Cambridgeshire. From his mother he learned

* "Apologia," p. 3.

to take a great delight in reading the Bible ; it was she also who encouraged him to read the works of the great Evangelical divines, and as Newman grew up he became familiar with Scott's Commentary, Milner's "Church History" and Newton on the prophecies ; each had its own contribution to the formation of his religious opinions. He refers to Thomas Scott as the writer who made a deeper impression upon his mind than any other, and to him, he said, " I almost owe my soul." For years he used almost as proverbs what he considered to be the scope and issue of his doctrines, " Holiness before peace," and " Growth the only evidence of life."

Joseph Milner (1744–97) was head master of Hull Grammar School, and afternoon lecturer at the Parish Church. In 1770 he became an Evangelical as the result of reading Hooker's sermon on Justification, and set to work upon his "Church History," which contends with Scott's Commentary for the first place among the Evangelical literature of the eighteenth century. His aim was to write a history of the good which Christianity had accomplished and to set forth the blessed effects which Christianity had produced in all, even the darkest, ages. Milner expressly declared his intention of touching but slightly upon the heresies and disputes which were the principal subjects dealt with by most Church historians. His history, in fact, was to be a history of real, not nominal, Christians. He lived to carry his work from the Apostles to the middle of the thirteenth century. His brother, Isaac Milner (1751–1820), published two more



Rev. Thomas Scott.

From the Original Family Picture.

To face p. 70.]

volumes on the same plan and in part from manuscripts Joseph Milner had left behind. Isaac Milner became President of Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1788, where together with Charles Simeon he rendered yeoman service to the Evangelical cause. The history turned the attention of English readers to the almost forgotten writings of the early Fathers, and in Newman's case it marked the birth of that love of patristic literature which exercised a strong determining influence upon his religious convictions.

John Newton (1725–1807), the predecessor of Thomas Scott as curate of Olney, and afterwards (1779) rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth, is perhaps best known to us as the author of many of our favourite hymns. Some are included in our *Hymns Ancient and Modern:* "Approach my soul the mercy seat," "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds," "Come my soul thy suit prepare," "Glorious things of Thee are spoken," are all from his pen. A few others are to be found in the Hymnal Companion. In his youth, as a slave trader and as a companion of slave traders, he had lived an evil and dissolute life, and it is said that "there was scarcely a sin which his people could mention, but he had either committed it himself, or been brought into close contact with those who *had* committed it." * He was one who had sunk to the lowest depths of profligacy and vice. The vivid experiences at his conversion made him an uncompromising Evangelical; and it was from his writings Newman derived the idea that the Pope was the Anti-Christ

* Abbey and Overton, "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," p. 379.

predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. "My imagination," he writes, "was stained by the effects of this doctrine up to the year 1843; it had been obliterated from my reason and judgment at an earlier date; but the thought remained upon me as a sort of false conscience." *

Within this circle of ideas Newman passed the years of his youth. He was the silent member of his school, whose capacities and aims had not yet been made clear, but whose conscious aim was the cultivation of the imagination in the service of religion.

In June, 1817, he entered Trinity College, Oxford, where in course of time he became acquainted with the Broad Church Party. In the University atmosphere there came the widening of his mental outlook which resulted in the gradual weakening of his Calvinistic beliefs. The social life of the University affected his stern Puritanism, but his shy reserved nature rendered him immune from the temptations to which many young undergraduates are exposed. Newman had arrived at a critical period of his life. The great truths which he had accepted on authority were being woven into his experience, and transmuted into personal convictions. It was a time of doubt and perplexity, of awkward questions, and serious difficulties. It was a time when he attempted to justify his faith at the bar of reason—an attempt which was attended with the loss of some of the doctrines peculiar to the Evangelical Party, which he had accepted in his earlier years. In this frame of mind he was susceptible to the

* "Apologia," p. 7.

To face p. 72.] THE SNAPDRAGON ON THE WALL OUTSIDE NEWMAN'S ROOM.

influences of the new school of Liberal theologians which held an important place in the University.

The philosophy of Locke, with which Newman became familiar in 1818, helped to turn his mind in this direction. John Locke (1632–1704) has been described as the father of English empirical philosophy, but in the main his arguments followed the older lines of Demonstrative Rationalism. All creation bears witness to God, the evidence of His power and wisdom is present in the things that are seen, and he who reverently reads the book of Nature cannot fail to discover the God of Nature. Thus far he is in accord with the Theists of the older Rationalistic School. But elsewhere he introduces another element, and speaks of the "certainty of our intuitive knowledge." "We can never receive for a truth anything that is directly contrary to our own clear and distinct knowledge"; * in other words, our knowledge of ourselves and our own powers, are factors which must be taken into consideration side by side with external Nature. There is a witness within, as well as a witness outside ourselves, and both are needed to demonstrate the existence of God. It was this new feature which was taken up and developed in the new Empirical philosophy.

Among Locke's works is one bearing the title the *Reasonableness of Christianity*. A somewhat similar work came from the pen of one of his disciples, John Toland, *Christianity not Mysterious*. These titles illustrate the general tendency of his system

* "Essay on Human Understanding," Bk iv., c. xviii., § 5. Quoted "Protestant Thought since Kant," p. 203.

of philosophy. The "Intellect takes precedence over the 'Heart' in matters of religious faith. Christianity becomes a 'Creed' before it becomes a 'Life.'" This is the exact opposite of what actually happened in the history of the Church.

A system of this kind was bound to leave its mark on Newman's mind; it fitted in with his mental expansion, and materially assisted the growth of his intellectual conception of religious faith. It diverted his attention from that purely emotional type of Christianity with which he had hitherto been mainly familiar.

We must not omit to mention the name of one other eighteenth-century divine whose work contributed to Newman's mental development, Joseph Butler (1692–1752), who became Bishop of Bristol in 1738 and afterwards Bishop of Durham (1750). Butler does not, like Locke, overvalue "Reason," "Conscience" is of equal, if not greater, importance. He sees in the World manifold signs of the moral government of God,* and in a subsequent chapter, while showing the importance of "Reason," defines and limits the sphere of its operation. He says: "Reason can, and ought to judge, not only of the meaning, but also of the morality and the evidence, of revelation. First, It is the province of reason to judge of the morality of the Scripture; *i.e.* not whether it contains things different from what we should have expected from a wise, just, and good Being; . . . but whether it contains things plainly contradictory to wisdom, justice, or goodness; to what the light of nature teaches us of

* "Analogy," i., c. 3.

God. . . . Secondly, Reason is able to judge, and must, of the evidence of revelation, and of the objections urged against that evidence.* Here obviously the moral judgment takes precedence over reason.

An estimate of the impression these authors made upon Newman's mind can, at the best, be a matter of conjecture. He has told us a little in the "Apologia," but by no means all. We can imagine that the reading of Locke would lead him to place too high a value upon the intellect, and that the tendency in this direction would be corrected by Butler's insistence upon the moral nature of man and the supremacy of conscience. As the sequel shows, a change of this character shortly took place in Newman's religious opinions. Newman read the "Analogy" in 1823. This study, he tells us, marked an era in his religious opinions. He specially mentions two points which became the underlying principles of a great part of his teaching. Butler argues that the analogy between natural and revealed religion cannot be maintained at every point, that God cannot be limited by the laws of causation which are operative in the realm of sense and experience. Consequently "revelation" is credible provided that while it transcends (as it must), it is not inconsistent or out of harmony with the established order. The argument goes to show that "the analogy of nature renders it highly credible beforehand; that, supposing a revelation to be made, it must contain many things very different from what we should have expected, and such as appear open to

* "Analogy," ii., c. 3.

great objections; and that this observation, in good measure, takes off the force of those objections, or rather precludes them." * Newman's vivid imagination rendered him specially susceptible to Butler's treatment of natural religion. This type of teaching fostered the idea (already in his mind) of the Divine Immanence, of spiritual powers manifesting themselves through material phenomenon. Consequently it is legitimate to interpret the world of Nature in the light of Christianity; in other words, "the less certain aspects of what is called natural religion should be interpreted in the sense of revealed religion, and not *vice versâ*." We are to "take the sacramental system of revealed religion as the key to natural religion, and look at material phenomena as intended to convey, and actually conveying, spiritual influences." † The second doctrine which Newman derived from this source was that, "Probability is the guide of life." Butler reminds his readers that in matters wherein our temporal interests consist there is "great uncertainty and doubtfulness of proof." Men ask, What are the most probable means of furthering our interests? and, Whether those means will be successful? These questions point to the large element of uncertainty in human life. There are "numberless instances," he says, "in the daily course of life, in which all men think it reasonable to engage in pursuits, though the probability is greatly against succeeding; and to make such provision for themselves, as it is supposable they may

* Butler, "Analogy," Pt. ii., c. 4.
† Hutton, "Cardinal Newman," p. 19.

have occasion for, though the plain acknowledged probability is, they never shall.* A long series of converging probabilities were considered sufficient to justify a certainty. In every department of human life men were guided by probabilities.

These two points in Butler's system made a deep impression on Newman's mind. To Butler, he says, " I trace these two principles of my teaching which have led to a charge against me both of fancifulness and of scepticism." †

III.

In April, 1822, Newman was elected Fellow of Oriel. The vacancy was created by the appointment of Dr. Arnold to the Head Mastership of Rugby, and the appointment carried with it not only high honours, but exceptional privileges. Oriel College was then the most distinguished College in the University. The Society of Fellows numbered among its members some of the rising men at Oxford, and Newman was introduced to a circle which included such well-known names as Whately, Keble, Hawkins, Hampden, and Pusey; of all of whom we shall hear more in this and subsequent lectures. The Oriel Fellowship was the turning point in his early life. " Not only did it give him an assured position, but, to use his own words, ' it opened upon him a theological career, placing him upon the high and broad platform of University society and intelligence, and bringing him across those various influences, personal and intellectual, . . . whereby the religious sentiment in his mind, which had been his blessing since

* Butler, " Analogy," Part ii., c. vi. † " Apologia," p. 11.

the time he left school, was gradually developed and formed and brought on to its legitimate issues.' " *

(i.)

The Broad Church Party were the successors of the old Latitudinarians, but they must not be confused with that very unsatisfactory type of Churchmanship. The influence of the Evangelicals and High Churchmen had by this time been felt throughout the whole Church, and had resulted in an elevation of the standards of clerical life and responsibility. Many men who were not prepared to throw in their lot with either of these parties, were now performing their parochial duties in a thoroughly conscientious manner. Among the most noteworthy figures in this group is that of Edward Stanley (1779–1849, the father of Dean Stanley), rector of Alderley, in Cheshire, and then for twelve years Bishop of Norwich. " In an age of patronage and pluralism, he was honourably distinguished by close attention to his duty as a parish priest and eager zeal for all improvements both local and public." He took a constant and warm interest in his Parish School, providing it with gymnastic appliances, introducing the study of botany, geology, and natural history, with examinations and prizes, and he visited the cottages of the poor with commendable regularity. " He took so much trouble in whatever he did," his parishioners said. In 1831 he headed a movement among the Cheshire clergy for the abolition of pluralities, non-residence,

* Quoted by Ward, i. p. 36, from "Autobiographical Memoir."

and other clerical scandals, a course of action which made him exceedingly unpopular among his easy-going neighbours.*

In a letter written shortly after his election, Newman refers to the rise of this new type of Churchmanship. "They were neither High Church nor Low Church," he writes, "but had become a new school . . . which was characterised by its spirit of moderation and comprehension, and of which the principal ornaments were Copleston, Davison, Whately, Hawkins, and Arnold. They called everything into question; they appealed to first principles and disallowed authority as a judge in religious matters." † The keynote of this party was comprehension and toleration, and they cultivated friendly relations with Dissenters. This toleration, as we shall see presently, did not extend to the leaders of the Tractarian Party.

We are accustomed to distinguish between the "practical" and the "theoretical" aspects of truth; and at first sight there seems to be no likeness between the parochial activity of men like Stanley and this intellectual movement at Oxford. But while the Parish is the centre of life, the University is the centre of thought, and it would be surprising were the new spirit of Theological Liberalism to find expression in identical forms in such widely different surroundings. It is, however, hardly fair to describe as a party a school of Churchmen which included in its ranks men who would feel themselves separated by more mutual divergence than that between them and many members of the other

* Cornish, p. 104. † Quoted by Ward, p. 37.

two Church parties. In order to form a fair estimate of the condition of the Church at this period, a clear distinction must be maintained between Churchmen of this type and the High Churchmen and Evangelicals; and, if in order to do this we adopt the name "Broad Church Party," it is only as a convenient label to describe "a body of men who were rather Christians than Churchmen, but who did also prize the bond of the Church, and who protested against the narrowing influences which high and low Churchmen alike would impose on its scope; and there was a definite moral tone about them, which comes out clearly when we compare them with their predecessors or their successors. They were all concerned, more or less, to vindicate the sacredness of things secular, to reclaim 'the world' from the shadow of Godlessness, to break down the barrier that both the other parties in the Church set up around a particular part of life, and spread the sacred influences which they would confine within its limits over the whole." *

This party included some of the most prominent Churchmen of the nineteenth century. Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–72), one of the leading pioneers of the movement now known as Christian Socialism; Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–81), the disciple of Dr. Arnold, whose main aim as a Christian divine was to promote mutual understanding and sympathy between the most opposed schools of thought, and who always maintained that the essence of Christianity was practically independent of dogmas, rites, and ceremonies; and

* Wedgwood, "Nineteenth Century Teachers," pp. 102, 103.

Charles Kingsley (1819–75), the well-known novelist, the declared opponent of Calvinism, and the warm supporter of various schemes for the improvement of the condition—material, moral, and religious—of the working classes. Other names are equally worthy of notice, but those mentioned indicate the strength, force, and direction of the movement. The Broad Churchmen were pioneers of a type of thought which is predominant among the laity of the English Church at the present day.

(ii.)

For some years Oriel College was the home of a succession of able men who differed from each other in many respects, but agreed in one, the claim to dispute freely, and express their opinions on all subjects of controversy. Oriel, says Newman, was looked upon as the "school of speculative philosophy in England." Richard Whately (1787–1863), afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, was a Fellow of this College. He has been described as an independent and original thinker, whose influence was, in the main, conservative, and who professed to be "a former of men's minds." Another Fellow and tutor was John Davison, the author of the *Discourses on Prophecy*, the first English work which approached the Hebrew prophetical books from the side of historical and linguistic criticism and showed the way to others who went further than himself. Then there was Thomas Arnold (1795–1842), afterwards the head master of Rugby, and the pioneer of modern educational methods; and

Edward Hawkins, the Provost (1789–1882), about whom we shall hear more later on.

IV.

Newman's career at Oriel may be divided into three periods: "(1) the period of the development of his mind under the influence of such liberal thinkers as Whately and the rest of the brilliant circle of Oriel Fellows, afterwards known as the 'Noetics,' or 'Intellectuals'; (2) the early years of that close intimacy with Hurrell Froude—from 1828 to 1832—which came with the termination of the liberal tendency of his thought, years which witnessed his appointment to the vicarage of St. Mary's, and his reforming campaign as tutor at Oriel; and (3) his share in the Tractarian Movement of 1833 to 1845." *

The last period falls outside the scope of the present lecture; the first and second correspond to the Broad Church and High Church influence upon his life and character. After noticing each of these in turn, we shall be in a position to form an estimate of his theological outlook at this stage in the development of his religious opinions.

(i.)

During the earlier part of his life at Oriel, Newman was on very friendly terms with Dr. Hawkins, who was a good scholar and able controversialist. From him he learnt to carefully weigh his words, and to

* Ward, i. p. 36.

be cautious in his statements. Hawkins was a man of most exact mind, and used to snub Newman severely on reading his first sermons, and other compositions on which he was engaged.* The ability to give clear and exact expression to our ideas and general opinions is a valuable asset which needs to be carefully cultivated, and Newman owed a great deal to the man who taught him to exercise care in his use of words, and also to discriminate between cognate, yet distinct ideas. From Hawkins also Newman "learned toleration and a recognition that the sharp division of men into converted and unconverted was untrue to the facts of life—a feeling which was further developed by the reading of Sumner's 'Apostolical Preaching.'" † Hawkins also taught him the doctrine of tradition; in the *Apologia* he writes, "He [*i.e.* Hawkins] lays down a proposition, self-evident, as soon as stated, to those who have at all examined the structure of Scripture, viz. that the sacred text was never intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it, and that if we would learn doctrine, we must have recourse to the formularies of the Church; for instance, to the Catechism and to the Creeds. He considers that, after learning from them the doctrines of Christianity, the inquirer must verify them by Scripture." ‡

This view was also held by Whately. It was he who, when Newman was still timid and awkward in 1822, took him by the hand and acted towards him the part of a gentle and encouraging instructor.

* See "Apologia," p. 8. † Ward, i. p. 38.
‡ "Apologia," p. 9.

He taught him to think and use his reason, "to see with his own eyes, and to walk with his own feet." * "What he did for me in point of religious opinion," Newman writes, "was, first to teach me the existence of the Church, as a substantive body or corporation; next to fix in me those anti-Erastian views of Church polity which were one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian Movement." † The idea of the Church as the guardian of religious truth was one of the permanent gains resulting from his intercourse with Whately.

(ii.)

It is interesting to notice that the distinctive doctrines which started Newman upon his career as a High Churchman were derived from these representative Broad Churchmen. It is also noteworthy that when he applied these doctrines in the interests of High Anglicanism, he had no more resolute opponents than his former teachers. The explanation of this curious, yet constantly recurring feature in human experience, is to be found in the normal laws of mental development. We must at the outset distinguish two things, the beliefs a man holds, and the relative importance of those beliefs in his mental equipment. Two men may hold one idea in common; in one case that idea predominates over all others, in the second instance it may occupy a subordinate place and its development be checked by the other ideas which make up the contents of his mind, or by the cultivation

* See also Ward, i. p. 37; "Apologia," p. 11.
† "Apologia," p. 12.

of other parts of his nature ; he may, for instance, possess a very affectionate nature, or a highly emotional temperament, or he may make a speciality of physical culture. The influence of an idea is proportionate to its importance in a man's whole outlook, physical, mental, and moral.

Now, a student brings with him a mind which has been partly furnished from other quarters, and the direction of which has, in some measure, already been fixed as the result of his previous training. Consequently the ideas of his teacher appeal to him, not in the order of their importance in the teacher's mind, but according to their affinity with his own predilections. An idea which the teacher considers of minor importance may become a motive force and spring of action in the student. Like always attracts like, and surprising results occur when the relative position of ideas is changed, and when one which has hitherto been regarded as subordinate is raised to a position of primary importance.

Thus Newman took the " doctrine of the Church " and the authority of tradition, and developed these ideas along lines which surprised and annoyed both Hawkins and Whately ; and yet he was doing no more than Whately had personally encouraged him to do. He was thinking out and formulating his own theological position. Newman did not adopt Whately's doctrine of the Church in its entirety ; his methods were selective, and there were elements in that doctrine which were distasteful to him ; but it was Whately who prepared him for the acceptance of the High Anglican doctrine which he held in subsequent years.

(iii.)

The Broad Church Party did not hold Newman long; his was not a nature which was susceptible to the attractions of a circle which was so exclusively intellectual. His intercourse with this school of thought proved of incalculable value to him; he had learnt to recognise elements of truth in all schools of thought, and he saw now that religion must have an intellectual as well as an emotional basis. His early Evangelical training had left an indelible mark upon his life; the acquisition of fuller knowledge had dispelled the Calvinistic beliefs, but his experience during those early years had created a need which demanded a warmer type of religion for its complete satisfaction. He began to feel that he was in danger of setting too high a value upon the intellectual element. "The truth is," he wrote, "I was beginning to prefer intellectual excellence to moral. I was drifting in the direction of the Liberalism of the day." *

A serious illness in 1827, and the loss of his sister Mary in 1828 (January) marked an epoch in his life, and greatly developed his religious nature. He had been specially devoted to his sister, and her sudden death came as a crushing blow. The thought of her remained in his memory many months, and we can well believe that she was still in his mind when he wrote his well-known hymn, and spoke of the "faces loved long since and lost awhile."

* "Apologia," p. 14.

V.

We come now to the second landmark in Newman's career at Oriel. In 1828 he became vicar of St. Mary's, and in the same year Hurrell Froude (1803–36) and Robert Wilberforce were elected tutors of Oriel.

(i.)

Newman's friendship with Froude was one of the turning points in his life. Hurrell Froude is one of the most interesting figures in the early history of the Oxford Movement. He was a man of brilliant gifts and high genius, but he is noted, not so much because of his own ability, but rather because of his energy in setting others to work. On one occasion Froude is reported to have said, "Keble is my fire, but I may be his poker." * Froude was Keble's pupil at Oriel, and read with him for his degree during the Long Vacation of 1823; he was daring and impetuous, indulging in sharp criticisms and bold speculations. His outspoken language often startled his friends and embittered his foes. "People who did not like him, or his views, and who, perhaps, had winced under his irony, naturally put down his strong language, which on occasion could certainly be unceremonious, to flippancy and arrogance. But within the circle of those whom he trusted, or those who needed at any time his help, another side disclosed itself—a side of the most genuine warmth of affection, an awful reality of devoutness, which it was his great and

* Cornish, p. 217.

habitual effort to keep hidden, a high simplicity of unworldliness and generosity, and in spite of his daring mockeries of what was commonplace or showy, the most sincere and deeply felt humility with himself." *

Froude was pre-eminently a man of action, fearless and careless of respectabilities and conventionalities. He would have nothing to do with any half truths or half measures, and did not attempt to disguise his antipathies and sympathies. A man who openly expressed admiration for the Church of Rome, and hatred of the Reformation, who sharply criticised his own Church and regarded the Reformation as responsible for some of her faults and shortcomings, and who moreover extolled the intrinsic excellence of virginity of which he considered the Blessed Virgin the great pattern, was not likely to receive a patient hearing at the hands of a generation which regarded the English Church as thoroughly Protestant, and believed that Rome was Anti-Christ.

"Froude's share in the movement," writes Mr. Cornish, "lies in the effect of his personality upon Keble and Newman, and especially Newman." † "Do you know," he is said to have asked on one occasion, "the story of the murderer who had done one good deed in his life? Well, if I were asked what good deed I had ever done, I should say, I had brought Keble and Newman to understand

* Church, "Oxford Movement," pp. 38, 39. Newman read the manuscript of Dean Church's "Oxford Movement," and his comment on the description of Froude is interesting. "I think you have succeeded wonderfully in your account of R. H. Froude, and marvel how without knowing him you could be so correct" (Ward, ii. p. 513).

† Cornish, p. 218.

one another." * Newman had reached a critical stage in his mental development; to him "religion really meant the most awful and most seriously personal thing on earth," † and he was already out of sympathy with the "Noetics" or "Intellectuals" —the name given to the school of thought for which "Oriel" was then famous. Keble only knew him as an intimate friend of Whately and Hawkins, and not being aware of the workings of his mind, looked upon him with suspicion. Froude soon discovered how matters stood and brought Newman under Keble's direct influence.

(ii.)

But Froude did more than bring Newman into touch with Keble. His strong personality was bound to make a deep impression upon Newman, who just then was experiencing the unsettlement consequent upon the change which was taking place in his religious opinions. We have tried in this lecture to notice some of the doctrines which Newman had accepted in the course of his religious growth and development. Now, Froude had already forced Keble into publicity, he had no objection to the business of an agitator, and was content to be the mouthpiece and champion of his ideas which he sought to make public, active, and aggressive. Newman had been slowly travelling in the same direction, and Froude, with his critical and logical mind, brought him face to face with the implications of the doctrines he had already accepted. In this way he hastened Newman's

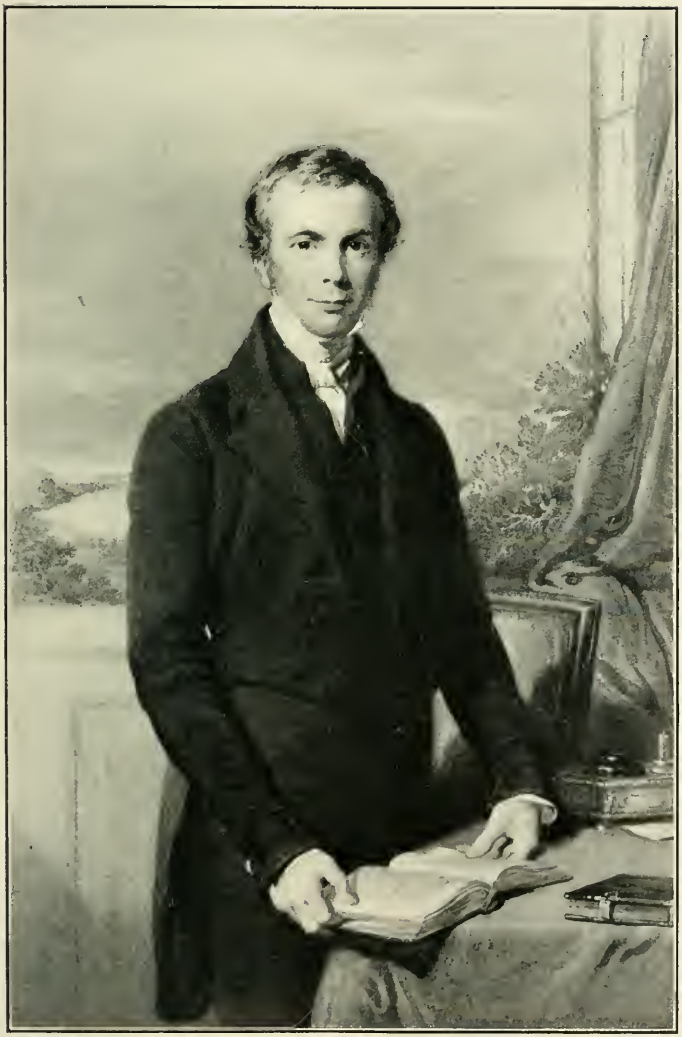
* "Apologia," p. 18. † Church, p. 20.

mental development. "Froude represented Keble's ideas, Keble's enthusiasm. Newman gave shape, foundation, consistency, elevation to the Anglican theology, when he accepted it, which Froude had learned from Keble." * Meantime these three friends, who had so much in common, prepared for the days which were yet to come. They were fellow workers, united both by their conception of the Church as a Divine Society, and also by the definite object they had in view. Their primary aim was spiritual; their main object was neither the revival of certain doctrines about the Church, nor the retention of her established position with its accompanying privileges—these at the best were means to an end. These men were inspired by a nobler motive; they wanted to increase the power and efficiency of the Church in her warfare against the existing evils which disgraced popular Christianity, and to meet the forces of unbelief which threatened the integrity of the Divine revelation which the Church was commissioned to proclaim to all mankind.

(iii.)

The leader and inspirer of this movement was John Keble (1792–1866), a name no one can mention without feelings of deepest reverence. His was a life of absolute sincerity, intense earnestness, genuine devotion, and, above all, of deep spirituality. His career at Oxford had been marked with exceptional brilliance; he had carried off almost everything the University could give in the way of distinction; but the force of his wonderful

* Church, p. 30.



JOHN KEBLE.

After the painting by G. Richmond, R.A.

To face p. 99.]

influence lay in that personal character, which won the affection of his disciples and commended the doctrines he taught. When Newman became intimate with him, he had, as we have seen, arrived at a crisis in his religious experience. Intellectualism had not only starved his emotional nature, but had rendered impossible his return to the Evangelical Party, which in the earlier part of his life had ministered to his spiritual needs. He was standing at the parting of the ways. May it not be the case that the warmth and reality of Keble's Christianity contributed more than any other cause to hasten Newman's decision, and to lead him to become one of the most active pioneers of this school of Churchmen?

VI.

Up to the present we have tried to trace the development of Newman's religious opinions, and to describe the nature and the strength of the formative influences which contributed to the growth of his personality. We have now to pay some attention to his own share in bringing about the great Church Revival, and also to form some estimate of his theological position at this period of his life.

(i.)

His religious experience had prejudiced him against Theological Liberalism. The occasion for formulating his views was the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829. "Newman had no decided views on the measure itself. But he considered that it was proposed on principles of indifferentism. The Papist was to be tolerated, just

as the Socinian was to be tolerated. He regarded it as one of the 'signs of the times,' a sign of the encroachment of philosophism and indifferentism in the Church. When Peel offered himself for re-election Newman vigorously opposed him, and the opposition was successful. 'We have achieved a glorious victory,' he wrote to his mother on March 1, 'it is the first public event I have been concerned in, and I thank God from my heart both for my cause and its success. We have proved the independence of the Church and of Oxford.'" * A second letter followed a few days later (March 13). "We live in a novel era," he writes—"one in which there is an advance towards universal education. Men have hitherto depended on others, and especially on the clergy for religious truth; now each man attempts to judge for himself. Now, without meaning of course that Christianity is in itself opposed to free inquiry, still I think it *in fact* at the present time opposed to the particular form which that liberty of thought has now assumed. Christianity is of faith, modesty, lowliness, subordination; but the spirit at work against it is one of latitudinarianism, indifferentism, and schism, a spirit which tends to overthrow doctrine, as if the fruit of bigotry and discipline—as if the instrument of priestcraft. All parties seem to acknowledge that the stream of opinion is setting against the Church." † From the attitude taken up in these letters, Newman never wavered; although, as we shall see in a subsequent lecture during a long period of his life as a Roman Catholic, he was

* Quoted from Ward, i. p. 44. † *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 45.

wrongly suspected, by those in authority, of sympathy with Liberal Catholicism. In fact, the fear of Theological Liberalism was one of the main reasons for his secession to the Roman Church.

(ii.)

As vicar of St. Mary's Newman commenced that long series of sermons which made such a wonderful impression. These sermons belong rather to the story of the Oxford Movement, and will come up for consideration in that lecture; but no treatment of this period of Newman's life would be complete without some mention of the influence he wielded as preacher at St. Mary's. Plain, simple, and unadorned in style, delivered in what would appear to us as a singularly unattractive manner, these sermons are at first sight remarkable on account of the effect they produced, rather than on account of any exceptional qualities displayed in their composition. But they were the sermons of a man to whom the spiritual world was a vivid reality, and they were the echo of the religious convictions of the preacher; they were the expression of a deep and piercing insight into "character and conscience and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and most stern with the tempted and the wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God. . . . They made men think of the things which the preacher spoke of, and not of the sermon or of the preacher." * "Without these sermons the Oxford Movement would never have gone on, certainly would never have been what it was." †

* Church, p. 129. † *Ibid.*, p. 130.

(iii.)

In 1830 Newman commenced his first theological book, which was finished in June, 1832, and published under the title of *The Arians of the Fourth Century*. From the time, when as a boy he had read the extracts from the writings of the Fathers contained in Milner's "Church History," he delighted in the study of early Church History. He was not favourably disposed towards Mediævalism, and looked to the primitive Church as the model of purity and truth. In 1828, after his separation from the "Intellectuals," he returned to the study of the Fathers and read their works almost uninterruptedly during the Long Vacation. The two following years were occupied in the same way. He threw into his work, not only the exceptional powers of application which his letters reveal, but also the faculty of historical imagination. "The Fathers again rise full before me," he writes in one letter. "I am so hungry for Irenæus and Cyprian," he writes in another letter, "[that] I long for the vacation." * "It was chiefly the state of the Church in the fourth century which enabled him to think of the Established Church of England as a part of the Church Catholic. He could not deny that the English sees were in 1830 filled by Protestant bishops. But then so were multitudes of Catholic sees in A.D. 360 filled by Arian bishops. He and his friends were in the position of faithful Catholics in those days, who kept the faith in spite of their bishops. He could only hope that an Athanasius or

* Ward, i. p. 43.

a Basil would arise in England. Perhaps there was some subconscious presage that he himself might be destined to take the place of those great champions of truth in the nineteenth century. But with this historical parallel to give him confidence in his position, he considered in the course of his history the deeper problems of Christian faith, and the analogy in the fourth century to his own campaign against liberalism and intellectualism." *

This book enables us to form some idea of the theological position at which Newman had arrived. Its importance is mainly historical as indicating the train of thought which actually brought about the development of his opinions and his revolt from Liberalism.† The study of the history of the Creeds had strengthened his convictions as to the supreme importance of dogma. "If the Church would be vigorous and influential," he writes, "it must be decided and plain spoken in its doctrine." ‡ Newman fully admits the force of the contention, so frequently urged at the present day, that human language is inadequate for the complete expression of Divine revelation. On the other hand, he shows that Creeds and definitions became necessary in primitive Christianity. The vivid and intense faith in Christ would never have been transmitted whole and inviolate had it not been for the formulation of the doctrine of the Incarnation. Newman was keenly alive to the dangers arising from the intellectualism of some of his contemporaries. The progress of scientific thought had, as we saw in the last chapter,

* Ward, i. p. 47. See "Arians of the Fourth Century" (ed. 1871), Part II., c. iv., section 3, also pp. 368–370; 405–406.
† Ward, i. p. 50. ‡ "Arians," p. 151.

brought into prominence a school of thought which separated the pursuit of knowledge from religious faith. The Broad Church Party seemed to be drifting in the same direction. The danger could only be averted by a rigid adherence to the example of early Christianity. It was an imperative duty to "contend for the faith once for all delivered to the saints." Nothing must be allowed to impair the heritage which the Church had received from antiquity. Unreserved and whole-hearted loyalty to the fundamental doctrines was essential to the vitality of the Church.

The Church was the Divine Society placed in the world with a definite mission. Her function was to witness to the eternal truths God had revealed to man. In her existence lay the guarantee for their propagation and faithful transmission from generation to generation. Consequently the doctrine of the Church was justified first of all by an appeal to Scripture and antiquity, and then by her ability to meet the actual and existing needs of the age. But the Church was threatened; she was in danger. It was the time of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The agitation over the Reform Bill was taking place at the very period when Newman was writing his book. Bishops were openly insulted, the populace were incensed against the Church. Lord Grey had told the bishops "to set their house in order." "The vital question was," writes Newman, "how were we to keep the Church from being liberalised? There was such apathy on the subject in some quarters, such imbecile alarm in others; the true principles of Churchmanship seemed so

radically decayed, and there was such distraction in the councils of the clergy. Blomfield, the Bishop of London of the day . . . had deeply offended men who agreed in opinion with myself, by an offhand saying (as it was reported) to the effect that belief in the Apostolical succession had gone out with the Non-jurors." * Newman was not satisfied with the position of the English Church. With the Establishment divided and threatened he "compared that fresh vigorous power of which he was reading in the first centuries." "I said to myself," he writes, "Look on this picture and on that; I felt affection for my own Church, but not tenderness; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity. I thought that if Liberalism once got a footing within her, it was sure of victory in the event. I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination; still I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and the organ. She was nothing unless she was this. She must be dealt with strongly, or she would be lost. There was need of a second reformation." †

Roman Catholicism had no attraction for Newman at this period. He still believed that the pope was Anti-Christ, so there was no relief in this direction from the burden which oppressed his mind. As the years go by he lays more and more "stress upon the

* "Apologia," pp. 30, 31. † *Id.*, pp. 31, 32.

opposition between the world and the Church, between the City of God and the corrupt city of men, between the natural and the supernatural. And even for those who are unable to sympathise with such a conception of Christianity, nothing could be of more surpassing interest than to observe this internal growth of a great mind, and this anxious search for religious truth." *

VII.

The completion of Newman's work on the Arians was followed by a period of exhaustion; and at the end of 1832 he was easily persuaded to join Hurrell Froude and his father, who were starting for a cruise in the Mediterranean. The voyage proved a memorable one. Newman, who had lived hitherto in his narrow world at Oxford, was now introduced to new scenes and surroundings, which enlarged his mental horizon, captivated his imagination, and "produced an expansion of his whole being." † "With the exception of the *Dream of Gerontius*, about four-fifths of his published poems were written in the course of this voyage." ‡ But in the course of the voyage another of his personal characteristics displays itself. The beauty and interest of the surroundings powerfully affected him, he experiences their powerful appeal to his sense of wonder and admiration. But there comes across his mind a strange thought. May not these "enchantments" be a temptation of the Evil Spirit? "He lives in terror lest this external world may take him away

* Sarolea, p. 48. † *Id.*, p. 49. ‡ Ward, i. p. 51.

from his spiritual centre, and lest nature may receive some of the homage and the rapture which belong only to God." * To many minds the love of the beautiful has proved a strong incentive in the direction of religion, but Newman's experience was of a different type. In him the æsthetic and rational faculties were subordinate to the emotional and moral. His faith was built upon his consciousness of the Divine Presence. The great "luminous realities to him were God and his own soul."

The visit to Rome, so eagerly anticipated, troubled and disturbed him. In his letters we find admiration combined with sadness at the spiritual condition of the city. "The religion it harbours is a wretched perversion of the truth." "There was a great appearance of piety in the churches, but it is a city still under a curse." † Yet the sight of Roman Catholicism awakens in him a strange desire, he wishes it were all true. The lines written upon his journey home are an indication of this feeling—

" O that thy Creed were sound !
For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome,
By thy unwearied watch and varied round
Of service in thy Saviour's holy home.
I cannot walk the city's sultry streets
But the wide porch invites to still retreats
Where passion's thirst is calmed and care's unthankful gloom.

There, on a foreign shore,
The homesick solitary finds a friend:
Thoughts, prisoned long for lack of speech, outpour
Their tears; and doubts in resignation end.
I almost fainted from the long delay,
That tangles me within this languid bay,
When comes a foe, my wounds with oil and wine to tend."

A serious illness detained Newman for three weeks in Sicily. His servant thought that he was

* Sarolea, p. 51. † Ward, i. p. 53.

dying, and asked for his last directions, but there was growing upon him the conviction that God was calling upon him to undertake some special work, and sustained by this conviction, he felt certain about his recovery. He believed that God had a work for him to do in England. During the preceding two or three years he had on more than one occasion referred to the need for a great religious leader who would reform the Church, and guide her course in the perilous days; now there seems to have been borne in upon him that he was the man to undertake the work. The future was dark and uncertain; on every hand there were destructive forces threatening the Church of the living God. How to act he did not know, he could only wait, and in dependence upon God, look for the directions which he knew would follow the Divine call. The well-known hymn, written upon his homeward voyage, gives us some idea of the state of his mind at this time.

"Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on,
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Should'st lead me on,
I loved to choose and see my path, but now
Lead Thou me on.
I loved the garish day, and spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will; remember not past years.

So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent till
The night is gone,
And with the morn those Angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since and lost awhile."

The Sunday after Newman's return home, Keble preached his sermon on National Apostasy. Its delivery coincided with the return of a leader now fully conscious of his mission. Keble's sermon was the call to arms. In Newman we have the man who responded to the call, and who during the next few years was the leader of those pioneers of the great Church Revival which has extended its influence throughout the whole of English Christianity, and in every department of Church life and work.

VIII.

We have now followed Newman's career up to the supremely decisive moment of his life. Many influences contributed to the growth of his religious opinions, but the most powerful were those which moulded his character and disposition during the years preceding his residence at Oxford. Throughout the whole of his life, the idea of personal responsibility to a personal God was the foundation of his religious faith. The fundamental Evangelical truths which he learned during childhood were not cast on one side, they were retained and became the foundation of his whole theological system.

The course of this study will suggest to some minds two important questions: was not Roman Catholicism the natural and inevitable outcome of Newman's system? and if so, is not development along the lines indicated, inconsistent with loyalty to the English Church? The subsequent history of the movement will in some measure answer both these questions. At this point it will be sufficient

to point out that these special doctrines do not necessarily lead to Romanism. Newman, as we have seen, deliberately subordinated the rational and æsthetic faculties to the emotional and moral. Yet his keen and critical intellect could not fail to influence the formation of his religious opinions. Its self-imposed limitations only increased the intensity of its operation in the direction in which it was employed. He had learned from Butler that "Probability is the guide of life," and he approached the study of religion with certain definite presuppositions, which he had never submitted to critical analysis. He accepted certain religious ideas on authority alone, and employed all his faculties on their justification and elaboration. From them he deduced the conclusions which determined his line of activity. To repeat what has already been said: in the constitution of the human mind, the main consideration is not each single, separate idea taken alone, but that same idea in relation to the other ideas which make up the contents of the mind. In Newman's mind, we find one idea gradually gathering force, increasing in intensity, and colouring his entire outlook. The whole of his subsequent conduct is rendered intelligible in the light of his elementary psychological fact.

Archbishop Tait had little sympathy with Newman's mental and theological outlook, but he had the warmest admiration for his personal character. He used in later years to defend him against those who took an unfavourable view of his conduct. As Newman's contemporary and opponent

in the matter of Tract XC, his opinion is worthy of special notice. When, in the course of a discussion which took place at Addington in 1877, Tait was asked to give his view of Dr. Newman's character, he made the following reply :—

"I have always regarded Newman as having a strange duality of mind. On the one hand is a wonderfully strong and subtle reasoning faculty, on the other a blind faith, raised almost entirely by his emotions. It seems to me that in all matters of belief he first acts on his emotions, and then he brings the subtlety of his reason to bear, till he has ingeniously persuaded himself that he is logically right. The result is a condition in which he is practically unable to distinguish between truth and falsehood." *

The important question, however, is *not*, Was he right or wrong? *but*, Was he loyal to his convictions? His most severe critics now dare not charge him with insincerity. Whether or not we agree with him, we are constrained to admire the man. He was one of those few noble souls who honestly and conscientiously seek to do God's will, and who make the realisation of the Divine purpose the supreme object of their lives.

* Davidson and Benham, "Life of Archbishop Tait," i. p. 89.

III.

The Oxford Movement.

In the first lecture some reference was made to Thomas Sikes (1767–1834), vicar of Guilsborough, a High Churchman of the old school. He was "a man of retired life, but strong personality," and it was his teaching and example which stimulated interest, and brought into prominence a long-neglected Article of the Creed, the belief in the Holy Catholic Church. "Depend upon it," he is reported to have said on one occasion, "the day will come when these great doctrines now buried will be brought out to the light of day, and then the effect will be quite fearful." * That prophecy was remarkably fulfilled in the story of the Oxford Movement. Sikes died in 1834, a date which practically coincides with the commencement of aggressive activity, but he lived long enough to witness the revival of a new spirit in the Church. A new day had dawned; his teaching was beginning to bear fruit.

Keble's sermon on National Apostasy came as the climax of a long series of preparation. Ten years had passed since the first step had been taken,

* Church, p. 146.

and during the intervening period the pioneers had been becoming conscious of their mission. The prime mover was John Keble. Having carried off almost every honour that the University could confer, he had in 1823 become one of the most distinguished men in Oxford, when feeling that he ought to undertake parochial work, he left Oxford to become his father's curate. Always a strong Churchman, he was thoroughly loyal to the Prayer-book which he accepted as his "standard of doctrine and devotion." When Keble left Oriel, he took with him as his pupils Hurrell Froude, Robert Wilberforce, and Isaac Williams, who spent the long vacation with their tutor. Keble did not stand on ceremony, and the whole party were on the terms of the utmost freedom. "'Master is the greatest boy of them all,' was the judgment of the rustic who was gardener, groom, and parish clerk to Mr. Keble." * Keble won the love of the whole of this little society, and the seed then sown was in after years to spring up and bear fruit. Keble exercised his greatest influence over Hurrell Froude, who became the champion of his ideas and the active agitator of the movement. At the outset they had no intention of forming a party; they were a group of Churchmen anxious to infuse seriousness and reality into conventional forms and practices. The dangers which threatened the Church were sufficiently real to justify this association in taking counsel as to the best means for safeguarding her interests. The increasing dangers forced them more and more into publicity, and led

* Church, p. 27. Keble became Vicar of Hursley in 1835.

them to pursue a policy which issued in Keble's Assize Sermon in 1833.

With the commencement of the Oxford Movement, Newman entered upon the most important period of his activity in the English Church. His friendship with men like Keble and Froude had hastened the development of his own religious opinions, and deepened in him the sense of vocation. The danger which threatened the Church was God's call for action, and like the Evangelical Prophet of old, Newman was ready with the answer, "Here am I, send me." At this point, a brief estimate of his theological position in 1833 will render his subsequent career more intelligible.

(i.)

He was gifted with a vivid imagination; and his interpretation of contemporary events was profoundly influenced by his religious faith. The movement appeared in his eyes, not simply as a conflict between Church and State, but rather between God and the World. The action of the State in connection with this controversy was the intrusion of an evil power, hostile to God, into the sacred society of the Church of God. He and his followers were on God's side, and fighting in the ranks of the army of the living God.

(ii.)

Newman possessed a nature in which the emotional and moral faculties were uppermost. The rational and æsthetic faculties were relegated to a subordinate place. His outlook was consequently

narrowed to certain main issues, he was not in a position to form a comprehensive conception of human life. The neglect of the usual precautionary methods to test the validity of his presuppositions was the outcome of his fear of intellectualism.

(iii.)

In Newman's life we find a combination of the qualities of dependence and independence. He realised his dependence upon God; no article in his creed was held more firmly than his belief in Divine guidance. The authority of the Church reflected the Divine authority, and on this ground had a claim upon his obedience. On the other hand, he was independent of his fellow men, and throughout the whole of his share of the movement he pursued his own course. A conference of the principal members of the new party was held at Hadleigh shortly after Keble's sermon. Newman declined the invitation. "Living movements do not come out of Committees," he wrote; his invariable habit was to act for himself. He was quite willing to extend to others the latitude he claimed for himself, and allowed the publications of tracts and articles with which he was not in full sympathy.

(iv.)

Newman had adopted Butler's rule that "Probability is the guide of life." The application of this rule had convinced him concerning the Catholicity of the English Church. In the earlier stages

of the movement he approached the whole ecclesiastical controversy with this antecedent presupposition. This foundation was, however, being gradually undermined. In the history of his life during the next few years, there came with the development of his opinions an increasing sympathy with the Roman Church and a corresponding decreasing sympathy with the English Church. In 1845 his presuppositions had completely changed and were altogether in favour of Rome. This continuous process, of which for some years he was hardly conscious, must be kept in mind. The course of events becomes more intelligible when we bear in mind the exact nature of the development of his religious opinions.

I.

After the passing of the Reform Bill the new Government declared its intention of introducing legislation in the direction of Church Reform. Keble and his friends had good cause for alarm. Statesmen and popular speakers attacked the Church, while there was a strong party which maintained that "Church property did not belong to the corporations which owned it, but was held on trust for the use of the nation, and might be used for public purposes." * Disestablishment and Disendowment seemed imminent. No one could foresee what was going to happen, and the sense of insecurity compelled High Churchmen to consolidate their forces. As a matter of fact the measures

* Cornish, p. 107.

introduced were on the whole beneficial to the Church. They were mainly concerned with her temporalities, and no attempt was made to invade her spiritual jurisdiction.

We can do no more than indicate their nature, and for our present purpose they can be roughly divided into three main groups. The measures introduced dealt with the administration of Church property, Church revenue, and the Ecclesiastical Courts.

A Royal Commission was appointed in 1831 to inquire into the Revenues and Patronage of the Established Church. The result of this Commission was the formation of a permanent body known as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England (1836). The administration of all Cathedral and Capitular property was placed in their hands, with a view to their better and more economical management, and a common fund was created to deal with the balance after the payment of fixed incomes to the bishops and chapters. "Out of this 'common fund,' much has been done towards the augmentation of poor benefices and the endowment of new parishes, grants being made between 1840 and 1910 to no fewer than 6500 benefices, their value exceeding £942,000 a year." *

Church revenue was dealt with under the Tithe Commutation Act which was passed in 1836. This measure came as a welcome relief to the clergy who had experienced great difficulty in collecting the tithe. They were compelled either to forego income which honestly belonged to them, or enforce their right at the expense of their influence upon

* Cecil and Clayton, "Our National Church," p. 150.

their parishioners. A permanent board of Commissioners was appointed to administer the Act. Payment was now made upon a definite scale. A fixed charge on all lands which were subject to the payment of tithe at the time of the passing of the act removed one of the most fruitful causes of friction between incumbent and parishioners.

In 1830 a Royal Commission was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the practice and jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Commission was a strong one, and included Archbishop Howley, Bishops Blomfield (London), Van Mildert (Durham), and Kaye (Lincoln). The principal matter thought to require remodelling was the Court of Final Appeal. Two years later the Commissioners issued their Report, and they recommended that the right of hearing appeals should be transferred to the Privy Council. An Act embodying this recommendation was passed in 1832. A second Act followed in 1833 when appeals were again transferred from the Privy Council to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Mr. Cornish points out that "the combination of lawyers and Churchmen in the Judicial Committee is in agreement with the principle of maintaining the union of the lay and clerical elements in the Church." * It is also suggestive that bishops who were strong and able Churchmen favoured the measure. Certainly no one foresaw the trouble which this piece of legislation was to produce in the stormy days of the Ritualistic controversy.

The course of legislation which we have briefly

* Cornish, p. 130.

outlined was advantageous to the Church, but Churchmen in the days of the Reform Bill were not in a position to anticipate events. The Church was not only threatened, but was in imminent peril. The secular power was about to lay hands on sacred property. The call sounded out to all Churchmen to meet any such attack with a resolute resistance.

II.

The first step after Keble's sermon was the formation of the Association of the Friends of the Church. The object was (i.) the maintenance of the doctrine, services, and discipline of the Church ; (ii.) the provision of opportunity for mutual counsel and co-operation. Among the members were Hurrell Froude, William Palmer, and Hugh James Rose, who in 1832 had brought out the *British Magazine* in defence of Church principles. The results were not encouraging, not only were there disagreements among the members as to the best policy to pursue, but Newman set himself against any organised and concerted scheme ; he considered that more good would be done by independent action on the part of those who were united on main fundamental principles. The outcome of the " Association " was a statement of the points which Newman and his supporters decided to place in the forefront of their programme.

" The doctrine of Apostolical Succession as a rule of practice, *i.e.* (1) that the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ is essential to the maintenance of Christian life and hope in each

individual; (2) that it is conveyed to individual Christians *only* by the hands of the successors of the Apostles and their delegates; (3) that the successors of the Apostles are those who are descended in a direct line from them by the imposition of hands; and that the delegates of these are the respective presbyters whom each has commissioned." *

In other words, the validity of the Sacraments depended upon their administration by an episcopally ordained priesthood. Apostolical Succession became the distinctive doctrine of the party, they derived it from the older high Churchmen, but they gave it new force and new meaning by assigning to it the place of supreme importance in their teaching. The majority of Churchmen had lost sight of the doctrine altogether. Newman tells the story of one bishop who after reading an early tract on the subject could not make up his mind whether he held the doctrine or not.

The teaching of Scripture was supplemented by the teaching and practice of the primitive Church. The Apostles and their immediate successors were regarded as possessing greater opportunities for knowing the mind of Christ than we possess at the present day. Their methods of practical administration presuppose oral instruction received from Christ and His first followers. The source of doctrine was "Tradition" as well as "Scripture." "Even, they said, if we can only convince ourselves that there is a slight presumption that it was Christ's will that we should govern ourselves by the

* Cornish, p. 233.

ordinances and practices of the primitive Church, we are as much bound to act upon that presumption —supposing, of course, that there is nothing contrary in it to His known will—as if we had the fullest proof that it was so." *

The Tractarians appealed to tradition in support of their position. Now, as we have already seen, broad Churchmen like Whately recognised that tradition had a legitimate place in apologetic theology, but the Tractarians went a step further, and found here an authority second only in importance to Holy Scripture. Scripture closes with the apostolic age; tradition covers, at least, the sub-apostolic age, and provided the latter does not conflict with the former its authority is to be recognised. Here we have the new element in the Tractarian teaching; the practice of the primitive Church must always carry weight in determining the meaning of Scripture; but it becomes a very different matter when those practices are made the bases of doctrines which are to be accepted as articles of Faith, apart from any secure warrant of Holy Scripture. The elevation of tradition to this important position marked the point of departure from the average type of English Churchmanship; it opened the door for the bolder and more adventurous spirits, and involved the party in serious troubles later on.†

* Hutton, p. 54.

† "The Church of England has most certainly never underrated the importance of the appeal to antiquity. The very same canon of the Convocation of 1571, which imposes subscription to the Articles on the clergy, requires all preachers to 'see that they never teach aught in a sermon, to be religiously

Edward Bouverie Pusey was a friend of Newman's, and about the end of 1833 he began to show sympathy with the movement. A year later he definitely joined the party. Dr. Pusey was one of the most learned theologians at Oxford; he was a Professor, Canon of Christ Church, "and had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his family connexions and his easy relations with the University authorities." * Pusey was the cautious scholar, a man who made sure of his ground, and he was able to restrain the more impetuous members of

held and believed by the people, except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have collected from the same doctrine.' But it is one thing to use tradition as a help towards arriving at the true sense of Scripture, and quite another thing to make it a source of Christian doctrine." (Gibson, "Thirty-nine Articles," p. 238.)

"To Scripture we look as the only source of all Divine knowledge. But when we have fully established this principle, we need not fear to make use of every light, with which God has furnished us, for the right understanding of Scripture: whether it be critical knowledge of ancient languages, or history, or antiquities, or the belief of the primitive Christians, and the doctrines, which holy men of old deduced from those sacred writings, which were to them, as to us, the only fountain of light and truth." (Harold Brown, "Articles," 3rd edition, p. 181.)

These quotations fairly represent the general attitude of the English Church towards tradition. The early Tractarians adopted a bold and uncompromising position, but later writers of this school use more careful and guarded language. The authority of tradition appears to have been urged in the interests of the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, but modern advocates of the doctrine (Gore, Moberly, Darwell Stone, etc.) find the primary evidence in the teaching of Scripture, which they corroborate by an appeal to tradition. Still it remains true that the doctrine of tradition was the distinctively novel element in the Tractarian teaching, and was largely responsible for subsequent developments.

* "Apologia," p. 61. Pusey was only three years older than Newman, but he was one of the most distinguished scholars of his day.

the party, and to criticise their ideas and methods of action. Pusey's adhesion gave the movement "a second head, in close sympathy with its original leader, but in many ways very different from him. Dr. Pusey became, as it were, its official chief in the eyes of the world. He became also in a remarkable degree a guarantee for its stability and steadiness; a guarantee that its chiefs knew what they were about, and meant nothing but what was for the benefit of the English Church." *

The Tractarians were often referred to as "Puseyites," and this points to the conclusion that within a very short space of time, Pusey came to be regarded as the official leader. Pope Pius IX. used to say that "he was like a church bell which was calling all the faithful into the Church, whilst remaining itself outside." †

At this time the prevailing ideas of the originators were strongly anti-Roman. The Papacy had no attraction for them; they sought to maintain the Catholicity of the English Church and to establish her autonomy and spiritual independence. They had no desire to move in the direction of Rome, as the following quotation from one of their Tracts clearly shows.

"After speaking of the 'papistical corruptions of the Gospel,' the writer continues, 'Truly, when one surveys the grandeur of their system, a sigh arises in the thoughtful mind, to think that we should be separate from them; *cum talis sis utinam noster esses!* But, alas, AN UNION IS IMPOSSIBLE. Their communion is infected with heterodoxy;

* Church, p. 134. † Sarolea, p. 23.

we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth; and by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed. They cannot repent. Popery must be destroyed; it cannot be reformed.'" * The quotation is from Tract 20, published in 1833.

III.

Newman's strong feeling in favour of independent action naturally affected the course of development; and considerable liberty was exercised by all the leaders of the party. The agreement as to purposes and aims extended also to the broad principles of general policy in the methods adopted for the propagation of their opinions. Without such agreement concerted action would have been rendered impossible.

(i.)

In 1827 Keble published the "Christian Year." Perhaps no companion to the Prayer-book is better known than this collection of poems. The book reflects the deep spirituality of its author, it does not deal with controversial topics, its aim is rather to bring the teaching of the Prayer-book into relation with practical experience, and to show that the English Church possesses in her formularies "an ample and secure provision" both for "a sound rule of faith" and "a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion." Written at a time when the religious and secular movements appeared prejudicial to Church interests, the poems

* Cornish, p. 244.

disclose the hopes and fears of one who felt that vital religion was imperilled by the spirit of the age, a spirit which had already obtained a firm footing within the Divine Society, the Church of Christ.

Another series of poems appeared from time to time in the *British Magazine*. They were contributed by Keble and other members of the group, but out of 179 poems more than 100 were Newman's. Newman collected these poems in 1836 and published them under the title "Lyra Apostolica." A note of severity characterises this work. The fear of Liberal thought possesses the minds of the writers. The integrity of the Divine Revelation was, in their opinion, threatened by the prevailing tendency in the direction of criticism and free inquiry.

Hymns and songs always help to popularise a movement. "The heart of a religion passes into its poetry," writes Dean Church. "Its sacred songs give the measure of what it loves, what it imagines, what it trusts to, in that world out of sight, of which religion is the acknowledgment, and which it connects with this one." * So the circulation of these poems made Churchmen familiar with the ideas and aspirations of Keble and his party, and prepared the way for the more direct teaching which followed.

(ii.)

The principal means employed for the dissemination of the new doctrine were the "Tracts" which were published at frequent intervals during

* "Gifts of Civilisation," p. 256.

the years which followed Keble's sermon. It was on account of these that the party became known as the "Tractarians." The word "tract" is commonly employed to describe a small leaflet, and during the first year this is all the Tracts were. They were short papers on important topics, which "were felt to be full of momentous consequences." Later on they became elaborate treatises, sometimes extending to hundreds of pages. The Tract on Baptism was a closely printed pamphlet of more than three hundred pages. The "Tracts" were published anonymously, although no secret was made of the fact that Newman was the prime mover and chief contributor. Newman felt that what the Church, the clergy, and the country wanted "was plain speaking; and that plain speaking could not be got by any papers put forth as joint manifestoes, or with the revision and sanction of 'safe' and 'judicious' advisers. It was necessary to write, and to write as each man felt; and he determined that each man should write and speak for himself, though working in concert and sympathy with others toward the supreme end—the cause and interests of the Church." * The early Tracts were

* Church, p. 109. "I never used arguments which I saw clearly to be unsound. The nearest approach which I remember to such conduct, but which I consider was clear of it nevertheless, was in the case of Tract 15. The matter of this Tract was furnished to me by a friend, to whom I had applied for assistance, but who did not wish to be mixed up with the publication. He gave it me, that I might throw it into shape, and I took his arguments as they stood. In the chief portion of the Tract I fully agreed; for instance, as to what it says about the Council of Trent; but there were arguments, or some argument, in it which I did not follow; I do not recollect what it was. Froude, I think, was disgusted with the whole Tract and accused me of

intended to startle the world, the doctrine they contained was in harmony both with the Prayer-book and also with the teaching of authoritative Anglican divines; but they were written at a time when certain aspects of Prayer-book teaching were neglected. The revival of doctrines long since lost sight of, and their fearless application to the existing practical conditions naturally provoked a reaction against the school which came to be regarded as innovators.

When Pusey joined the party his influence was felt at once. "He saw that there ought to be more sobriety, more gravity, more careful pains, more sense of responsibility in the Tracts and in the whole movement. It was through him that the character of the Tracts was changed." * In the preface to the third volume issued in 1836, the editors say that the first Tracts "were written with the hope of rousing members of our Church to comprehend her alarming position. . . . Now, however, discussion became more seasonable than the simple statements of doctrine with which the series began." † We are consequently able to distinguish two main periods of the Tract Movement.

economy in publishing it. . . . I think I defended myself with arguments such as these: that, as every one knew, the Tracts were written by various persons who agreed together in their doctrine, but not always in the arguments by which it was to be proved; that we must be tolerant of difference of opinion among ourselves; that the author of the Tract had a right to his own opinion, and that the argument in question was ordinarily received; that I did not give my own name or authority, nor was asked for my personal belief, but only acted instrumentally, as one might translate a friend's book into a foreign language." (Newman, "Apologia," pp. 45, 46.)

* "Apologia," p. 62.

† Cornish, p. 246.

The publication of the first volume of Tracts in November, 1834, can be regarded as the close of the first; the second period extending to the publication of Tract 90 in 1841. The latter is the more important, containing, as it does, the more developed teaching, and a clearer statement of the theological position of the party.

The subjects dealt with covered the whole range of Christian faith and practice. The "Tracts" were widely circulated, Newman himself taking an important part in the actual work of distribution. On one occasion in 1833 he took some of the first papers of the movement to a country vicar in Northamptonshire; he did not, however, receive a very cordial welcome. The clergyman paused awhile, and then eyeing him with significance asked, "Whether Whately was at the bottom of them?" * The good gentleman obviously had very grave doubts as to the orthodoxy of any new movement which emanated from "Oriel."

The aim and object of the whole series were plainly stated in the preface to the volume containing the first forty-six Tracts which was published towards the end of 1834. "The following Tracts were published with the object of contributing something towards the practical revival of doctrines, which, although held by the great divines of our Church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members, and are withdrawn from public view, even by the more learned and orthodox few who still adhere to them. The Apostolic Succession, the Holy Catholic Church, were principles

* "Apologia," p. 41.

of action in the minds of our predecessors of the seventeenth century; but, in proportion as the maintenance of the Church has been secured by law, her ministers have been under the temptation of leaning on an arm of flesh, instead of her own divinely-provided discipline, a temptation increased by political events and arrangements which need not here be more than alluded to." *

In other words, the authors of the Tracts wrote to counteract the prevailing ideas as to the relation between Church and State. The Church was the "Body of Christ," owing loyal and unqualified allegiance to her Divine Head. She also possessed certain privileges in virtue of her establishment by the secular powers. The Church thus appeared in the eyes of men in a twofold aspect; on the one hand, she was the Divine Society, on the other a religious organisation officially recognised by the State. In the eighteenth century the former aspect had been lost sight of, and in the days of the early Tractarians there were, as now, very many with whom the connection with the State weighed far more than the conception of the Church as the Divine Society. In their eyes the main difference between the Church and Dissent lay in the fact that the former was established, while the latter were purely free and voluntary associations. A great task lay before the Tractarians—a task which has not yet been fulfilled—it was nothing less than the education of the minds and consciences of Englishmen, and the revival of the long-lost, nobler conception of the Church of the living God.

* Church, p. 122.

(iii.)

The publication of the Tracts was followed by a period of literary activity. Pusey undertook the edition of a Library of the Fathers, in which enterprise he was assisted by Keble and Newman. Pusey was a man of "large designs." As University Professor he was brought into touch with a large number of students, and selecting those whom he considered likely to benefit by further advantages for study, he encouraged them to remain at Oxford, by forming a "Theological Society of Graduates" for research work. The translation of the writings of the Early Fathers gave these men plenty to do. The first volume of the Library was published in 1838, and fifty volumes came out in succeeding years. The object of this publication was to bring the mind of the clergy back to the teaching of the primitive Church before the division between East and West.* Patristic literature was in this way made available for English churchmen. The new evidence served to enforce the appeal to antiquity which was one of the distinctive features of Tractarianism. Another series, known as the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, popularised the works of most of the notable English divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The publication of these works provided the adherents of the party with ample material for use in the defence of the position they had adopted.

The gathering and increasing opposition created

* See Cornish, p. 249.

the need for a clear definition of the theological and doctrinal standpoint of the "Tractarians." This need was partially met by the publications already referred to, and Newman made a further contribution in two of his books which were issued in 1837 and 1838, the *Essay on Justification* and the *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church viewed Relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism.* These lectures have since been published in the volumes entitled the *Via Media.* The object of both these works was to give definite statements of doctrines which were popularly misunderstood, and to indicate the points of agreement and disagreement between Anglican and Roman Catholic theology. Newman sought to build up "a system of theology out of the Anglican divines," and to indicate "the grounds on which English theology could be strengthened and enriched." As the Bible Society had shown the common ground between Anglicanism and Nonconformity, so Newman sought to draw attention to the ground common to both the English and Roman Churches. The first editions of the "Lectures" contain adverse criticisms of the Roman Church; these were withdrawn in subsequent editions, but they clearly show that at this stage of his mental development, he was thoroughly loyal to his own Church.

In 1836 Newman became editor of the *British Critic,* which was the official organ of the movement. His contributors, he tells us, "belonged to various schools, some to none at all The subjects are various—classical, academical, political, critical, and artistic, as well as theological, and upon the

movement none are to be found which do not keep quite clear of advocating the cause of Rome." *

(iv.)

Newman's sermons at St. Mary's are commonly regarded as the most important feature of the movement. From the first he gained the eager attention of Oxford undergraduates. He had verified in his own experience the Divine truths to which he bore witness, and had discovered their intimate relation to life's practical realities. As a preacher he wielded remarkable power, and from Oxford there went forth men deeply impressed by his teaching and determined to put into practice what they had learnt from his lips. The widespread influence of the movement at a very early date was in no small measure due to those wonderful Sunday afternoon sermons at St. Mary's.

Concerning those sermons Principal Sharp has borne eloquent testimony. He writes as follows :—

"The centre from which his (*i.e* Newman's) power went forth was the pulpit of St. Mary's, with those wonderful afternoon sermons. Sunday after Sunday, month by month, year by year they went on, each continuing and deepening the impression the last had made. . . .

"The service was very simple—no pomp, no ritualism ; for it was characteristic of the leading men of the movement that they left these things to the weaker brethren. Their thoughts, at all events, were set on great questions which touched the heart of unseen things. . . . The look and bearing of

* "Apologia," p. 75.

the preacher were as of one who dwelt apart, who, though he knew his age well, did not live in it. From the seclusion of study and abstinence and prayer, from habitual dwelling in the unseen, he seemed to come forth that one day of the week to speak to others of the things he had seen and known. Those who never heard him might fancy that his sermons would generally be about apostolical succession, or rights of the Church, or against Dissenters. Nothing of the kind. You might hear him preach for weeks without an allusion to these things. What there was of High Church teaching was implied rather than enforced. The local, the temporary, and the modern were ennobled by the presence of the catholic truth belonging to all ages that pervaded the whole. His power showed itself chiefly in the new and unlooked-for way in which he touched into life old truths, moral or spiritual, which all Christians acknowledge, but most have ceased to feel—when he spoke of 'Unreal Words,' of the 'Individuality of the Soul,' of the 'Invisible World,' of a 'Particular Providence'; or again of 'The Ventures of Faith,' 'Warfare the Condition of Victory,' the 'Cross of Christ the Measure of the World,' 'The Church a Home for the Lonely.' As he spoke, how the old truth became new! how it came home with a meaning never felt before! He laid his finger—how gently yet how powerfully!—on some inner place in the hearer's heart, and told him things about himself he had never known till then. Subtlest truths, which it would have taken philosophers pages of circumlocution and big words to state, were dropt out by the way in a sentence or two of the most

transparent Saxon. What delicacy of style, yet what calm power! how gentle, yet how strong! how simple, yet how suggestive! how homely, yet how refined! how penetrating, yet how tenderhearted! After hearing these sermons you might come away still not believing the tenets peculiar to the High Church system; but you would be harder than most men, if you did not feel more than ever ashamed of coarseness, selfishness, worldliness, if you did not feel the things of faith brought closer to the soul."*

IV.

The progress of the movement was attended by certain events which can be described as "Landmarks in its history." They were events which accelerated its development and excited popular antagonism against its advocates. Four of these are of so great importance that some reference must be made to them at this point. They are the Hampden Controversy; the Martyrs' Memorial; the proposed Jerusalem bishopric; and the publication of Tract 90.

(i.)

Dr. Hampden, the Bampton Lecturer in 1832, had in the course of his lectures drawn a sharp distinction between Scripture and tradition. "The Bible," he said, "reveals facts not doctrines. Doctrines are built upon revealed facts by uninspired men. They are therefore subject to revision, since the form they take is imposed upon them by the

* Shairp, "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy" (ed. 1886), pp. 246–249. There is another description of these sermons in J. A. Froude, "Short Studies," iv., pp. 282–286.

necessity of combating, in the theological language of the time, erroneous doctrine expressed in the same language." * The point at issue was the permanent value of Christian doctrine. Now, Dr. Hampden was rigidly orthodox, but he had an unfortunate way of expressing his teaching, in a form which could very easily be misunderstood.† "The theory which he put forward in his Bampton Lectures . . . left nothing standing but the authority of the letter of Scripture. All else—right or wrong as it might be—was 'speculation,' 'human inference,' 'dogma.'" ‡ This depreciation of the value of tradition upon which the Tractarians set so great store could not be allowed to pass unnoticed, and they prepared to attack Dr. Hampden as soon as a convenient opportunity occurred. The climax was reached in 1836 when he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity. Then the storm broke and Evangelicals united with high Churchmen in the attack upon Dr. Hampden. "Newman sat up all night writing a pamphlet, *Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements*, which was published on February 13"; § and Pusey followed with a learned and elaborate examination of Hampden's theological errors. A petition to the King not to confirm the appointment was drawn up and sent to Archbishop Howley. Hampden

* Cornish, p. 253.

† "It seems, on good authority, that most of the heresy, if such it was, was due to a friend of Dr. Hampden's, a Mr. Blanco White, who later became an avowed Unitarian, but who had helped the preacher to compose the lectures, and that Dr. Hampden himself did not clearly see what he was preaching." (Ollard, "Short History of the Oxford Movement," pp. 52–53, based on T. Mozley's "Reminiscences," i. 354 *seq.*)

‡ Church, p. 166. § Cornish, p. 258.

offered to resign, but the Premier, Lord Melbourne, refused to give way. "He reminded the King, that to withdraw a recommendation touched the honour and character of the Minister who had made it, was a slur upon Hampden, infringed upon the right of private judgment and free inquiry and tended to diminish the royal prerogative." * An exceedingly unacceptable Regius Professor of Divinity was in this way forced upon a great University. The failure to secure the withdrawal of the Prime Minister's nomination was followed by other measures, and a statute was framed and passed by Convocation on May 5, "to inhibit Dr. Hampden as Divinity Professor from exercising the vote in the selection of university preachers which belonged to him in that capacity, for the expressed reason that the University did not feel confidence in him in theological matters." "This statute was the cause of much bitterness and hostility." †

The controversy brought to light a fact which the High Church Party found it difficult to reconcile with their conception of the Church. The State had not only encroached upon the privileges of the Divine Society. It had appointed as a University teacher of Divinity, a man whose opinions were not consistent with traditional orthodoxy.‡ The results were not immediately noticeable; for a time after the storm abated, matters went on smoothly;

* Cornish, p. 258.

† *Id.*, pp. 259, 260.

‡ Crown patronage can be traced as far back as the Saxon period. Consequently the same method of procedure existed in pre-Reformation days. The objection to Hampden lay, not in his nomination by the Crown, but on account of his theological views being unsound.

but there can be no doubt but that this incident occurring at a time when party feeling was so strong, added to the prevailing dissatisfaction concerning the relations between Church and State.

(ii.)

Towards the end of 1838, a plan was set on foot by the opponents of the Tractarians to erect a memorial in Oxford to the martyrs of the Reformation, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who were put to death in front of Balliol College in the reign of Queen Mary.* The project would not have aroused ill-feeling in quieter times; nor was the proposal altogether distasteful to the conservative members of the party. Pusey was at first inclined to subscribe, but he was held back by Keble and Newman. There was also growing up a generation of younger men, who, starting from the point their leaders had reached, were becoming impatient of their caution and moderation, and who were destined to carry the movement much further than the originators had ever intended.

Many members of the party respected the Reformers for the work they had begun, but there was a strong feeling that they were responsible for the introduction of the doctrines of Continental Protestantism and that the Calvinistic language of the Articles and other recognized formularies of the English Church was the result of their friendship with the German and Swiss reformers. The

* The plan was really an act of retaliation in view of the inhibition of Dr. Hampden, which has just been referred to in the text.

party were placed in an awkward position; an important principle was involved, they were not in full sympathy with the Reformation, and they were now called upon "either to commit themselves to the Reformation as understood by the promoters of the Memorial, or they were to be marked as showing their disloyalty to it." * From this dilemma escape was impossible, and they took the bold and uncompromising course of dissociating themselves entirely from the scheme. They were bound to be misunderstood, but, believing what they did, there was no other course open to them. They were not lacking in their willingness to honour the brave men who had died for their convictions, but they could neither commit themselves to an unconditional approval of the Reformation, nor endorse the prevailing opinions as to the meaning of that movement. The erection of the memorial was the signal of their defeat, but its significance was vastly increased by the action of the bishops who favoured the project and gave it their support. It now became evident that not only were the Tractarians regarded with suspicion by the great majority of their fellow Churchmen, but they were also out of sympathy with their episcopal leaders. The English Church appeared to be hopelessly compromised by the action of her rulers. The reconciliation of the Catholic ideal with the actually existing conditions proved to be a far more difficult task than its originators imagined.

Sometimes high Churchmen are charged with "undoing the work of the Reformation." Pro-

* Church, p. 221.

testants have found here a convenient weapon for their attack upon the revival of pre-Reformation teaching and practice The charge, however, implies that these practices were Roman and not English. Now the Tractarians firmly believed in the continuity of the English Church. Although in communion with Rome, that Church before the Reformation repeatedly asserted her independence; consequently those who maintained the continuity of the Church were perfectly justified in criticising the policy of the official leaders at any period of her history. Members of every Christian community have not only claimed, but exercised liberty in the criticism of their rulers. Whether the Tractarians were right or wrong is a question which need not be discussed in this inquiry. It will be sufficient to notice that disagreement with some of the principles of the Reformation is not inconsistent with loyalty to the English Church.

There is also a further consideration. The Reformation had recognised the supremacy of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters, and these men believed that the unsatisfactory relations between the Church and State were the direct outcome of Reformation legislation.* The position they had

* Canon Hobhouse pointed out in his recent Bampton Lectures to how great an extent Church reform is hindered by "the legislative control of Parliament."

"At the present moment, for instance, it is impossible to subdivide an overgrown diocese without the consent of a Parliament which is habitually overworked, generally indifferent, and sometimes unfriendly. It is impossible again, to change a rubric in the Prayer Book without that consent, because the Prayer Book is a schedule to the Act of Uniformity; and it is now being urged as a potent argument against rubrical changes that such changes would have to be discussed and sanctioned by

taken up assumed the autonomy and spiritual independence of the Catholic Church. The logical and inevitable consequence of this attitude was a thorough dislike of the Reformation.

When the course of events is studied in connection with the aims and ideals of the Tractarians, we can see at once the grounds upon which they criticised the Reformation settlement. They were acting, not in the interests of Roman Catholicism, but in order to revive a long neglected conception of the Church and her authority. The position of Newman and his followers at this time must not be confused with that of some of their successors. The legitimacy of some of the later developments with the introduction of mediæval practices can hardly be defended in the same way.

(iii.)

Another event, which happened about two years later, struck a still more severe blow at the Tractarian position. This was in point of time subsequent to the publication of Tract 90, but the Tract being the crucial point in the movement, it will be more convenient to place its consideration at the end of this section.

the House of Commons. In such matters as Church discipline and the removal of abuses connected with patronage and simony, necessary measures of reform were long delayed by malevolent obstruction in the House of Commons. In manifold ways the Church's power of self-government and adaptation to new conditions has been impeded by the need of the consent of Parliament." (Hobhouse, " Church and World in Idea and History," pp. 291, 292.)

Naturally there is something to be said on the other side, but the quotation shows why these keen and active reformers disliked the Reformation Settlement.

In 1841 the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the invitation of the King of Prussia, agreed to a scheme under which a bishop was to be consecrated to exercise jurisdiction over christians in the Holy Land and the adjoining regions who were not included in the Latin, Greek, and Armenian communities. It was an attempt to unite evangelical Christendom in one body, and "to further the plan, the King of Prussia was willing to allow one or more of his clergy 'to obtain ordination from the English Church'; while to save the interests of his own Church, persons thus admitted to English Orders were to declare their assent to the Confession of Augsburg." * The bishopric was established by Act of Parliament on October 5, 1841, the British and Prussian Crowns were to nominate alternately to the See. As a matter of history the scheme was a failure, and after a few years the joint arrangement was abandoned.

At this time it was firmly believed that the Prussian Court wished "to introduce episcopacy within the new Evangelical Religion which was intended in that country to embrace both the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic bodies," † and further to unite the Anglican and the new Evangelical churches under one head, and form a branch of episcopal Protestantism. The Jerusalem bishopric was viewed in the light of an experiment; and acquaintance with the existence of this larger scheme greatly complicated issues involved in the Jerusalem bishopric. Newman quickly grasped the nature of the situation. "Jerusalem it would seem," he

* Cornish, p. 265. † "Apologia," p. 141.

writes, "was considered a safe place for the experiment; it was too far from Prussia to awaken the susceptibilities of any party at home; if the project failed, it failed without harm to any one; and, if it succeeded, it gave Protestantism a *status* in the East."* The acceptance of Episcopacy by the German Church would no doubt have been a step in the right direction in the eyes of the high Church Party, but it was combined with an attitude which was favourably disposed towards liberal theology, and it appeared that a union could not be effected "without compromising those principles which were necessary to the being of a Church."† This wider scheme formed the background of the controversy, but the immediate plan had to be met and criticised on its merits.

"The *Times*, which was at that moment in the high Church interest, denounced the scheme of organising a rival communion to the Greek Orthodox Church within the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which was like sending an English-made bishop to Rome. Great Britain ought to protect and consolidate the only possible Christian centres, the Apostolic and Orthodox Churches. Why should Protestantism lift up its heel against the prelate who occupies by legitimate succession the Episcopal throne of St. James? Moreover, there was danger of being tainted with Eastern heresies as well as Western." ‡

Newman used still stronger language. The Anglican bishops were deliberately negotiating with Protestant bodies, and placing them under an Anglican bishop "without any renunciation of

* "Apologia," p. 141. † *Ibid.*, p. 141.
‡ Cornish, pp. 265, 266.

their errors or regard to their due reception of baptism and confirmation; while there was great reason to suppose that the said Bishop was intended to make converts from the orthodox Greeks, and the schismatical Oriental bodies by means of the influence of England. . . . The Church was not only forbidding any sympathy or concurrence with the Church of Rome, but it was actually courting an intercommunion with Protestant Prussia and the heresy of the Orientals." * The last sentence states clearly the point at issue. The plan was an official recognition of the status of Continental Protestantism; it involved the important principle as to whether Protestant communions "such as the Scottish Presbyterian Church and the English nonconformist congregations . . . are or are not excluded from the Catholic Church because they have not adhered to the apostolical or episcopal succession." † The scheme consequently placed the Tractarians in a grave situation. Matters were rapidly hastening to a crisis. About twenty years later Newman wrote: "As to the project of a Jerusalem bishopric, I never heard of any good or harm it has ever done, except what it has done for me; which many think a great misfortune, and I one of the greatest of mercies. It brought me on to the beginning of the end." ‡

(iv.)

The supreme crisis of the Movement was the publication of Tract 90. Newman tells us that he

* "Apologia," p. 143. † Cornish, p. 268.
‡ "Apologia," p. 146.

had frequently been asked by friends, "What will you make of the Articles?" Still all along he never anticipated any trouble in this direction. The results of his study are to be found in this famous Tract. It was an attempt to show that the Articles do not oppose Catholic teaching. Newman set out to prove that their meaning had for several generations been misunderstood, and that what was supposed to be the condemnation of certain doctrines and practices was in reality only the condemnation of "certain absurd practices and opinions" which had grown out of them. The conclusions were based upon a careful examination of the historical and documentary evidence; and he found ample justification for his position in that direction.

The Articles had been compiled during a period of transition. The changes made at the Reformation were not universally acceptable and great care had to be exercised if the English Church was to retain her hold upon the nation. Moreover, questions of policy made it necessary to cultivate friendly relations with the Continental Reformers. In framing the Articles an attempt was made to define a *via media* which would provide a common platform for all English Churchmen, and they were carefully worded so as to include both the old conservative element which disliked the Reformation, and the new party which adopted the theological tenets of the German and Swiss Reformers. The purpose in view explains and justifies the use of general and apparently indefinite phraseology upon questions which are still the subject of controversy. The secession of the English Romanists led to the con-

centration of power in the hands of those whose sympathies were, in the main, with Continental Protestantism, and in course of time, the original intention was forgotten, and the Articles were interpreted in an anti-Roman sense. Newman's treatment did away with this conventional and traditional meaning which they had borne for a century or more, and which could not be ignored. Newman had such strong faith in the cogency of his arguments, that he was surprised when the Tract was received with such strong expressions of disapproval. He tells us that he "was quite unprepared for the outbreak, and was startled at its violence." *

A copy of the tract was sent to Tait, at that time a Fellow of Balliol, on February 27th, 1841. Oakley and Ward were fellows of the same College, and Tait was on terms of personal friendship with both these men; in fact Ward's election took place the same day as his own. The Roman sympathies of his friends had made him deeply suspicious of the whole movement, and consequently he was not in a position to form a fair and unbiased judgment upon the Tract. When he read it he felt that immediate action was necessary, and decided to invite the co-operation of others. On March 8th a protest, signed by four Oxford tutors, was sent to the Editor of the *Tracts for the Times*.‡ More drastic measures were adopted by the University authorities. On the 15th the Tract was censured by the Heads of Houses,

* "Apologia," pp. 88, 89.

† Davidson and Benham, "Life of Archbishop Tait," p. 78.

‡ This protest appeared in the *Times* ten days after the publication of the Tract.

who decided "That modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they are designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes." *

News of what was going on reached A. P. Stanley, who was staying in Rome, and there is a very clever parody of the situation in a letter to his friend, A. C. Tait. "O MY DEAR BELVEDERE (one of the names by which Tait was known among his Oxford friends, his curly hair being said to resemble that of the statue in the Vatican),—What have you been doing? Rome is only in a less state of excitement than Oxford. The Pope has just issued a Bull defending the Decrees of Trent, on the ground that they are not contradictory to the Thirty-nine Articles; and the Cardinals have just sate in conclave upon him, and determined that he is against the usages of the Vatican." †

At the request of the Bishop of Oxford, Newman promised to stop the series of Tracts. The other bishops now took up the challenge and denounced the Tract in their charges. Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter, a high Churchman, described it as "far the most daring attempt ever yet made by a minister of the Church of England to neutralize the distinctive doctrines of our Church, and to make us symbolise with Rome." ‡ The controversy spread to every

* Church, p. 292. The reference is to the statutes cited in the preamble of this resolution.

† "Life of Tait," i., pp. 92, 93. ‡ "Life of Tait," i., p. 99.

diocese in England, and the episcopal pronouncements, reflecting, as they did, the popular judgment, showed how far the Tractarians had diverged from the traditional paths. The English Church was intolerant of Newman's interpretation of the Articles, and this was in his eyes a very serious matter; for it seemed to involve a departure from the Faith and Practice of the Primitive Church. To Newman with his deep reverence for the Episcopate "a bishop's lightest word, *ex cathedra*, was heavy," and when the bishops were united in their condemnation of the Tract, their action appeared to emphasise the Protestantism of the English Church. It was, in effect, a repudiation of Catholicism, and Newman now felt that the success of any attempt to revive the true ideal of the Church was altogether hopeless. The bishops' charges had a still more serious effect, they struck a blow at Newman's confidence in the Episcopate. The Bishop of Oxford had promised not to attack the Tract, if Newman discontinued the series, and did not defend Tract 90. He could not, of course, bind his fellow bishops; nevertheless, after this promise, the wholesale censure of a treatise published in the sincere belief that his position was historically justifiable could not fail to deepen the impression that he had not been fairly treated. He had pledged himself to silence and was unable to answer the attacks made upon his honour. Newman was consequently at the mercy of his critics, who made good use of the advantages they possessed.

Newman, however, still retained the confidence of his friends; his personal character outweighed adverse criticism within his own circle and the

notoriety into which he was drawn helped to widen and strengthen his influence. "By 1842," writes Lord Coleridge, "the afternoon congregation at St. Mary's had become as remarkable a congregation as I should think was ever gathered together to hear regularly a single preacher. There was scarcely a man of note in the University, old or young, who did not during the last two or three years of Newman's incumbency, habitually attend the service and listen to the sermons.' " *

The permanent results of the Tract were twofold. In the first place, it raised the whole question as to the methods of interpretation of Anglican formulæ. If it was legitimate to read a Catholic meaning into the Articles, and make mental reservation in subscription; it was equally legitimate for Liberal theologians to claim the same latitude. The identical method could be employed in both directions. The objection of the Liberals was not so much to Newman's method, as to his evasion of the apparently literal significance of the Articles. Dr. Arnold considered that the Tract was far more objectionable morally than theologically. "I am merely speaking," he writes, "of the utter perversion of language shown in the Tract, according to which a man may subscribe to an article, when he holds the very opposite opinions—believing what it denies, and denying what it affirms." † Never-

* Ward, i., pp. 73, 74.

† Davidson and Benham, "Life of Tait," i., p. 87. On the other hand, compare Stanley's letter to Pearson (May 27).

"I have read No. 90 and almost all its consequences. The result clearly is, that Roman Catholics may become members of the Church and universities of England, which I for one cannot deplore."—Prothero, "Life of Stanley," Popular Edition, p. 157.

theless, the Tractarians had set an example which broad Churchmen were not slow to follow.

The second permanent result of the Tract was a division in the Tractarian Party. The younger school adopted this new interpretation of the Articles, and made it the basis for a further movement in the direction of Rome. The older conservative members stood firmly on the original ground, but they were fast losing their hold upon the extreme right wing of the Party. The publication of the Tract accentuated an already existing divergence of opinion, and considerably accelerated the subsequent course of development.

V.

Newman was greatly disturbed by the sequence of events. His conception of the Church appeared to have broken down when he attempted its application to actually existing conditions. The Hampden controversy had shown the power of the State in ecclesiastical appointments. The Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford had raised the debatable question as to the precise meaning of the Reformation, and had also clearly shown that the verdict of English Churchmen was against the Tractarians. The official recognition of Continental Protestantism was implied in the affair of the Jerusalem bishopric ; and as the result of the controversy over Tract 90, the legitimate interpretation of the Articles was narrowed so as to exclude pre-Reformation beliefs and practices which had their origin in the primitive age of the Christian Church. This succession of

events struck a severe blow at Newman's belief in the catholicity of the English Church.

(i.)

The Oxford Movement had raised a storm of controversy; but there were results of a very different character which materially contributed to the spiritual power and efficiency of the English Church. A great change was taking place at Oxford, there was growing up "a sobriety of conduct, and a seriousness not usually found among large bodies of young men"; the "average morality had been raised to a level which it had never before reached." "Only the very idle and the very frivolous were wholly proof against the influence of the pioneers of the new movement." A spiritual virtue went out of them which altered the face of the Church. It was not their earnestness alone, but the nobility and elevation of their characters, and the high standard of their intelligence and education which made such a lasting impression upon their contemporaries.* Chief among the leaders stands the figure of John Henry Newman. "The influence he had gained, apparently without setting himself to seek it, was something altogether unlike anything else in our time. A mysterious veneration had by degrees gathered round him, till now it was almost as though some Ambrose or Augustine of elder ages had reappeared. He himself tells how one day, when he was an undergraduate, a friend with whom he was walking in the Oxford street cried out eagerly,

* Cornish, p. 221. See also Shairp, "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy," p. 244.

'There's Keble,' and with what awe he looked at him. A few years and the same took place with regard to himself. In Oriel Lane light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper, 'There's Newman,' as with head thrust forward, and gaze fixed as though on some vision seen only by himself, with swift, noiseless step he glided by." *

It has been said by another of those who knew him (J. A. Froude) "his supreme merit as a talker was that he never tried to be witty or to say striking things. Ironical he could be, but not ill-natured. Not a malicious anecdote was ever heard from him. . . . he was interesting because he never talked for talking's sake, but because he had something real to say. Thus it was that we, who had never seen such another man, and to whom he appeared, perhaps, at special disadvantage in contrast with the normal college don, came to regard Newman with the affection of pupils (though pupils, strictly speaking, he had none) for an idolized master. The simplest word that dropped from him was treasured as if it had been an intellectual diamond. For hundreds of young men *Credo in Newmannum* was the genuine symbol of faith." †

(ii.)

The affair of the Jerusalem bishopric, coming as it did at the end of a long series of disappointments, marked the commencement of the last period of his career in the English Church. The foundation of his faith in that Church was still further weakened

* Shairp, "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy," pp. 244–245.
† J. A. Froude, "Short Studies," iv. p. 283.

by the result of his patristic studies. In 1839 he began studying the Monophysite controversy. This heresy involved a denial of the union of the two natures in our Lord's Person, and it was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The net result of this course of reading was the discovery that something more than the episcopal succession was necessary in order to maintain the continuity of the Catholic Church. There were other grounds upon which the recognition of the validity of the claims of any religious community depended. The important part played by Pope Leo in the course of this controversy prejudiced him in favour of the Primacy of Rome, and created a sense of uneasiness as to the security of his Anglican position. The weak point in his argument was his failure to distinguish between the authority exercised by a strong and powerful personality, and the authority which is the outcome of official position. Leo made an exceptionally valuable contribution towards the settlement of this question, but it was the contribution of an able and expert theologian who saw clearly the seriousness of the point at issue.* Newman entered upon the inquiry with a clear conception of the Church, the appeal to antiquity was to be the determining factor in the formation of his judgment; and now he thought he had found in antiquity a situation similar in character to the one in which the English Church was placed. History had supplied a precedent to guide his policy. The

* The political situation in Italy, and the decay of the old Empire must be included among the causes which assisted Leo in consolidating his power and widening the sphere of his authority.

English Church was in his mind becoming identified with the heretical teaching which Athanasius and Leo so strongly attacked.*

About this time also he read an article by Dr. Wiseman which dealt with the Anglican claims. Wiseman discussed the schism of the Donatists and attempted to draw a parallel with that of the English Church. The Donatists comprised a section of the African Church, which in the fourth century separated from the Catholic Church on grounds of discipline. A Church which was holy could not tolerate the presence of evil among its members, so they formed a schismatical body very closely resembling modern Puritanism. The two cases were, as Newman saw, by no means parallel. In Africa there were two rival Churches each laying claim to catholicity, and it was a case "of Altar against Altar," of two occupants of the same see; and if a parallel was to be sought in modern life, a far truer one existed between the non-jurors in England and the Established Church at the close of the seventeenth century. There was, however, a principle involved which attracted Newman's notice. "For a religious society to belong to the Universal Church, it was necessary that that Church should recognize its claim." In his study on the Arians, he has noticed that in the fourth century many Catholic sees had been filled by Arian bishops, and he had found here a precedent to justify the position of the English Church. His subsequent study had now weakened the force of that contention. In the Primitive Church, he found other examples in which he traced

* "Apologia," p. 115.

a likeness to modern conditions; and the grounds upon which he was able to justify the Anglican position were becoming more and more uncertain.

His own course of study, together with the disturbing events we have already noticed, were undermining his faith in the Catholicity of the English Church. He was far less confident about the validity of her claims, and far more favourably inclined towards Romanism. The end of his career as an Anglican was now well in sight; and it was mainly the action of the ecclesiastical authorities which precipitated the crisis. "Many a man," Newman writes, "might have held an abstract theory about the Catholic Church to which it was difficult to adjust the Anglican, might have admitted a suspicion, or even painful doubt about the latter, yet never have been impelled onwards had our rulers preserved the quiescence of former years; but it is the corroboration of a great living and energetic heterodoxy that realises and makes such doubts practical. It has been the recent speeches and acts of authorities who had been so long tolerant of Protestant error, which has given to inquiry and to theory its force and edge." *

A month after Wiseman's article appeared Newman confided to Henry Wilberforce his suspicion that he might possibly find it his duty to join the Roman Church.

(iii.)

The village of Littlemore formed part of Newman's parish of St. Mary's. As far back as 1829 Newman had given catechetical instructions

* Ward, i. p. 75.

To face p. 147.] LITTLEMORE.

here on Sunday evenings. In 1836 he built a chapel and in 1840 he further developed this work by the purchase of a plot of ground upon which he intended to erect a monastic house, a design which was never carried out. After the attack upon Tract 90, and the affair of the Jerusalem bishopric, he retired here for good. On April 19, 1842, he left Oxford and in September of the following year he resigned the living of St. Mary's, which meantime had been left in the hands of his curates. Newman had retired from the movement, but public feeling had been aroused, and he was made the object of cruel and vindictive attacks by incensed Protestants. He was accused of erecting an Anglo-Catholic monastery, without even asking the consent of his bishop, and it was said that this monastery was to be under the guidance of Rome. The report was only true so far as he was living in seclusion with a few young disciples who had voluntarily accepted a quasi-monastic discipline. "Newman was even accused of recommending those who had already become Roman Catholics to retain their preferment in the English Church, and the Bishop of Oxford was for a time misled into believing this accusation against him." * Reports of all kinds were circulated in the public press. One day when he entered his house, he tells us, he found there "a flight of Undergraduates inside. Heads of houses, as mounted patrols, walked their horses round these poor cottages. Doctors of Divinity dived into the hidden recesses of that private tenement uninvited, and drew domestic conclusions from what they saw

* Hutton, p. 160.

there. I had thought that an Englishman's house was his castle ; but the newspapers thought otherwise." *

Newman was passing through a period of sore trial, a long series of exceedingly bitter experiences was alienating him still further from the English Church. He had acted in a perfectly honourable way ; after his faith had been so severely shaken he had resigned his preferments and retired into lay communion, but his enemies continued their persecution ; the more hostile were determined to make it impossible for him to remain in the English Church. When Newman is charged, as he often has been, with deceit, dishonesty, and dishonourable conduct, it is well to remember that there are two sides to every story ; and that the conduct of his opponents will not bear too close a scrutiny in the light of day.

(iv.)

At an earlier period of his life Hurrell Froude had exercised a great influence upon Newman, and, by bringing him face to face with the logical outcome of his doctrines, had considerably hastened his mental development. Some of the younger men were at this crisis to exercise a similar influence over their leader. As a matter of fact, at no period of Newman's life did he act on others without their acting upon him.† W. G. Ward, Frederick Oakeley, and Frederick Faber all joined the Tractarian Party in a spirit of avowed admiration for Rome. "The new party was characterised by great enthusiasm, a disposition to startle the older and more moderate spirits, a recklessness of consequences, a certain

* "Apologia," p. 172. † See *Ibid.*, p. 58.

love of paradox. Their trust in Newman was absolute. And as long as he himself was confident in his own position they were not likely to break loose." * But now that a change was taking place in Newman, the cleavage in the ranks of the Tractarians was becoming more and more clear. Ward joined the movement towards the end of 1838, and his section of the party commenced its action with a new and startling programme. "Rome was directly looked on by them as in many respects the practical model; the Reformation was a deadly sin; restoration to the Papal communion, the ideal—even if unattainable—aim." †

Newman had promised not to defend Tract 90, provided his opponents did not attack it, but allowed it to remain in circulation. Ward did not consider himself bound by Newman's promise, and even if he had done so, the wholesale condemnation of the Tract which went on during the next three years was sufficient justification for release from the pledge which had been given. Ward now issued two pamphlets in defence of Tract 90, which aggravated the controversy. Ward went considerably beyond the position of the Tract. The Articles were to him a real difficulty, "they were the creation and the legacy of a bad age, and though they had not extinguished Catholic teaching and Catholic belief in the English Church, they had been a serious hindrance to it, and a support to its opponents." ‡ The English Church was "a branch of the Catholic Church, therefore the Church of England holds the

* Ward, i. p. 67.

† "W. G. Ward and Oxford Movement," quoted by Davidson and Benham, "Life of Tait," p. 77. ‡ Church, p. 350.

whole of that doctrine, and if the Articles do not teach it, so much the worse for the Articles; they must be subscribed, not in their plain literal and grammatical sense, but in a 'non-natural sense.'" * Ward followed up his pamphlets with a book which he published in 1844, *The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice.* "He accepted the Roman dogma in full; he considered the schism of the sixteenth century, the desertion of the Roman Church 'a great sin,' and held that the Church of England ought to 'repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart, and sue humbly at her feet for pardon and restoration'; and yet he subscribed the Articles of the Church of England, ministered in her churches, and believed sacramental grace to be in the Church of England in virtue of her apostolical succession. In a well-known passage he wrote: 'Three years have passed since I said plainly, that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no one Roman doctrine; yet I retain my fellowship, which I hold on the tenure of subscription, and have received no ecclesiastical censure in any shape.'" †

This challenge was not allowed to pass unheeded. The opportunity was too good a one to be lost, and the Heads of Houses, who hated the whole movement, took advantage of this chance to strike a blow at the leaders. The book some became the battleground of opinion at Oxford. "It was thought necessary to pronounce with authority that an English Churchman cannot accept all the doctrines laid down by the Church of Rome, and retain his orders in the Church of England." ‡ In 1845 Ward was censured by

* Cornish, p. 288. † *Ibid.*, p. 289. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Convocation and deprived of his degrees of B.A. and M.A. The condemnation of the book was not only justifiable but absolutely necessary; at the same time the personal punishment, the degradation of a "Fellow" to the rank of an undergraduate on the ground of his theological opinions, was an act altogether unworthy of the great University. Ward took the rebuke with characteristic lightheartedness. He retired from Oxford, and was received into the Roman Church in the following September.

Oxford had repudiated the Tractarians. "Their theories, their controversial successes, their learned arguments, their appeal to the imagination, all seemed to go down, and to be swept away like chaff before the breath of common sense and honesty." Henceforth they were marked men, and all who belonged to them were viewed with suspicion by the University authorities. But the defeated party had in it a large proportion of the serious and able men of the University; and there were many, who, while they strongly disapproved of much in the recent course and tendency of the movement, were in sympathy with its objects and main principles. That sympathy was strengthened by the stern repressive measures adopted by the University and ecclesiastical authorities, with the result that persecution defeated its own object.*

During the next few months there was a crisis in the history of many lives. Not only Ward, but also many others left the Church of their fathers, and joined the Church of Rome. Fellowships, livings, curacies, intended careers were all given up.

* See Church, pp. 388, 389.

Their own Church repudiated them, accused them of dishonesty, plainly told them that there was no room in her communion for men who held their views. "They could no longer be accused of impatience if they brought their doubts to an end, and made up their minds that their call was to submit to the claims of Rome, that their place was in its communion." *

(v.)

Newman resigned the living of St. Mary's in 1843, but before doing so he published in the *Conservative Journal* an article in which he retracted the hard things he had said against the Church of Rome. "The inevitable sequel was in sight for others as well as for himself—the parting from so many Oxford friends and disciples who had for years hung on his every word. On September 25 he preached at Littlemore his sermon on the Parting of Friends. It was the last public scene of the private tragedy which was being enacted. He told in that sermon, clearly for those who understood, how he himself had found the Church of his birth and of his early affections wanting; how he was torn asunder between the claims of those he must leave behind and those who would follow him; that he could speak to his friends no more from that pulpit, but could only commit them to God and bid them strive to do His will. His voice broke (so the tradition runs) and his words were interrupted by the sobs of his hearers as he said his last words of farewell." †

The sermon was preached on the anniversary of the dedication of the church at Littlemore. Dean

* Church, p. 394. † Ward, i. p. 76.

Gregory tells us that after the sermon Newman descended from the pulpit, took off his hood, and threw it over the altar rails, and it was felt by those present, that this was to mark that he had ceased to be a teacher in the Church of England.*

Newman waited two years before taking the final step. He was anxious to complete his book upon the *Development of Christian Doctrine*, but he also realized the seriousness of the step he was taking, and wanted to make quite sure of his ground before severing his connection with the English Church. He was in correspondence with Dr. Russell, who afterwards became President of Maynooth, and who also gave him one or two books. Newman still seems to fear that another gospel is substituted for the true one in the Roman Church, and one of these books was intended to remove this apprehension. Newman was far too cautious to commit himself to any hasty verdict on this book, and in his reply asks Dr. Russell "how far the sermons which the volume comprises are *selected* from a number, or whether they are the whole, or such as the whole, which have been published of the author's. I assure you, or at least I trust, that, if it is ever clearly brought home to me that I have been wrong in what I have said on this subject, my public avowal of that conviction will only be a question of time with me." † At the same time, he adds a note which shows how tenaciously he held to the Church of England, and how he still retained his loyalty in the face of the long series of grievous

* Dean Gregory, "Autobiography," Ed. W. H. Hutton, p. 28. Quoted by Ollard, "Oxford Movement," p. 88.

† "Apologia," p. 193.

disappointments. "There is a divine life among us, clearly manifested, in spite of all our disorders, which is as great a note of the Church as any can be. Why should we seek our Lord's presence elsewhere, when He vouchsafes it to us where we are? What *call* have we to change our communion?" * This was written in November, 1842.

The anxious search for truth went on during the next few years; the whole time Newman is enveloped in a cloud of uncertainty. The claims of Rome are becoming more and more imperative, and more urgent; but Newman is reluctant to take the decisive step, he seems to be hoping against hope that he will be able to remain in the English Church. Some paragraphs in his letters written during this period suggest that he is on the verge of separation, but he shrinks back in fear of the ordeal knowing what it will mean to him. The "love of old associations" and "the pleasures of memory" act as a restraining influence upon his mind. The relentless policy of the University authorities rendered his position more and more untenable. Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching in the University for two years on account of a sermon preached in May, 1843, upon the Holy Eucharist. His judges were, "with one exception, the foremost and sternest opponents of all that was identified with Dr. Pusey's name." † The accused had no opportunity of meeting his judges or saying a word in his own defence; he did not know the name of his accuser, the definite charges laid against him, the method under which the examination of the sermon was

* "Apologia," p. 193. † Church, p. 332.

conducted, nor what were the passages condemned.* And this was done in the sacred name of justice. Then there followed the censure of Ward's book, and the petty act of deprivation. The ecclesiastical authorities had barred the way against him, and further progress in that direction appeared impossible. He must recant, be untrue to his own heart's convictions, or for ever forego the privileges and opportunities of his position as an Anglican priest.

"What keeps me yet," he writes in 1844, "is what has kept me long, a fear that I am under a delusion; but the conviction remains firm under all circumstances, in all frames of mind." † He would gladly have availed himself of any other alternative, had one presented itself, but there was no way of escape.

"This I am sure of," he wrote in January, 1845, "that nothing but a simple, direct call of duty is a warrant for any one leaving our Church; no preference of another Church, no delight in its services, no hope of greater religious advancement in it, no indignation, no disgust, at the persons and things among which we may find ourselves in the Church of England. The simple question is, Can *I* (it is personal, not whether another, but can *I*) be saved in the English Church? Am *I* in safety, were I to die to-night? Is it a mortal sin in *me* not joining another communion?" ‡

In June Bernard Smith, a recent convert and a theological student at Oscott, under Dr. Wiseman, visited Littlemore. He really came to find out how matters stood. "Newman received him coldly at first, and left him to the care of the rest of the Littlemore

* Church, p. 331. † "Apologia," p. 229. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

community. Later on he reappeared and asked Mr. Smith to remain for dinner. The guest from Oscott was on the look-out for the smallest sign of his intentions. . . . And a sign came—slight but unmistakable. At dinner Newman was attired in grey trousers—which to Bernard Smith, who knew his punctiliousness in matters of dress, was conclusive evidence that he no longer regarded himself as a clergyman. Mr. Smith returned to Oscott and reported that the end was near." *

The "Development of Christian Doctrine" was finished early in October, and on the 8th of that month Newman was received into the Roman Church by Father Dominic, who was staying as a guest at Littlemore on his way from Aston in Staffordshire to attend a chapter meeting in Belgium. The long struggle was over. Newman had taken the step he so greatly dreaded, and entered upon a new period of his useful and eventful life.

. . . . . .

VI.

Why did Newman become a Roman Catholic? During the whole of his Oxford career, he had taken an active part in the movement, which had for its object the increase of the spiritual efficiency of the English Church, he had written in its defence, and by his own enthusiasm he had stirred others to action. Now, when he has reached the prime of life, he turns his back upon the past, and begins life anew in another communion. His secession was an act which effectively put an end to all spiritual

* Ward, i. p. 83.

intercourse with some of his dearest friends. Why did he take this step? No study in Newman's life can be complete without an attempt to answer this important question. One of the aims kept in view throughout the whole of this essay has been to follow the course of his mental development, and to suggest why his final choice was in favour of Rome. It will not, however, be out of place to sum up the conclusions arrived at. Such a summary will have additional interest, as it will serve to indicate one or two of the weak points in the Tractarian theological system.

(i.)

Newman was always suspicious of "Intellectualism" in religion. During his intercourse with the broad Church Party he had experienced the danger of this type of thought, and he had deliberately subordinated his intellectual to his emotional and moral faculties. He considered "religion" and "dogma" inseparable; he accepted dogmas on authority and employed his mental powers in their elaboration and explanation. He felt the need of "a religion which would both satisfy and restrain that imperative need of his temperament, keep it within bounds, and subordinate it to what he considered the higher needs of his religious life." * In other words, there was in his nature a craving for a recognised Authority in Religion.

(ii.)

The next step was to discover the seat of Authority in Religion. Newman found this in the "Church."

* Sarolea, p. 71.

The "Church" possessed authority in matters of Faith and Morals. The "Church" was "the pillar and stay (or bulwark) of the Truth"; the transmission of doctrine was her function, in her existence lay the Divine guarantee for its permanence and integrity. But this raised a further question. "Where and what was the true Church?" Newman turned to antiquity, and found in the Church of the first centuries a model for all subsequent generations. Now it is just at this point that we can discover one of the weaknesses of the Tractarian position. The Primitive Church is always the standard by which the living Church was to be judged. It involved a conception of Christianity which is "static" and not "dynamic," that is to say, it involved "the theory that a supernatural revelation was at some time past granted to mankind, which now persists only in its effects. The date when the authoritative and infallible revelation began, and when it ceased may be fixed anywhere, the limits being purely arbitrary." * The dogmas formulated in the course of successive controversies, and the institution which formulated them, were regarded as fixed and unalterable for all time. The "dynamic" conception of Christianity involves the idea of the Church as a living society, growing, expanding, and adapting herself to the needs of each successive generation, and expressing the great fundamental verities in terms of progressive thought. This latter conception may have been present to the Tractarians, but it was altogether subordinate to the fixed or static conception of Christianity. Scripture and tradition

* Inge, "Faith and its Psychology," p. 96.

were the recognised authorities. Every Christian admits that we are to find here the final court of appeal; * but neither Scripture nor Tradition provide models for slavish imitation; nor are we intended to copy the customs and practices of bygone days, or employ phraseology which loses much of its meaning when considered apart from the prevailing ideas of the age in which it was first employed. The appeal to antiquity is not only justifiable, but essential, provided we keep in mind the purpose of such appeal. We go to the primitive Church not so much in search of a model for imitation but rather to discover the great underlying principles which are to guide us in the problems we are called upon to face.

This weakness in the Tractarian position was the real source of another weakness. Their doctrine of the Church was not altogether satisfactory. The conception of the "Church" as a spiritual society, the mouthpiece of God, and the instrument of His Will, was bound to exercise a profound influence over men who yearned for some clear and definite indication of the Divine Will. It was further in complete harmony with the teaching of those several passages in Scripture which set before us Christ's "*Ideal*" for His Church. But however grand and inspiring the theory, the Tractarians were face to face with the very obvious imperfections of the Church they knew. There has always been a contrast between the "Church in Idea" and the "Church in History," and even in the Apostolic Age—the purest age of Christianity—the "actual"

* See note, p. 113.

fell very far short of the "ideal." The Tractarians found that their theory of the Church did not correspond with the existing facts. The English Church was not independent of the State, she was not united, some doctrines held in the first centuries had been lost sight of by the Church of the nineteenth century. Newman could not fail to be struck by the contrast, he tried to reconcile himself to the existing conditions, he believed that it was his mission to bring the English Church nearer to the primitive model, and for twelve years he spent his time and efforts in his earnest desire to realise this ideal; and as the task became more and more hopeless, he gradually passed out of sympathy with the English Church and was drawn nearer and nearer to the Church where he thought he saw his ideal already realised.

(iii.)

Newman found a spiritual home during the remainder of his life in the Roman Church. Rome could successfully assert for herself a strong Ecclesiastical independence and consequently held a marked advantage in competing with the English Church for the guidance of minds, which asked for a visible authority, rather than for spiritual persuasiveness. But that Church had, and has her own problems and difficulties which Newman was to discover in course of time. It is, however, important to notice that he did not secede from the English Church until his position was rendered untenable by the action of the ecclesiastical authorities coupled with the results of his own research; and that his

judgment as to the validity of the Catholic claims of the English Church was based almost entirely upon the pronouncements of the official leaders on the one hand, and the course of contemporary events which seemed fatal both to orthodoxy and to spiritual independence on the other. Newman saw clearly the weakness of the Roman Church at an earlier stage of his career, viz. 1837. At that time he maintained that Rome did not " sufficiently train the members of her communion to compare the Scriptures with her teaching, but imposes her teaching on them too absolutely as that of an infallible Church, which may dictate without any attempt to elicit and secure her children's individual apprehension and assent. . . . 'When religion is reduced in all its parts to a system, there is hazard of something earthly being made the chief object of our contemplation instead of our Maker. Now Rome classifies our duties and their reward, the things to believe, the things to do, the modes of pleasing God, the penalties and the remedies of sin, with such exactness that an individual knows (so to speak) just where he is upon his journey heavenward, how far he has got, how much he has to pass ; and his duties become a matter of calculation.' " *

In other words, Rome did not, and does not make adequate allowance for the distinction between " Religious Faith " and the " Means for the Expression of that Faith " ; she is not sufficiently comprehensive to provide for the wide diversity of religious experience, the differences in mental outlook, temperament, and all the various phases of individuality.

* "Via Media," i., pp. 140, 102. See Hutton, p. 78.

Had Newman looked carefully enough, he would have found here the same contrast between "Theory" and "Fact." Rome claimed the four notes of the Church, "One," "Holy," "Catholic," and "Apostolic." She laid stress upon the note of Unity, but it was at the expense of "Catholicity."

In this direction the facts of history are against her. "Recent religious statistics assign, on the average, some 250,000,000 out of the 550,000,000 christians of the World to the rule of the Vatican,* and a considerable percentage of these are purely nominal adherents. The fact that the majority of christians are out of communion with the Roman Church, must, to say the least, throw doubt upon her right to the *exclusive* use of the word 'Catholic.' The narrowing of the terms of communion in the interest of Unity, as represented by the Papal claims, is largely responsible for this state of affairs. The note of Unity has been over-emphasised, and the word 'Catholic' has (according to the Roman Church) lost those wide and comprehensive associations which it possessed in the early days of Christianity." †

* McCabe, "Decay of the Church of Rome," p. 5.

† The validity of the development of doctrine in the Roman Church is the crucial point in the whole controversy between England and Rome. The Bishop of Oxford has pointed out, that the Roman development "has had the effect of maiming Christianity and disqualifying it from dealing with some of the tasks assigned to it," and has also led to the Church "becoming both unscriptural and unhistorical" ("Roman Catholic Claims," p. 16).

The early Christian Fathers were reluctant to define doctrine, and in this they showed their wisdom. It was only the necessity caused by the growth of heresy which overcame their hesitation; and in the Creeds which were formulated, they took their stand on the clear and explicit teaching of Holy Scripture. Their strong belief in the Catholicity of the Church, made them anxious

(iv.)

One contrast Newman could not fail to notice; the difference between the Roman Church of the Middle Ages and subsequent centuries, and the Primitive Church of the Apostles and their immediate successors. The closing years of his life as an Anglican were devoted to his book, which attempted to explain and justify this contrast. The *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* was written to show that the whole system of beliefs and ceremonial of the Roman Church were legitimate developments from the customs, beliefs, and practices of the Primitive Church. Newman charged the English Church with attempting

to maintain her comprehensive and all-embracing character. Her boundaries must be as wide as was compatible with orthodoxy.

In the earliest age of the Church, the word " Catholic " meant " Universal " ; and this meaning is still preserved in the " Te Deum." " The holy Church *throughout all the world.*" Later on, as in the catechetical lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, other meanings become associated with the word, the principal of which is that the " Catholic Church " is the Church which teaches the whole truth. This second meaning is really the corollary of the first, in fact it is implied in the claim to Universality. Christ is the Saviour of the World, and the witness of the Church must include the whole truth revealed in and through Him. Her mission is identical with His Own. " As My Father has sent Me, even so send I you." The fulfilment of the Divine purpose of love for all mankind depends (humanly speaking) upon the Church's fidelity to the message she is commissioned to proclaim.

The caution of the Fathers of the fourth century was disregarded by later Roman theologians. Dogma was introduced, sometimes from motives which to say the least were unworthy. Instead of *legitimate development* we find *additions* to the " Faith once for all delivered to the Saints." There is always a danger in over-definition, and this danger is exemplified in mediæval history. The ever-increasing Papal claims were among the principal causes which brought about the revolt against ecclesiastical authority, the effects of which are apparent in " our unhappy divisions " at the present day.

to arrest the normal principle of intellectual growth by making Scripture and Antiquity the final authorities in matters of Faith and Practice. The Roman Church was more consistent and had allowed the process of development to continue. Changes are the natural response of a living body to changing conditions. Newman "regards Christianity as an idea with many aspects which were successively elicited and exhibited in fresh opportunities; and as having at the same time its own distinctive and unique genius which every aspect serves to illustrate. It grows into a definite philosophy or system of belief. As circumstances change 'old principles reappear under new forms.' It changes with them in order to remain the same. In a higher world it is otherwise, but here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often." * The book marked an epoch, it fearlessly applied the dynamic conception of Revelation to Roman Catholic theology; the methods of argument are all true and valid as far as they go; they are the necessary corollaries to the "static" conception which, as we have seen, was the source of weakness in the Tractarian position. The English Churchman would, however, question the legitimacy of certain developments, he would say that they are not the natural outcome of primitive beliefs, they are rather foreign matter which has been incorporated in order to increase the authority of the priesthood, to win disciples, and to simplify belief. He would further question the author's underlying assumption, that the Church of Rome was the only

* Ward, i., pp. 87, 88.

true Church, that she was infallible, and consequently all that *has* happened, *must* have happened in the Providence of God. This assumption has narrowed the scope of the inquiry, and impaired the value of the book.

Newman, by writing this book, forged a weapon which has become a powerful weapon in the hands of the Modernists. A description of this school of thought is out of place here, but at least it is significant to notice that the men who to-day are excommunicated and placed under the Papal ban took as their starting-point Newman's *Essay on Development* and carried the arguments to their logical conclusions.*

(v.)

This digression was necessary in order to explain the position of English Churchmen, and to show that while we admire Newman, we are not for a moment prepared to admit that Roman Catholicism is the goal of the Tractarian teaching. Newman lived during an age of unsettlement, there was in his nature a strong craving for Authority in Religion; he thought he had found what he wanted in the English Church, but the unsparing denunciation of his teaching seemed to indicate that he was mistaken. He longed to remain in communion with the Church of his fathers, and to work on patiently in the hope of making some contribution to her spiritual efficiency and power, but he was denied a place among her teachers, and looked upon as one who was a source of danger to his fellow Churchmen. Can

* See Appendix III.

we wonder that one so driven, so harassed, so pressed, finally severed his connection with the Church of England, and joined what was to him, the only true Church, the Church of Rome ?

VII.

The secession of Newman and his friends came as a terrible blow to the Tractarian Party. Members of the party "knew that henceforward they had difficult times before them." * Upon Pusey and Keble, who remained at their posts, fell the difficult task of guiding their followers during the perilous days of the crisis. They had now to face the prejudice their teaching had aroused in the Protestant world. They were not the men to lose heart, but persevered in their work, and carried it on to its successful issue. Above all, they clearly showed by their conduct and practice that the great principles for which their party stood were part of the Catholic heritage of the English Church, and that the outcome of their teaching was neither approximation to, nor imitation of, the Church of Rome.

The permanent enrichment of English theology, the growth of loyalty and devotion to the English Church, the increase in the number of services, and the restoration of the ceremonial which adds beauty and dignity to our worship, are part of the heritage we have received from those Tractarian leaders who, in days of storm and peril, in the face of cruel persecution and unjust suspicions, remained at their posts, and retained their firm belief in the Catholicity of the English Church.

* Church, p. 404.

IV.

Newman's Career as a Roman Catholic.

The interest of the average English Churchman is mainly concerned with the part of Newman's life which has been covered in the preceding lectures. He stands out as the leader of a great movement, and when his name disappears from English Church history, we turn our attention to the men who carried on the work he had begun. Yet it is a great mistake to suppose that his activity ceased when he was converted to Romanism. His subsequent career has a very direct bearing upon some of the burning questions which agitated the ecclesiastical world in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Quite apart from the attractiveness of his personal character, the study of his life introduces us to the internal administration and policy of the Roman Church at a time when that Church was engaged in a severe struggle in the face of a twofold danger. Her doctrinal position was exposed to the fire of keen and searching criticism while her spiritual supremacy and independence was threatened by the civil power which was by no means prepared to be friendly with a Church which made no attempt to disguise its suspicion of modern civilization. It was a period when the Pope lost the last traces of Temporal Power and when Victor Emmanuel at

the head of the National army occupied the city of Rome.

Newman was a sound scholar and a clear thinker ; his Anglican training had left an indelible mark upon his character and he carried this heritage over into the Church of his adoption. He was always loyal to the Papal See, which was in his eyes the representative of the Divine authority here on earth ; yet he retained his independence of mind. He saw clearly the actual needs of the existing situation, and sought to commend Roman Catholicism to educated Englishmen. It was the sad tragedy of his life to be misrepresented and misunderstood, and when his plans were defeated, he quietly abandoned his designs although he saw that the policy pursued by the accredited leaders was not calculated to make a favourable impression upon the minds of his fellow countrymen. This part of his life provides us with an example of the contrast between the English and Roman Churches. A highly developed organisation possesses clear and obvious advantages, but in the realm of spiritual realities there are corresponding disadvantages, and in the case of Newman we can see how a too despotic use of authority can very easily defeat the object it has in view. Certainly the policy which Newman so strenuously sought to modify and adapt to English needs was bound to aggravate existing prejudices against Romanism.

There is consequently very much to interest English readers in the story of Newman's career as a Roman Catholic. The nineteenth century was an era of progressive thought and scientific research,

it was an age, too, when the forces of democracy were beginning to feel their power. The modern State was becoming jealous of the Church, and Science with a bold challenge had entered the domain of religious belief. Old controversies were renewed, and the battle was fought out by men who realised that vital issues were in the balance. The unrest and unsettlement which was a menace to Roman Catholicism was affecting the whole Christian world, but the danger was greater in that communion, for the very existence of that Church depended upon her ability to vindicate her tremendous claims in the eyes of a critical world, and of a civilisation which was jealous of her power. Newman stood as the champion of Roman Catholicism, his Anglican training influenced his outlook, and determined his method. He was so firmly convinced that the Roman Church was the true Church, that he was fearless as to the results of inquiry and criticism. His superiors did not possess the same courage and succeeded in restraining his activity. Newman soon found that the ecclesiastical authorities were determined to limit his usefulness, and his obedience in these trying circumstances is a striking proof of the strength of his faith in the Church of Rome.

The story of this period of Newman's life cannot be told within the limits of this lecture. All that we can attempt is to draw attention to the main and outstanding events, and to try to ascertain his attitude towards the great questions to which we have already alluded, to tell the story of his trials and disappointments, his sorrows and apparent failures, to try to indicate his true greatness, and

call attention to that heroism which distinguishes his life—the heroism which perseveres in spite of direct discouragements, and which, when door after door is closed, seeks fresh opportunities for furthering the interest of the Church he loves.

I.

(i.)

Newman and his friends joined the Roman Church in 1845. The first experiences of the new converts were full of encouragement and promise. They certainly received a very warm welcome, and the Pope sent a letter congratulating Newman on his decision. The treatment they had received at the hands of their Anglican brethren had been harsh and severe, and now a brief period of calm followed the stormy years of 1841 to 1845. Keenness to win new converts is one of their leading characteristics about this time, "Conversions actual and prospective are a favourite subject in their letters." * They are full of enthusiasm, and in their spirit of ardent hopefulness, all things seemed possible, even the conversion of England.

During the early period of their novitiate, an important question had to be considered. Some general plans for their future career had to be decided upon. Dr. Wiseman was prepared to leave the "converts with an undefined programme until more thought, and further experience of the several capacities of recruits should enable them to make the

* Ward, i., p. 98.

prospect more definite." * As prominent University men they possessed qualifications which were likely to prove valuable in the service of Rome, and their ability and influence among cultured people appeared to mark them out for educational work. Wiseman seemed to think they should use their special gifts in contending with modern infidelity, and Newman formed in his own mind a scheme for founding a school of divinity for the instruction of future English priests. No definite decision was arrived at, pending the visit to Rome for consultation with the Pope, and for the completion of their training.

(ii.)

In September, 1846, Newman left England for Rome, where he entered the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. This department of Papal administration had been founded in the seventeenth century with the express purpose of the oversight of affairs in countries where the Church was not subject to the Holy See; it was the Foreign Mission department of the Roman Church. At that time the Roman Church in England was regarded as a Mission, and consequently the College had a controlling voice in the direction of affairs. Newman was cordially received by the Pope and was treated with great kindness at the College. The Rector allowed him considerable liberty and encouraged him to choose any special work which appealed to him. When Newman finally made up his mind, he suggested the establishment of an "Order" where he would be

* Ward, i., p. 105.

directly subject to Propaganda, and which would be "an offshoot of the College under strict rules." * Now there was in the Roman Church an "Order" which seemed in every way suitable. The "Oratorians" had been founded by St. Philip Neri in the sixteenth century. It was a congregation of secular priests living in community and working for the conversion of great towns, but bound by no vows. "Even if the majority wish to bind themselves by vows, the minority who did not, were to possess the property of the community." This was the rule as laid down by St. Philip.† Moreover, each House was independent, with *one and the same* rule, with no *external* superior short of the Pope himself, and with the privilege each of *interpreting* for itself that common rule; and in consequence with great *divergence* in fact one from another of character and work.‡ St. Philip and his disciples said Mass and preached four sermons every day—a rule which was considerably modified by his successors. Under the existing conditions the Oratorian rule allowed ample scope for literary work. Facilities in this direction were an inducement to the new converts. Newman proposed the foundation of an Oratorian House at Birmingham. The Pope approved of the plan and proposed a short novitiate at Rome, choosing as the superior one of his own personal friends. Newman and Ambrose St. John were ordained at the end of May (1847), and other members of the party a few months

* Newman's letter to J. D. Dalgairns, quoted Ward, i., p. 167.

† See "Catholic Cyclopædia," article "Oratorians."

‡ Newman: Letter to Hope Scott, December, 1860, quoted by Ward, i., p. 451.

later. The new converts returned to England at the end of the year, to commence their work in Birmingham.

(iii.)

Newman was at first reluctant to accept ordination. He probably felt that to do so would be an act of disloyalty to his past Anglican traditions. The objection was removed as the result of a conversation with Dr. Griffiths (the Vicar Apostolic of the London district), who told him that "Anglican orders were but doubtful—*i.e.* some said they were good, others not. But he said that excepting in Baptism, a condition was not expressed—that in Confirmation and Ordination it was implied in the intention of the administrator. *And he gave this curious proof of it*—that now and then they repeat their *own* confirmations and ordinations—*i.e.* when there is some doubt—and that without condition—so that they do nothing to ours which they do not do to their own under like circumstances." *

This conversation shows that the modern Roman attitude towards Anglican Orders, has not always and invariably been adopted by the Roman Church. Newman, by accepting reordination, did not commit himself to the invalidity of his former Orders.

II.

The new community began to settle in Birmingham early in January, 1848, and the Oratory was

* Newman's letter to Dalgairns, Dec. 16, 1845, quoted by Ward, i., p. 110.

inaugurated on the Feast of the Purification (February 2). No easy path lay before this enthusiastic body of converts. New trials and anxieties awaited them in the spiritual home of their choice.

(i.)

Several of the old Roman Catholic families were suspicious of the new converts. They thought that no permanent advantages would result from the Tractarian Movement. Perhaps the fact that these men had separated from the English Church under such very trying circumstances had considerable weight with these old Catholics. They seem to have felt that men whose early training had been in the hands of Anglicans were not altogether trustworthy as religious teachers in the Roman Communion. They found fault with their methods of activity; they said they were acting as Father Confessors before they had been examined in dogmatics and morals; they criticised their moral theology and complained about their short novitiate. The jealousy of those whose whole life had been spent in the Roman Communion can be very easily understood. Wiseman's warm welcome did not fairly represent the prevailing opinion among Roman Catholics, and Newman at once saw that he would have some difficulty in overcoming this prejudice. It could only be accomplished by fidelity to the work they had taken in hand.

During Newman's residence in Rome he experienced some anxiety on account of the reception of his *Essay on Development*. This book was being

read in America, but its introduction there was under very unfavourable circumstances. The Unitarians had brought it forward as evidence that the doctrine of the Trinity was not primitive, but was a development of the third century. This news provoked an outcry at Rome, which was the more annoying as Newman found that his theory of development was admitted by Roman theologians.* The Unitarians' use of Newman's book alarmed the Romans, and the times were not favourable to a calm dispassioned discussion of the question. Sections of the book were quoted and misinterpreted, and some of the strong anti-Roman passages in his *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church* were cited. It was very easy to draw the popular attention to what Newman had said as an Anglican, and such descriptions as the Papacy being Antichrist and Romanism being possessed by the devil were calculated to impair his reputation with the Pope, and to injure his future career. The

* "All I have heard about my book here has been from two professors, one dogmatic of the Collegio Romano (Jesuits). They evidently have been influenced by the American opposition which is known in Rome; but what they say after all is not much. They admit the *principle* of development but say I have carried it too far, judging by the bits translated for them. When I asked for instances they took *the part of a Bull against Petavius* and said Petavius went too far and retracted. I pressed them whether I had been too far on the subject of the Pope's supremacy, but they didn't seem to have more of the book than the above. They said that the American *Unitarians* availed themselves of my admissions. This both showed whence their objection to me came, and also explained the cause of the American irritation." (Newman, "Letter to Dalgairns," Nov. 15, 1846, quoted by Ward, i., p. 161). It must be borne in mind that the Essay on Development was published without theological revision. Wiseman thought that the arguments would carry far greater weight if Newman's last Anglican work was published in its original form. (Ward, i., pp. 98, 615.)

storm happily soon subsided, but it was an indication of the presence of a strong party which was far from favourably disposed towards these English converts.

(ii.)

Newman had further cause for anxiety in the enthusiasm of the younger men of his party. In their Anglican days they had been bold and fearless in the circulation of their opinions and had involved Newman in serious difficulties, both with the University authorities and also with the bishops. Now there seemed a danger of a repetition of their former impetuosity in their advocacy of the Roman Church. Newman wanted to move cautiously and avoid display and unnecessary innovations. "His younger followers were anxious to be up and doing." Newman had at first used vehement language in respect of the English Church, but in course of time such language became less and less congenial to him.* The younger men were not so careful, and they were prepared to adopt Continental forms of devotion almost indiscriminately. The use of French and Italian manuals of devotion was an innovation in the eyes of the older school who were on the look out for any weakness in this self-confident group who apparently aspired to teach the whole Roman Catholic community in England. Faber commenced the translation of the lives of some Italian saints, which were written in a style far from acceptable to English readers. The general opinion was, that this series was far from satisfactory, and on the recommendation of the bishop they were

* Ward, i., p. 204.

discontinued, much to the annoyance of Newman, who stood loyally by his friends.

The differences between Newman and the younger men were too great to be permanently bridged over. Newman was unable to restrain their boldness and impetuosity. A way out of the difficulty was found when Wiseman was transferred to the London district. He wanted Newman to remove the Oratory to London, but Newman could not see his way to accede to this wish; he, however, suggested the establishment of a London House as a branch of the Birmingham congregation. A building in King William Street was secured, and there Faber and others of the younger men settled down to work in the Metropolis. The Oratory was removed to its present site at Brompton in 1854, and the present Church was dedicated in 1884. A few years after its separation from the Birmingham community it became an independent House. A sphere of activity was in this way provided for the younger men who were impatient of Newman's slow and cautious methods.

(iii.)

There was within the Roman Church a growing school whose sympathies lay in the direction of Liberal thought. Liberal Catholics occupied a position not dissimilar to the broad Church Party in the Church of England. Scientific thought was making rapid progress, every department of human life was being subjected to a searching scrutiny, exhaustive research was made the basis of a severe criticism of old and

traditional ideas. The Roman Church was compelled to define its attitude towards this new movement, and the result was a deep cleavage in the ranks of the Church. The movement took various forms, in some cases it was the love of political freedom, in others liberty in the direction of scientific inquiry. The official attitude was, on the whole, an absolute opposition to everything which can be regarded as characteristic of the modern spirit; they "declared war on the modern world, on its political ideals, and its intellectual tendencies alike." * Yet the Liberals were rapidly increasing in strength and in numbers, they included men of marked ability, and frequently came into collision with the Papal policy. The Roman Church was consequently divided; two strong parties were struggling for the supremacy.

Liberal Catholicism is a very wide term covering aims and tendencies which have very little in common. It included the party which aimed at political freedom, and also the party which claimed liberty in the realm of scientific research. The confusion of two such dissimilar movements carried with it unhappy results. The uncompromising condemnation of Liberalism in every form did much to neutralise the influence of Roman Catholicism in the nineteenth century.

Pope Pius IX. was driven out of Rome as the result of the political agitation of 1848, and when he was reinstated by the European Powers in 1849 he made no secret of his hostility to modern civilisation and modern thought. The whole outlook was threatening. Italy was rapidly growing into a

* Ward, i., p. 463.

nation, and Pius knew that a united Italy would not allow him to retain his temporal sovereignty. In England a strong anti-clerical feeling is one of the features of political Liberalism, and in the period with which we are concerned, Continental Liberalism was strongly anti-Christian in its tone.

Political Liberalism set limits to the Pope's jurisdiction, while Intellectualism threatened the domain of belief. The Munich School with Döllinger at its head were students and thinkers, and "stood apart from the more practical agitation of political and ecclesiastical parties." * Their historical researches had impressed upon them the need for a revision of theological statements, in the light of the ascertained results of scientific inquiry, and they were carefully considering the best way to present the Faith so as to win for religion its rightful supremacy in the new age. "They urged the necessity of scientific freedom and of the reconsideration of such theological opinions as science appeared to disprove." The School of Mayence "was more inclined to suspect the hypotheses of science and to walk in the traditional paths." "The theological difference between the two schools" was "somewhat parallel to the difference which later on separated Dr. Liddon" from the present Bishop of Oxford in the Church of England.†

Such in brief were the conflicting ideas of the two parties. The words "Liberal" and "Ultramontane" soon became the watchwords of parties strongly antagonistic.

* Ward, i., p. 465.

† *Ibid.*, p. 466, and note.

(iv.)

This controversy must be kept in mind when following Newman's career as a Roman Catholic; it formed the background of his life. The Roman Church with her powerful organisation, and the appearance of visible unity was not at peace in herself. She was in danger of losing her hold upon the rising generation and alienating the very men whom it was most desirable to attract. It was a time when there was an urgent call to action, and Newman was compelled to take a prominent part in the conflict. In the Roman Church he found not peace but division, and he had to unsheath his sword and fight the battle for those principles which he believed to be essential if the Roman Church was to cope successfully with the forces of unbelief. The most bitter experiences of his life were those which he endured in the course of this controversy.

Newman, as we have already seen, was fully alive to the danger of Liberalism; * in this respect his

* Notice also Newman's conception of Liberalism, "Whenever men are able to act at all, there is the chance of extreme and intemperate action; and therefore, when there is exercise of mind, there is the chance of wayward or mistaken exercise. Liberty of thought is in itself a good; but it gives an opening to false liberty. Now by Liberalism I mean false liberty of thought, or the exercise of thought upon matters, in which, from the constitution of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and therefore is out of place. Among such matters are first principles of whatever kind; and of these the most sacred and momentous are especially to be reckoned the truths of Revelation. Liberalism, then is the mistake of subjecting to human judgment those revealed doctrines which are in their nature beyond and independent of it, and of claiming to determine on intrinsic grounds the truth and value of propositions which rest for their reception simply on the external authority of the Divine Word" (*Apologia*, p. 288).

theological position was in many respects similar to that of the Ultramontane party. His difference with them was mainly concerned with their practical policy. A blank refusal to face the facts was in his eyes a surrender of the situation. Newman did not think that the best type of scholarship was prejudicial to faith. His own Oxford experience was a demonstration of the fact, that, so far as he himself was concerned, orthodoxy was not incompatible with sound scholarship, and he never hesitated to recommend a good secular education provided it was combined with ample opportunities for the exercise and development of religious faith. Newman was not favourably disposed towards the tendency of modern thought, but he sympathised with the protest against a policy which could issue in but one result, the widening of the breach between the Roman Church and modern civilisation.

Newman was placed in a very difficult position. When he was at Rome in 1846 he felt that " Italian theologians insufficiently appreciated the necessity for a searching inquiry into the adequacy of methodical proofs of religion, natural and revealed." He recognised the ability of the theologians, but, in his opinion, they " set forth arguments as conclusive which in reality were not so. The typical Italian professor of theology often failed to realise the actual state of mind of the man who was to be convinced—the infidel in the case of the proofs of Christianity, the heretic in the case of distinctively (Roman) Catholic polemic." *

* Ward, i., p. 244.

W. G. Ward agreed with Newman so far as the fundamentals of Christianity were concerned. "He was dissatisfied with the arguments given in the ordinary scholastic manuals as proofs both of Theism and Christianity, but when once this weakness was remedied, he advocated the atmosphere of Catholicism, secured and confirmed by an absolute obedience to all intimations from the Holy See." *

On the other hand the obscurantism of the Ultramontane party provoked a reaction among the Liberals. The *Rambler* was at that time the official organ of this party, and articles were frequently published in which the policy adopted by the ecclesiastical superiors was freely criticised.† A determined revolt against a too despotic authority

* Ward, i., p. 470.

† Newman, in the course of a letter to Sir John Acton (July 5, 1861), wrote:—"The *Rambler* has been sufficiently theological and ecclesiastical to impress the world with the idea that it comes under an ecclesiastical censor, and if it caught it for tilting against Inquisitors, Ecumenical Councils, and Saints, the World would be apt to say: 'Serve him right!' That is how it appears to me.

"And further, I must, though it will pain, speak out. I *despair* of Simpson being other than he is. He will always be clever, amusing, and *suggestive*. He will always be flicking his whip at Bishops, cutting them in tender places, throwing stones at sacred congregations, and, as he rides along the high-road, discharging peashooters at Cardinals who happen by bad luck to look out of the window. I fear I must say I despair of any periodical in which he has a part" (Ward, i. 529). The *Rambler* was suppressed in 1861, and its place taken in the early part of the following year by the *Home and Foreign Review*. For several years Newman exercised a restraining influence by preventing the publication of articles of an exceptionally objectionable character. These unpublished contributions, some of which are mentioned in the correspondence given in Ward's biography, were suppressed, not because the proprietors of the Magazine were unsympathetic, but on grounds of expediency. It was undesirable to precipitate a conflict with the Ecclesiastical Authorities. They can thus be taken to represent the beliefs and opinions of a powerful section within the Roman Church.

was gathering force and threatened the stability of Roman Catholicism. There was a real danger lest there should be, not only the secession of members of this party from the Roman Church, but also their abandonment of the Christian Faith. Newman saw that these keen and active thinkers needed a guiding hand; their difficulties had, at one time, been his own, and as he had won the victory in his own experience, he was qualified to be the counsellor and adviser of his fellow Christians in their distress.

"Newman found a difficulty in some quarters in making the necessity of his work—or its very object—understood. Even among educated (Roman) Catholics there were many who learnt more or less mechanically the recognised credentials of the Church as well as its doctrines. They did not really weigh the adequacy of the proofs, which they accepted on the word of that Church whose authority the proofs themselves professed to establish. To reflect on the vicious circle which this involved was in their eyes to admit a doubt against Faith. This was an attitude quite at variance with the teaching of the best theologians, but in fact it was widely prevalent. And W. G. Ward and Newman, who were on this subject in close sympathy, had found even so able a man as Cardinal Wiseman not wholly free from the confusion of thought which it involved. This became apparent in a conversation between the three men in 1859, when Newman clinched the matter, and somewhat staggered the Cardinal with the question, 'Then pray, your Eminence, what is the difference between Faith and Prejudice?'" *

* Ward, ii., pp. 244, 245.

Newman's relations with Liberal Catholicism aroused the suspicions of the Ultramontane party, they never understood what he was trying to do, and completely misconstrued his intentions. In the eyes of his superiors he was a Liberal Catholic; for many years he was under a cloud sharing the disgrace of those whose loyalty had been tested up to breaking point, discredited by those who knew him well and ought to have trusted him; and all the time he was labouring to avert a catastrophe, which would have shaken the Roman Church to its foundations. The Ultramontanes saw that their ideas of authority were threatened by the forces of Liberal Catholicism, but they were blind to a far graver danger, which their short-sighted policy was precipitating—the danger of a schism in the Roman Church. Newman who thoroughly grasped the situation, sought to avert this disaster by seeking to restrain the "Liberal" leaders from hasty and provocative words and actions.

III.

Meanwhile Newman pursued his duties at the Oratory; at the same time he watched carefully the course of events, and interested himself in the important questions which affected the life of the Christian Church. He found here ample scope for his activity: the events which aroused public interest provided opportunities for the practical application of his policy to the actual situation in which he was placed.

(i.)

On March 8, 1850, the Privy Council delivered the famous Gorham Judgment. The Bishop of

Exeter had refused to institute The Rev. G. C. Gorham to the Vicarage of Brampford Speke, on the ground that he denied the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. When the case came before the Privy Council, the Bishop's decision was overruled, and he was instructed to proceed with the "Institution." This limitation of the power of an English bishop provoked an outcry in the English Church. Further secessions to Rome followed, and among the new converts was Henry Edward Manning, who upon the death of Wiseman succeeded to the Archbishopric of Westminster. Faber and other friends wanted to make the most of this trouble in the English Church, and prevailed upon Newman to deliver a course of lectures in the King William Street Oratory. Newman reluctantly consented, the task was distasteful to him, and he did not want to enter upon a controversy with the English Church. Finally he chose as his subject the "Difficulties of Anglicans," and on May 9, commenced the course of twelve lectures which were delivered weekly. The lectures were addressed to the Tractarians, who remained in the English Church, and their practical object was to bring within the Roman Church "those who, after following him to the very brink, hesitated to take the final step." * The first seven lectures endeavoured to show that the Oxford Movement was alien to the Church of England, and that its true logical outcome is the Church at Rome. The last five aim at removing objections to the Roman Church. The first seven are "the only instances among his writings of what might be called aggressive

* Ward, i., p. 232.

controversy." The composition of these lectures was to Newman a difficult undertaking; he still retained his respect for the English Church, which he regarded as "a bulwark against infidelity"; he had no wish to weaken the hold of that Church upon the many who were convinced Anglicans, but only upon those who, he considered, ought to join the Church of Rome.* Newman regarded the English Church as a great power for good in English society, it was a witness "to a dogmatic and ritual religion, *i.e.* a revelation," and he felt that it would be wrong to weaken it until the Roman Church was strong enough to take its place.†

Coupled with these lectures, there is an interesting note in a private letter to his friend, Henry Wilberforce, written about a year earlier (January, 1849). "I have heard something about you which makes me sad—that you countenanced on November 1st, the changes in Margaret Street which (if what I hear they are) I will not designate. What have

* Ward, i., 233.

† *Ibid.*, i., p. 258, 259: "I recognise in the Anglican Church a time-honoured institution, of noble historical memories, a monument of ancient wisdom, a momentous arm of political strength, a great national organ, a source of vast popular advantage, and, to a certain point, a witness and teacher of religious truth."

* * * * * *

"While Catholics are so weak in England, it is doing our work; and, though it does us harm in a measure, at present the balance is in our favour. What our duty would be at another time and in other circumstances, supposing, for instance, the Establishment lost its dogmatic faith, or at least did not preach it, is another matter altogether."

* * * * * *

"Doubtless the National Church has hitherto been a serviceable breakwater against doctrinal errors, more fundamental than its own. How long this will last in the years now before us it is impossible to say" ("Apologia," pp. 340, 342).

you to do with *Subdeacons* and the like? I should have thought you far too sensible a fellow to go into such ways. While you stick to the old Church of England ways you are respectable—it is going by a sort of tradition—when you profess to *return* to lost Church of England ways, you are rational—but when you invent a *new* ceremonial which never was, when you copy the Roman, or other foreign rituals, you are neither respectable, nor rational. It is sectarian." *

In these lectures Newman united the old and the new. The English Church was a stepping-stone leading ultimately to Roman Catholicism. He is doing what is so commonly done by the majority of people, he is objectivising his own experience. What the English Church was to him, he believed it ought to be to all her members. An individual experience is thus raised to the rank of an absolute truth. Newman's writings give us the key for the interpretation of his life.

Favourable reports of these lectures reached the ears of the Pope, who conferred upon Newman the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

(ii.)

Wiseman was full of hope for the future of Roman Catholicism in England. In July, 1850, he was called to Rome and made a Cardinal. His return three months later was the first step in a forward move of the Roman Church in England. Pius IX. issued a Pastoral letter reinstating England in the position of a Roman Catholic country. The ancient hierarchy was restored, a Metropolitan and twelve

* Ward, i., pp. 236, 237.

episcopal sees were created, and Wiseman was appointed Archbishop of Westminster. The language of the "Pastoral" was sufficient to aggravate Protestant feeling; and matters were made worse by an article, which appeared in a prominent French Ultramontane journal, which spoke of the speedy return of England to the Holy Church. According to the writer of this article, the sees of Canterbury, York, London, and any other sees established before this reform, had since the publication of this Pastoral ceased to exist.*

In defence of this act of Papal aggression, it could be fairly maintained that the Pope had only Roman Catholic congregations in view. The Pastoral was only to be read in Church in the presence of the "Faithful"; but this limitation unfortunately did not appear in the text of the document, and members of the English Church took the words at their face value. Doubtless Wiseman had led the Pope to believe that the outlook was more favourable than it actually was, and the authorities anticipated the speedy conversion of England. Wiseman took prompt measures to make known the facts of the case. No actual aggression had been committed. "The rights of the Established Church and Crown had been carefully respected, and the title of no Church of England See was claimed for the (Roman) Catholics." "Wiseman's 'Appeal to the English People' appeared *in extenso* in five daily papers on November 20th. It occupied six and a half columns of the *Times* in small type; and it had an immediate effect in staying the storm." †

* Cornish, i., p. 344. See also Appendix I. † Ward, i., p. 256.

CARDINAL WISEMAN.

From an engraving by D. J. Pound.

To face p. 188.]

The Papal Aggression provided Newman with an opportunity for action in defence of the Roman Catholic policy. He encouraged his friend Bernard Capes to undertake a series of lectures. Some of the prelates considered it undesirable for a layman to take part in the controversy, but Wiseman supported Newman, and Capes delivered his lectures.

Newman considered carefully the most effective way to make his own contribution, and finally decided upon a course of lectures on "Catholicism in England." They were given in the Corn Exchange, Birmingham, and over Newman's chair hung a picture of St. Philip Neri. They were an attempt to justify Roman Catholicism in the face of a populace which was thoroughly prejudiced against anything Roman. When such words as priest, mass, monk, Jesuit, and others of a similar character were associated with error and superstition, it was impossible for Roman Catholics to receive a fair and patient hearing. Newman at the same time sought to answer the more reasonable criticisms, and to meet the objections of educated Protestants, who were not likely to give too much credence to the base stories which were so freely circulated and so readily believed.

The lectures were afterwards published, and Newman describes them in a letter to Dean Church as "the best written, in his opinion, of all his works." *

(iii.)

In July, 1851, Dr. Cullen, then Archbishop of Armagh, and shortly after transferred to Dublin,

* Ward, i., p. 264.

invited Newman to become Rector of the proposed new Roman Catholic University which was to be opened in Dublin. The conflict between the Ultramontanes and the Liberals had raised the whole question of secular education. Trinity College, Dublin, was open to Roman Catholic and Nonconformist students, and under an act passed in 1845 three new colleges, known as Queen's Colleges, were founded at Cork, Belfast, and Galway, which were to be free from denominational tests, but where facilities for religious instruction were given to recognised Christian bodies. The Ultramontane party was strongly opposed to "mixed" education. Freedom from religious tests was one of the features of a movement which appeared strongly anti-Christian, and they feared lest the indefiniteness of an undenominational atmosphere should undermine the faith of the members of their communion. The need for a Roman Catholic University appealed strongly to them, and it was decided to open one in the city of Dublin.

Newman and Cullen were from the first working at cross purposes. Newman planned a University where the secular education should be in the hands of specialists, and where scientific and historic research should be free and unfettered.* Dr. Cullen had a very different purpose in view; he wanted the University to be under his own entire control. The Professors were to be priests owing him strict obedience. He wished to have "zealous and pious priests, their intellectual equipment was a matter of

* See "Historical Sketches," iii., which contains articles which appeared in the Dublin "Catholic University Gazette" in 1854.

secondary importance." * Had Dr. Cullen's plan been adopted the new institution would have been more like a theological seminary than a Catholic University. Newman saw that the enforcement of Cullen's conditions would be disastrous to the cause of education, and the cordial relations between the two men cooled when it became evident that their aims were not only widely different, but hopelessly irreconcilable. First there came the long delay during which very little was done beyond making some general plans for the future. Cullen's neglect almost brought about Newman's resignation. He was approached first in July, 1851, but his installation as rector did not take place till June, 1854. His inactivity gave rise to the impression that the University scheme had been abandoned. Dr. Wiseman endeavoured to secure his consecration as a bishop in order to place him on equal terms with the Irish bishops, and even went so far as to gain the Papal sanction for Newman's consecration. The Irish bishops were, however, jealous of their independence, and Wiseman's action appeared in their eyes irregular, if not unconstitutional. There can be no doubt about the Pope's intention; reports that Newman was to be made a bishop were freely circulated, and he received congratulations from several of his Anglican friends. It is generally supposed that had he pressed the matter the Pope would have granted him a bishopric. In June, 1854, Dr. Ullathorne expressed surprise that he had not been consecrated, and told him that everything depended upon him, he had only to name the time. Cullen, however, used his influence with the Pope,

* Ward, i., pp. 366, 367.

who, in the absence of any pressure from Newman, did not proceed to carry out his original intention. Cullen naturally felt that the initiative ought to have come from the Irish bishops, but he was also aware of the lack of harmony between Newman and himself, and was reluctant to confer upon him any greater powers than those he already possessed. There were also differences of opinion about the appointment of professors and other officials. Cullen did not like the way Newman favoured Englishmen and young Irishmen. The type of men he would like to have seen in the professorial chairs were far from acceptable to Newman, who, in one of his letters, tells us that some of the bishops "regarded any intellectual man as being on the road to perdition." * The competence of prelates, who held such views, to advise upon educational matters, was, to say the least, questionable.

In spite of the differences of opinion, Cullen admired Newman, and valued his work. He had some difficulties with his fellow bishops, who disliked Newman's educational policy, and who considered that religious tests should take precedence over educational ability. His desire for conciliation and peace had, probably, a great deal to do in determining his official relations with Newman. To sum up in the words of W. G. Ward—

"Speaking broadly, Dr. Cullen seems to have aimed at the exclusion of all that was dangerous in modern thought; Newman, rather at such mental and moral training as would enable (Roman) Catholics to face dangers which were in the long run inevitable.

* * * * *

* Ward, i., p. 355.

"The Archbishop then gradually realised a very unwelcome prospect. In place of a new centre for enforcing ecclesiastical rule in Ireland, he saw the possibility of something like a (Roman) Catholic intellectual republic. His ideal of a staff of Irish priest-professors was opposed by Newman's desire that a large proportion of the professors should be Englishmen and not in Orders. And as to those Irishmen who were to be chosen, he found that laymen were preferred to priests, and, worse than all, that the Nationalists, as including the most able men, were regarded with special favour." *

Newman felt that he was not trusted, and in March, 1857, he tendered his resignation, which was to take effect in the following November. A letter of recall from the Birmingham Oratory, where the prolonged absence of the Father Superior was causing great inconvenience, confirmed him in his resolution. The Bishops were anxious to keep him in Dublin, but Newman now saw that he had undertaken an impossible task, he had not the Bishops' confidence and sympathy, and without this he could not hope for success. A compromise was ultimately agreed upon, by which Newman was allowed to retain the rectorship. The Bishops consented to his residence being only occasional, and under the final agreement Newman was to reside nine weeks in each year. The arrangement did not work satisfactorily. A non-resident rector could not adequately discharge his responsibilities, and the following year Newman finally severed his connection with the University.

* Ward, i., pp. 368, 369.

Newman laid down his work with a keen sense of disappointment; the vacillating policy of Dr. Cullen had made the success of the University scheme impossible, and Newman felt that he had wasted his time. "What came home to me clearly was," he writes in his *Retrospective Notes*, "that I was spending my life in the service of those who had not the claim upon me which my own countrymen had; that, in the decline of life, I was throwing myself out of that sphere of action and those connections which I had been forming for myself so many years. All work is good, but what special claim had a University exclusively Irish upon my time?" *

There is something intensely sad in the story of these six years, three spent in enforced idleness, and three in the fruitless endeavour to carry out a scheme which he was convinced would prove of incalculable value, and increase the efficiency of the Roman Church. His resignation closes a chapter of his life in which he had experienced the first of a series of bitter trials. The proposed University appeared to offer a field where the advantages of his Oxford training could be turned to good account, but the action of the Irish bishops had barred his progress.

It was only because he believed that Roman Catholicism is the strength of Religion, as Science and System are the strength of knowledge, that he could willingly submit to an authority which ran counter to his natural judgment. The Church of God was the guardian of the Faith, Christians were called upon to trust her implicitly, even when they

* "Retrospective Notes," Ward, i., p. 384.

had good reason "to question her prudence or her correctness." *

(iv.)

Meantime, the conflict between the Ultramontanes and the Liberals was becoming more and more acute, and Newman soon found himself beset with fresh difficulties. The pursuit of secular knowledge was regarded as dangerous to orthodoxy. No Church can afford to shut religion up in a watertight compartment and isolate it from the complementary truths in the natural world. Such an attitude is, in fact, an ignominious retreat. Truth has nothing to fear from honest investigation, and in every other sphere of life the suppression of legitimate inquiry is a tacit acknowledgment of weakness and insecurity. Newman at Dublin had waged war upon the short-sighted policy which regarded scientific and historic research as matters of secondary importance in higher education. The Ultramontanes were rapidly gaining ground, and Newman found himself in opposition to the party in power. The experiences at Dublin were to be repeated in England.

The next six years brought with them fresh trials and discouragements. The extravagances of the "Liberals" widened the breach between the two schools of thought. Party feeling ran high, and Newman's endeavours to guide and restrain the men who were in revolt against the new despotism were taken to mean that he was in sympathy with Liberalism. Newman really asked for nothing more than common honesty in the treatment of ascertained facts. "In reply to a friend who in 1864 spoke of

* Ward, i., p. 416.

setting on foot a historical review, he wrote, 'nothing would be better than a historical review, but who would bear it?' Unless one doctored all one's facts, one would be thought a bad Catholic. The truth is, there is a keen conflict going on just now between two parties, one in the Church, and one out of it. And at such seasons extreme views alone are in favour, and a man who is not extravagant is thought treacherous." * The knowledge that his superiors thought him disloyal must have been a heavy cross for him to bear; but for no consideration of personal advantage would he sully that intellectual candour and honesty which was one of the most striking features of his life. The way of escape was always open, but only at the cost of being untrue to himself, and he preferred to suffer rather than abandon the work he had taken in hand. At one time he felt inclined "to leave the intellectual questions of the day alone altogether, and stand in the old paths. One of the prayers he wrote and recited in these years was against a false originality."† His books had a small sale, he was reduced to inactivity; he accepted the fact as God's Will, but it tried him sorely.‡ Yet his belief that the authority of the Roman Church was the reflection of the Divine Authority was never shaken. At least for him it was the Divine Will. God's ways were mysterious. God was using these means to guide, mould, and discipline his life. Viewed in this light, his relation to his superiors was transfigured, he saw not them only, but God working through them and speaking to his soul. In one of the entries in

* Ward, i., pp. 571, 572. † *Ibid.*, pp. 572, 573. ‡ *Id.*

his journal (January 8, 1860) he tells us how the fact of being misunderstood had made him shrink into himself, or rather made him think of turning more to God. "It has made me feel," he writes, "that, while I have Him Who lives in the Church, the separate members of the Church, my superiors, though they may claim my obedience, have no claim on my admiration, and offer nothing for my inward trust." *

About this time rumours were circulated to the effect that Newman was contemplating a return to the English Church. A report to this effect appeared in the columns of the newspapers. Newman published an indignant denial; there was no possibility of a return in that direction, but there was growing up among English churchmen, a better understanding of his life, and a greater appreciation of his books. At least he found there the sympathy which was denied him in his own communion.

So the sad years passed with their experience of sorrow and pain, with the future so dark and threatening. When he endured the reproaches of men, he stayed himself upon God, fully believing that though the night was long, the day was sure to break.

We have another prayer of his which belongs to this period. "Teach me how to employ myself most profitably, most to Thy glory, in such years as remain to me; for my apparent ill-success discourages me much. O my God, I seem to have wasted these years that I have been a Catholic. What I wrote as a Protestant has had far greater power, force, meaning, success than my Catholic works, and this troubles me a great deal." †

* Newman's Journal, quoted Ward, i., p. 577.

† *Ibid.*, i. p. 578.

In May, 1859, a school was founded in connection with the Edgbaston Oratory. It was intended to provide for Roman Catholic families, something resembling the public schools of England. The existing schools had been severely criticised in the *Rambler*, and some provision was necessary for the education of the rising generation. Newman was never Head Master, but the school was associated with his name and he took a great interest in its success. A flourishing higher class school for boys still exists, and in 1910 a church built in the classical style and known as the Newman Memorial Church was dedicated. Newman's labours had not been as useless as he imagined.

IV.

Newman in his despondency thought that his days of usefulness were over, and that the future contained few, if any, opportunities for great achievements in the service of God. Yet that future proved to be both eventful and important. More painful experiences awaited him, but some of his greatest triumphs belong to this period of his life.

(i.)

A review of J. A. Froude's "History of England" appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* at Xmas, 1863. It was written by Charles Kingsley and contained the following passage.

"Truth for its own sake had never been a virtue with the Roman Clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not be, and on the whole ought not to be;—that cunning is the weapon which Heaven

has given to the Saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage. Whether his notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is, at least, historically so."*

Newman sent a protest to the publishers, and asked Kingsley for the source from which the quotation was taken. Kingsley referred him to his sermon on "Wisdom and Innocence," which was bound up in his sermons on "Subjects of the Day." On examination, no such statement was to be found in his sermon; Newman had never uttered such sentiments. As a matter of fact Kingsley's accusation was based upon the general impression which the sermon had made on his mind. Kingsley published a formal apology but he did not make it clear that his original statement was not a quotation, but rather his own interpretation of the moral of Newman's Sermon.

Richard Holt Hutton, the Editor of the *Spectator*, took up the controversy, and wrote some articles vindicating Newman and criticising Kingsley. Kingsley replied with a pamphlet, "What then does Mr. Newman mean?"—with emphasis on the word "mean," implying that Newman meant it, even if he did not say it. He ransacked Newman's writings in the search for fresh charges. Hutton replied with an article in which he charged Kingsley with evading the point at issue.

The British public sided with Newman, and he saw that the controversy had provided him with a golden opportunity. He was now sure of a favourable hearing if he issued an explanation of his position.

* "Apologia," p. vi.

He decided to publish his life story, the history of his Religious Opinions. He could not afford to lose any time, as the opportunity would soon pass, so week by week he issued in parts the best known of all his books, the *Apologia pro Vita Sua.* Longmans would not allow him to miss a week, and the task he had undertaken involved enormous labour. The work was completed in seven parts, and some days he was writing for sixteen and twenty-two hours at a stretch. The first two parts which were mainly of temporary interest are omitted in the current editions, and the last chapter now headed "Position of my mind since 1845" was the original appendix, and was entitled "General Reply to Mr. Kingsley." * The weekly parts were widely read by all classes of society, favourable reviews appeared in all the papers, and the success of the book was assured. One writer used words "which bore testimony to the wave of popular applause which the appearance of the 'Apologia' brought with it." † "All England has been laughing with you, and those who knew you of old have rejoiced to see you once more come forth like a lion from his lair, with undiminished strength of muscle, and they have smiled as they watched you carry off the remains of Mr. Charles Kingsley (no mean prey), lashing your sides with your tail, and growling and muttering as you retreat into your den."

The result which pleased Newman was his reinstatement in favour in the Roman Catholic world. The Diocesan Synod at Birmingham delivered a

* See Ward, ii., p. 36.

† Meyrick, "Isn't Kingsley right after all?" quoted Ward, ii., p. 34.

formal address to Dr. Newman. Bishop Ullathorne wrote a letter expressing the wide appreciation among Roman Catholics of Newman's work in recent years, and one of the congratulatory addresses was signed by 110 Westminster clergy. Newman had come forward "as the champion of the Roman Catholic priesthood and he had won a great triumph."* Kingsley's attack only served to enhance his reputation.

Among the classical works of autobiography there are few which will compare with this book of Newman's. He traces in a simple and graphic way the growth of his religious opinions and shows the steps which led up to his accession to the Roman Church. The charge of dishonesty will never be brought against him by those who have read the account in which he lays bare the secret of his inner life.

(ii.)

The abolition of religious tests at the English Universities had placed within the reach of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists the advantages of a University Education. Many Romanists wished to send their sons to Oxford, but at a meeting of the bishops held at Eastertide, 1864, a resolution was drafted discouraging the idea of an Oxford education. Influential lay opinion was in favour of a Roman Catholic College or Hall, and Newman, with Bishop Ullathorne's approval, purchased five acres of land for this purpose. The Mission was to be connected with the Oratory. For two months all seemed to go well, but there was a strong counter

* Ward, ii., p. 34. The text of the numerous letters of approbation is given in Appendix IV. of the "Apologia."

movement engineered by Dr. Grant, Bishop of Southwark, Manning, Vaughan, and Ward, who considered the proposed scheme very undesirable. The Pope had declared against "mixed education," *i.e.* Roman Catholics were told that they ought not to send their children to schools or colleges where they would meet members of other religious bodies. The Irish University scheme had been set on foot to carry out this policy, and to make provision for students who would otherwise have attended one of the Queen's Colleges. Newman's plan for Oxford would, if successful, defeat the very end the Pope had in view. Mixed education was not absolutely forbidden, but it was discouraged; a provision for Roman Catholic students at Oxford was the equivalent to a direct encouragement to them to reside there. Ward regarded the prospect of Roman Catholics going to Oxford "as a surrender of the whole situation. The rising generation, the future representatives of the Church in England, would be at Oxford during the most plastic years in which their views were being formed and their characters moulded, surrounded by the indifferentist atmosphere of a University in which some of the ablest thought was agnostic in its tendency." "It is impossible," he writes, "to exaggerate the importance of preserving the purity of a Catholic atmosphere throughout the whole of Catholic Education." * Vaughan went to Rome as the ambassador of the party, and won the ear of Propaganda. The Bishops met on December 13 and passed resolutions in favour of an absolute prohibition of Oxford. Nothing was

* Ward, ii., pp. 62, 63.

now left but to abandon the scheme. Newman was sadly disappointed, but it was the will of God, and he could consent to the abandonment of his plans. His life seemed to be full of failures. The triumph of the "Apologia" was short-lived, he was not to be allowed to carry his cherished plans into effect.

Roman Catholic parents continued to send their sons to Oxford, and two years later the scheme was revived. Bishop Ullathorne again offered the Mission to Newman, and this time the consent of Propaganda was obtained for the erection of a Church at Oxford. No reasonable objection could be made against this plan. Oxford was the only city in England of importance which had a Roman Catholic congregation without a suitable Church. "A small room, devoid of any architectural pretensions at the back of a priest's dwelling, represented the hidden and almost ignominious position of (Roman) Catholics at Oxford." *

Manning was now Archbishop, and he managed to secure from Propaganda, secret instructions

* Letter from Dr. Ullathorne to Newman. Quoted Ward, ii., p. 132. See also Appendix II., Newman and Manning. Newman's opponents were acting under the conviction that his "presence at Oxford would have a disastrous effect on the future of Catholicism in England," and "they made it their business and their duty to oppose him early and late, not only in England but in Rome. They may not have been very wise, they may not have taken broad and generous views of Newman's work and influence; but in their opposition or hostility to him they were actuated by the belief, that he was what they called him, a minimiser of the Catholic faith; and therefore, in the transition state of the Church in England at that period, his influence at Oxford or elsewhere was an evil to be resisted at every hazard. . . . Without the knowledge of the motives which governed his conduct, it would be impossible to account for the grave variances which separated Manning from John Henry Newman." (Purcell, "Manning," ii., p. 299.)

forbidding Newman to work at Oxford. The fear of the revival of the proposals for "mixed" education was evidently at the back of his mind. The friends of Ward and Vaughan had urged that Newman's residence in Oxford would attract Roman Catholic young men to the University. This condition foredoomed the scheme to failure. "The money was given to Newman personally, the subscribers wanted to see him at Oxford, they would not give their money for an Oxford Mission merely," he wrote. "When the Propaganda decided that I was not personally to be there, it would have been a misappropriation of their money to spend it merely on an Oxford Church." * Neither at Dublin nor at Oxford was Newman rewarded with success. He had laboured in the interests of higher education. The struggle had now lasted during seventeen years of his life, and it seemed that he had done no good whatever and that all his labours had been in vain.

The secret history of the negotiations are by no means creditable to Manning.† He certainly sought to foster the suspicion with which Newman was regarded at Rome. In one of the letters Monseigneur Talbot ‡ describes Newman as "the most dangerous man in England." Still, in fairness to Manning, allowance must be made for the fact that he was carrying out the official Roman policy. Ultra-

* See further Newman's letter to Father Coleridge, quoted Ward, ii., p. 187.

† See further Appendix II., Manning and Newman.

‡ Mgr. Talbot was chamberlain to Pope Pius IX., and his constant attendant. He was also a personal friend of Manning, whose letters contain his own version of this episode in the history of the Roman Church in England. In this friendship lay the secret of Manning's influence with the Pope.

montanism was in the ascendant, and those who firmly believed that the modern educational methods were dangerous to Faith and Orthodoxy, had no alternative but resolute opposition Newman, on the other hand, believed that Ultramontanism was unfavourable to the best interests of Roman Catholicism. "We are sinking," he writes, "into a sort of Novatianism—the heresy which the early Popes so strenuously resisted. Instead of aiming at being a world-wide power, we are shrinking into ourselves, narrowing the lines of communion, trembling at freedom of thought, and using the language of dismay and despair at the prospect before us, instead of with the high spirit of the warrior going out conquering and to conquer. . . . I believe that the Pope's spirit is simply that of martyrdom, and is utterly different from that implied in these gratuitous shriekings which surround his throne. But the power of God is abroad upon the earth, and He will settle things in spite of what cliques and parties may decide." *

With such widely divergent aims Manning and Newman were bound to come into collision.

(iii.)

Newman's trials were directly caused by the Ultramontane party in England. He was always able to vindicate himself when he brought his case under the direct notice of the Pope. The English Ultramontanes, however, had the ear of the Pope's advisers, and used this advantage to strengthen

* Ward, Letter to Miss Bowles November 11, 1866, quoted, ii., pp. 127, 128.

their agitation as soon as Newman had once again settled down to his work.

After the decision upon the Oxford scheme, Newman sent representatives with an "Appeal to the Pope." He found that the authorities in Rome were far more inclined to be friendly than their representatives in England. One of the good results achieved by this deputation was the removal of any suspicion of heterodoxy from Newman's character. Certain things appeared unfavourable, but his friends were able to show that facts had been suppressed, and points which militated in Newman's favour had been accidentally or designedly overlooked. The pain he endured was inflicted by his English contemporaries, and his most vehement opponents were those who had once been his friends, Manning and Ward. A great change had taken place in Roman Catholicism in England since Newman's secession.

(iv.)

The political situation in Italy was growing more and more threatening A wave of patriotism swept over the country in September, 1860. The troops of Victor Emmanuel crossed the frontier. Cavour proclaimed the independence of Italy, with Rome as its capital, and the Papal States fell into the hands of the new king. The Pope refused to come to terms, and the French support enabled him to retain his sovereignty over the city of Rome. In February, 1861, the first Italian Parliament met at Turin, and three years later Florence was chosen as the capital of the new kingdom. The permanent independence

of Rome would create an impossible situation in Italian politics, and the fall of the Eternal City was now only a matter of time.

The temporal power of the Pope was broken, but he still retained his spiritual weapons which he now attempted to use against the civil power as his predecessors had done in days of old. The attack upon his ancient privileges was regarded as the act of an anti-Christian power. The imminent danger aggravated the violent reaction of the Ultramontanes, and the English converts, fresh from their struggle with the State during their life in the English Church, were among the most ardent of the enthusiastic supporters of the Papal claims. The history of the next few years must be read in the light of the political situation in Italy.

(v.)

In December, 1864, the Pope published his famous "Syllabus of Errors." It contained a list of propositions which had already been described as erroneous. It was a declaration of war against modern civilisation. The more moderate men regarded the appearance of this document as a great mistake. In the hands of the Ultramontanes it became a dangerous weapon, and was interpreted as a condemnation of the aims and views of Liberal Catholics. Newman received the Encyclical with the submission due to all that came from the Holy See, and attempted to soften down the harshness of words and phrases which appeared to be strongly anti-Liberal. It seemed to him as though the advisers of the Holy Father were determined to

make the position of educated Roman Catholics as difficult as possible.

Ward, on the other hand, welcomed the Encyclical, and in the *Dublin Review* commented on the frequency of the Papal utterances. Roman Catholics of the nineteenth century were granted unique privileges, they possessed in an unprecedented degree the advantages of infallible guidance. "His articles had considerable influence. The fashion spread of regarding as disloyal those (Roman) Catholics who were alive to the practical or intellectual difficulties attaching to extreme views. The *Dublin Review*, coining a word, nicknamed them 'minimisers.'" *

(vi.)

The dogma of Papal Infallibility was the natural outcome of the Ultramontane movement. Manning and Ward were strong advocates in favour of the doctrinal pronouncements, and they had a strong following in England. The Liberals, on the other hand, felt that matters were going too fast, and in this attitude they were supported by the moderate members of the Church. Father Ryder published a pamphlet, *Idealism in Theology*, in which he pointed out that "as Papal utterances were now becoming so numerous, to intimate that the Pope could scarcely speak publicly without speaking infallibly was . . . to ascribe to him a gift, like that of Midas's touch of gold, very wonderful but very inconvenient." †

Newman considered the formal definition undesirable, it would have the effect of narrowing the

* Ward, ii., p. 83. † *Id.*, ii., p. 225.

terms of communion, which "appeared to him fatal to all intellectual life" within the Roman Church. It would reduce that ancient and historic Church to the position of a sect.* He expresses his views in a letter written to Ward in May, 1867. "Pardon me if I say that you are making a Church within a Church as the Novatians of old did within the Catholic pale, and as, outside the Catholic pale, the Evangelicals of the Establishment. As they talk of 'vital religion' and 'vital doctrines,' and will not allow that their brethren 'know the Gospel,' or are Gospel preachers, unless they profess the small shibboleths of their own sect, so you are doing your best to make a party in the Catholic Church, and in St. Paul's words are dividing Christ by exalting your own opinions into dogmas. . . . I protest then again, not against your tenets, but against what I must call your schismatical spirit." †

The Vatican Council met in 1869 and 1870, and in the latter year the dogma of Papal Infallibility was discussed. "One party pleaded for wholehearted loyalty to the Pontiff. The other urged such caution as the true interests of the Church and respect for its traditions demanded." ‡ The time was hardly opportune for a calm discussion.

* Ward, ii., p. 231. † *Id.*, ii., p. 233.

‡ *Id.*, ii., p. 300. Manning was "the most uncompromising champion, inside the Council and out, of the Definition of the Dogma (*e.g.* Papal Infallibility). On one memorable occasion his tenacity of purpose stood him in good stead. The discussion of Infallibility had been ruled out of order in the Council; for, what was afterwards a question which absorbed every other, had not yet found its place in the *Schema de Ecclesiâ*. In a conversation speaking on this turning point in the history of the Vatican Council, Cardinal Manning said, 'After a long discussion there were at last only two bishops, I and another, who persisted in presenting petitions for the Definition, or in other ways urging the question of Infallibility. We were adjured

The immanence of the political menace had created a strong feeling throughout the Roman Catholic world, and the activity of the Ultramontanes was bound to bear fruit. The voting took place on July 13. Over 600 bishops were present, and of these 451 were in favour of the dogma, 62 desired a fresh examination, and 88 were opposed to any official pronouncement. The last-named withdrew after recording their votes, and wrote a letter to the Pope asking him to excuse their further attendance. They felt they could not publicly express their disagreement with this new Papal decree.

The final scene took place in St. Peter's on July 18. After the celebration of Mass, the dogma was

to obey the will of the Council; we were rebuked for wilful and obstinate obstruction. I do not know what might not have happened had not a cardinal of eminence come to our support, then several Italian and some French bishops. The Council was adjourned; and at the next sitting the party of two was found to be fast growing in influence and numbers until it became the party of the majority—the victorious party. It was on that occasion, I think,' added Cardinal Manning, 'that I received from the opposition the most glorious of titles, *Diabolus Concilii*.'" (Purcell, "Life of Manning," ii., pp. 417, 418).

In 1881, Manning wrote in reference to the Council—

"On the eve of St. Peter's Day (*i.e.* 1868), I and the Bishop of Ratisbon were assisting at the throne of the Pope at the First Vespers of St. Peter; we then made the vow drawn up by P. Liberatore, an Italian Jesuit, to do all in our power to obtain the definition of Papal Infallibility. We undertook to recite every day certain prayers in Latin contained in a little book still in my possession. The formula of the vow with my signature is bound up in my copy of 'Petri Privilegium.'" (Purcell, ii, p. 420.)

Newman, in a private letter to Dr. Ullathorne (Jan. 28, 1890), protesting against the Definition, described the party in its favour as "an aggressive and insolent faction." Parts of this letter became public, how this happened is not known, but extracts appeared in the columns of the *Standard* in the month of March. Manning was naturally irritated by this letter, and refers to it as accentuating their alienation. (Ward, ii., pp. 288, 289; Purcell, i., p. 350.)

publicly read in the hearing of the Faithful. Out of the 535 assembled bishops there were only two dissentients. The Pronouncement of the dogma of Papal Infallibility was accompanied by a storm of extraordinary violence, which, "to many a superstitious mind, might have conveyed the idea that it was the expression of the Divine wrath, as no doubt it will be interpreted by numbers, said one officer of the Palatine guard." *

The Jesuit "Collectio Lacensis" pressed for the insertion of words which made it quite clear that the new doctrine did not mean "a direct revelation to the Pope," nor did it "endow him with such absolute power as to warrant his dispensing with the Church in its exercise." And the following statement appears in the historical introduction, as finally published :—"The Holy Ghost was promised to the successors of St. Peter, not that by his revelation they should disclose new doctrines, but that by his *assistentia* they might preserve inviolate and expound faithfully, the revelation or deposit of faith handed down by the Apostles." †

The Pope is only infallible when he speaks *ex cathedra*, *i.e.* when he speaks as the mouthpiece of the Infallible Church, when "in the discharge of his office as pastor and teacher of all nations, he defines a doctrine regarding faith and morals to be held by the Universal Church." The Pope is required to use the "means of assistance which Divine Providence has supplied," viz. Ecumenical Councils,

* Mozley, Letter from Rome, quoted Ward, ii., p. 305.

† "Historical Introduction," quoted Ward, ii.; see pp. 306, 307. The "Historical Introduction" was written by the learned theologians, Fathers Franzelin and Kleutgen.

Synods, and other means of inquiry in order to ascertain "the opinion of the Church dispersed throughout the world." * In such cases he is guaranteed infallible guidance. The difficulty in this connection is to decide what are *ex cathedra* pronouncements and what are not.

The definition did not go as far as the Ultramontanes wished, and this made it more acceptable to the conservative party. Newman was pleased with its moderation, but he regretted the step which had been taken as likely to considerably increase existing prejudices against Roman Catholicism. The hands of the Ultramontanes would be strengthened; and further, the rapidity of the proceedings of the Council had not allowed time for adequate research and discussion. "The argumentative position of (Roman) Catholic apologists would, in consequence, for the time be greatly embarrassed." † Newman's own attitude was not materially affected; his own relationship with and conception of the Papacy had not undergone any serious change, and the limitations which beset the definition enabled him to give it his loyal support. He was also in a position to answer some of the criticisms directed against it.

(vii.)

In the following September, the Italian troops entered the city of Rome, which at this time became the capital of United Italy. The Pope's temporal power was at an end, his sphere of government being limited to the Vatican. The pronouncement of the new dogma practically coincided with the victory of

* Ward, ii., p. 307. † *Id.*, p. 310.

the anti-clerical party. The blow so long dreaded had fallen at last, and the Pope's spiritual triumph was quickly followed by a disaster which involved the loss of the last traces of his temporal sovereignty.

One of the most serious consequences of the decree was the secession of a large number of Roman Catholics in Germany, who were not prepared to accept the new dogma. Newman's anticipations were realised ; there followed a schism in the Roman communion. A congress was held in 1871, and the community known as the " Old Catholics " was formed. Döllinger was excommunicated, but he did not throw in his lot with the new body, which retained the Episcopal succession and maintained their own churches. The theological position of the " Old Catholics " is in many respects similar to that of the high Church Party in the English Church.

(viii.)

In 1874 Gladstone published a pamphlet, *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing upon Civil Allegiance.* The new dogma appeared to him to aim a deadly blow at the historic, scientific, and moderate school ; " it was a degradation of the episcopal order." * The pamphlet created intense excitement, and was followed by a second which was intended as a reply to his numerous critics. Both Manning and Newman replied, but it was the latter who made the greatest impression upon Gladstone. Newman had virtually held the doctrine which had

* Morley, ii., p. 390.

been defined ever since he became a Roman Catholic, and he was consequently specially qualified to answer Gladstone's charges. His main difficulty was how best to defend the doctrine without committing himself to the extreme views of Manning and Ward. Newman intended to say what he meant: he wrote in a fair and honest way, only introducing criticism in order to make his own position quite clear. When Gladstone's second pamphlet appeared, he added a postscript of twenty-four pages. He published the work under the title of a *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*. His fears were not realised. Neither Ward nor any of the Ultramontanes disowned this attempt to deal with the question of Papal Infallibility, from an independent point of view. On the contrary they welcomed the work, and praised the sincerity of the author. Newman had triumphed, his old adversaries were beginning to understand him and to trust him.*

This was the last public controversy in which

* Newman's criticisms of the extravagances of the Ultramontanes were far from palatable to Manning. The Archbishop, however, knew that an "outbreak of fanaticism in England" would detract from the greatness of the victory. Newman's pamphlet was calculated to allay popular prejudice, and to secure the peaceable acceptance of the new dogma. Hence it would have been bad policy to openly attack it. A letter from Father O'Callaghan to Manning (Feb. 16, 1875), contains the Papal verdict upon Newman's "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk."

"The Holy Father said to me this morning that he understood you were afraid that he was going to condemn Fr. Newman, but that he had no such intention, though he would wish that some friend might let Newman know that there were some objectionable passages in his pamphlet. He had heard, he said, that good had been effected by it, and that the notion of Newman's opposition to the Pope was completely dispelled." (Purcell, ii., p. 486.)

Newman was engaged. The task was undertaken from a sense of duty, and happily did not create any ill-feeling. Gladstone wrote to him, and in his reply (January 17, 1875), Newman described the letter as "forbearing and generous." "It has been a great grief to me," he said, "to have had to write against one whose career I have followed from first to last, with so much (I may say) loyal interest and admiration. . . . I do not think I can ever be sorry for what I have done, but I never can cease to be sorry for the necessity of doing it." *

Newman's calm and balanced judgment did much to reconcile liberal-minded Romanists to the new dogma. When the matter was under discussion he threw the whole weight of his influence on the side of the opposition, but when the irrevocable decision had been made, he gladly undertook its explanation and defence. Newman had no difficulty in accepting the doctrine. His opposition had been based on the fear of the consequences which would ensue throughout the Roman Catholic world, and especially in England. It was because he saw the danger that he was able to write from a point of view which was in full sympathy with the difficulties of educated Romanists, and at the same time in perfect loyalty to the Holy See. His efforts to show that the doctrine was reasonable and acceptable, did much to allay the fears and perplexities of a large number of his fellow countrymen.

* Morley, "Life of Gladstone" (ed. 1911), ii., p. 395.

V.

Newman's public engagements were not allowed to interfere with his work as Father Superior at the Oratory. The recollections of Father Ryder and Father Neville * bear witness to his fidelity to duty, and to the conscientious performance of pastoral work. All sorts of people with religious difficulties had recourse to him. "Members, often ministers of various religious bodies, Methodists, Presbyterians, etc., with no sort of leaning towards the Church, have sought his advice and sympathy. . . . Indeed, now and again one came across something which almost looked like a cultus of Cardinal Newman outside the Church. A member of a Baptist congregation in a large manufacturing town told her daughter—a (Roman) Catholic—that their minister had been for three Sundays preaching upon Cardinal Newman as a model of Christian virtue, and expounding 'Lead, kindly Light.'" †

(i.)

Newman bestowed great care upon his correspondence, many hours each day were spent in writing letters, which formed a very important part of his daily work. Some of his letters have a touch of humour, as when he wrote to Hope Scott about the death of a favourite pony. "Charlie, the virtuous pony, which you gave us fourteen years ago, has at length departed this life. . . . His mind was clear to the last—and without losing his affection for human kind, he commenced a lively, though,

* Quoted by Ward, with slight abridgment.
† Ryder, quoted Ward, ii., p. 359.

alas, not a lasting friendship with an impudent colt of a donkey—who insulted him in his stiffness, and teased and tormented him from one end of the field to the other." *

In a letter to his Oxford friend, W. G. Ward, written in 1860, he congratulates him upon the birth of a daughter, who was born on the Feast of the Transfiguration. "I earnestly pray," he writes, "that the festival on which she was born may overshadow her all through her life, and that she may find it 'good to be here' till that time of blessed transfiguration, when she will find from experience that it is better to be in heaven." †

A domestic servant who had lost a sister asked him to say Mass for her. Newman wrote a kind letter promising to do what she wanted, and concluding with a personal note expressing that sympathy which he always extended to those in distress. "All things turn to good to them who trust Him (*i.e.* God). I too know what it is to lose a sister. I lost her forty-nine years ago, and, though so many years have passed, I still feel the pain" (written January 9, 1877). ‡ His biographer tells us that "he made trouble more bearable by showing how truly he understood it, and in some cases how he himself shared it." § To a lady who desired greater opportunities for usefulness, and who was distressed because of the limitations which beset her life work, he wrote, "One must submit oneself to God's loving will—and be quieted by faith that what he wills for us is best. He has no need of us.—He only asks for our good desires." ‖

* Ward, ii., p. 323. † *Id.*, pp. 325, 326. ‡ *Id.*, p. 324.
§ *Id.*, p. 326. ‖ *Id.*, p. 328.

Many of his correspondents were people who were passing through religious crises, and whose faith was overclouded with doubt. Newman always seemed to know exactly what to say.

In a letter written in 1869 to a friend whose faith had been shaken, and who was in great perplexity of mind, he pointed out that there is something which has more intimate relations with the question of religion than intellectual exercises have, and that is, our conscience. We have the idea of duty, we know the terrible anguish of conscience and the irrepressible distress and confusion of faith which the transgression of what we believe to be our duty causes us. This he takes as "an intimation, a clear evidence, that there is something nearer to religion than intellect; and if there is a way of finding religious truth, it lies, not in exercises of the intellect, but close on the side of duty, of conscience in the observance of the moral law." The function of the intellect "mainly consists in reasoning—that is, comparing things, classifying them and inferring. It ever needs points to start from, first principles, and these it does not provide. . . . To gain religious starting points we must interrogate our hearts, and, since it is a personal, individual matter, our *own* hearts—interrogate our own consciences, interrogate, I will say, the God who dwells there." *

(ii.)

Newman always showed a deep reverence for all sacred things; he could not bear to talk lightly about the greatest realities of his own life, and he

* Ward, ii., pp. 330, 331.

avoided their discussion where there was no purpose beyond the display of intellectual ability. In 1869 R. H. Hutton, the editor of the *Spectator*, asked him to join the Metaphysical Society; Huxley, Tyndall, Church, Manning, and Ward were among the members, and the Society met monthly to discuss the fundamental verities of religious faith. The very intensity of his own faith made any debate with avowed unbelievers, on such subjects, painful to him. In 1876 he heard that Huxley was going to read a paper in refutation of our Lord's Resurrection, and he wrote to Dean Church: "How can this possibly come under the scope of a Metaphysical Society? I thank my stars that, when asked to accept the honour of belonging to it, I declined. Aren't you in a false position? Perhaps it is a ruse of the Cardinal [*i.e.* Manning] to bring the Professor into the clutches of the Inquisition." *

In 1881 a friend sent to him the "Journals of Caroline Fox," and Newman's great reverence for sacred things appears in the course of a letter in which he comments upon this book. "I have a natural dislike of literary and scientific society *as such*, or what Hurrell Froude . . . used to call the 'aristocracy of talent,' and for this reason perhaps I am not quite fair to the remarkable and beautiful life which you sent me . . . it is something of a wonder to me, that a mind so religious as Miss Fox's should feel pleasure in meeting men who either disbelieved the Divine mission, or had no love for the person of one she calls '*her* God and *her* Saviour.'" †

* Ward, ii., p. 333 n.

† *Id.*, p. 333.

(iii.)

Newman throughout the whole of his life was impressed with the reality of the unseen world. Earth was beautiful and attractive, but it was but "the veil which hid the deeper reality." The memory of bygone days clung closely to him, and he cherished the recollections of his past life. In June, 1868, he visited Littlemore. No one knew he was coming, but as he was gazing upon the old and familiar scenes, he accidentally met one who recognised him and who has left the story of that unexpected meeting. "I was passing by the Church at Littlemore when I observed a man very poorly dressed leaning over the lych gate crying. He was to all appearance in great trouble. He was dressed in an old grey coat with the collar turned up, and his hat pulled down over his face as if he wished to hide his features. As he turned towards me I thought it was a face I had seen before. The thought instantly flashed through my mind, it was Dr. Newman." Newman wanted to leave as quietly as he had come, he felt he could not bear to meet his old friends. He was, however, prevailed upon to remain, and called to see several old people in the village.*

Newman kept the anniversaries of the chief events in his own life, and of the deaths not only of friends, but also of acquaintances. As he grew older, one friend after another passed to the other side, and the number of these anniversaries was considerably increased. Father Neville tells us how, on one

* Ward, ii., p. 206.

occasion, after looking in silence at the portrait of a dead friend, he turned and said, as one overpowered by the thought, "And now he has gone beyond that curtain." "His own birthday became to him a solemn reminder. 'Birthdays as they come,' he wrote to a correspondent in 1867, 'are awful things now, as minute guns by night.' Four years later, in a letter to Henry Wilberforce, he writes, 'I wonder what day I shall die on—one passes year by year over one's death day, as one might pass over one's grave.'" *

(iv.)

Newman was fond of music. As a boy he had learned to play the violin, and in 1864 Rogers and Church made him a present of one. After this he was often seen at the Oratory Sunday School practice. He was most particular about his instrument being in perfect tune, and used to hold it against his chest instead of under his chin in the modern fashion. This had been his favourite recreation in his youth, now it was the renewal of his acquaintance with his old love. "When Canon McNeile, the Liverpool anti-Popery speaker, challenged him to a public dispute, Newman replied that he was no public speaker, but that he was quite ready for an encounter if Mr. McNeile would open the meeting by making a speech, and he himself might respond with a tune on the violin. The public would then be able to judge which was the better man." †

* Ward, ii., pp. 338, 341.

† *Id.*, ii., pp. 349, 350.

(v.)

Newman's interests were as wide as human life. He could converse on literature, politics, commerce, social questions; and all manner of topics were discussed in the Community Room when the brotherhood were gathered together at the end of the day's work. Newman once said "that if he had to choose between social intercourse without literary pursuits, and literary pursuits without social intercourse, he would, as a student, without hesitation have chosen the former." * There were, however, certain people who asked questions out of curiosity just to see what he would say. Newman knew how to deal with this class of people. "A member of Parliament took the train to Edgbaston at the time of the struggle in which the temporal power was sacrificed. 'Ah! Father Newman,' he began, 'what times we live in; only see what is going on in Italy.' 'Yes, indeed; but only see too what is going on in China and New Zealand!' Sometimes his answers to such importunities would be followed by a dissertation on the cultivation of grapes in hothouses, for instance, or on the advantage of the fast train at 11.45 over that at 4.26." †

(vi.)

Above all, Newman was a man of prayer. His was a life of devotion and complete dependence upon God. He knew what it meant to "wait patiently upon the Lord." He wanted God to "choose

* Ryder's "Recollections," quoted Ward, ii., p. 352.
† *Id.*, quoted Ward, ii., pp. 352, 353.

out the path for him." The following passage taken from one of his prayers shows the state of his mind:—

"O let not the blood of souls be upon my head! O let me not walk my own way without thinking of Thee. Let me bring everything before Thee asking Thy leave for everything I purpose, Thy blessing on everything I do. . . . As the dial speaks of the sun, so will I be ruled by Thee alone, if Thou wilt take me and rule me. Be it so, my Lord Jesus, I give myself wholly to Thee." *

The services and ceremonials of the Roman Church were to him pregnant with deep meaning, they were the outward emblems of unseen and eternal realities. Newman was no formalist, his love of reality rendered such a conception of Religion impossible. Forms were but the outward expressions of a living contact with the eternal, of the faith and devotion which filled his soul. They were the channels through which he offered his homage, and adoration, and through which he received the "renewal" of his strength, and the experience of the Divine Presence and Power.

VI.

(i.)

The election of Leo XIII. to the Papal Throne was an event of happy omen for Newman. The new Pope sent him a picture from his own Breviary with his blessing—a token of friendship which he valued very highly. His English friends saw that the

* Ward, ii., p. 365.

present was a golden opportunity for securing the formal approval of Rome for his great work; and the Duke of Norfolk, acting as their representative, obtained the co-operation of Manning, and approached Leo, who promised to confer upon him a Cardinal's Hat. Newman heard about the Pope's intention early in February, 1879. He was overcome with joy at the news; his elevation to the Sacred College was a mark of confidence; the distinction showed that the merit of his work had been recognised by the Holy See. He had at last obtained the favourable judgment he had for so long earnestly desired. Newman was now an old man, he felt that he could not leave the Oratory where so great a part of his life had been spent. "All Cardinals who are not also diocesan bishops or archbishops reside as a matter of course in the Eternal City"; and for Newman the transference of his residence to Rome was out of the question. In his letter to Bishop Ullathorne, full of gratitude for the proffered honour, he asked to be allowed to die where he had lived. The letter was in some quarters taken to mean that he had declined the offer, and reports were freely circulated to that effect. Bishop Ullathorne knew what Newman wanted, and intimated to Manning that he would gladly accept the Cardinalate if he were allowed to retain his position at the Oratory. The Pope placed no difficulties in the way, and his permission was conveyed to Newman in a letter from Manning dated March 8. Letters of congratulation now flowed in from all quarters, and among them were addresses from the Primate and Bishops of Scotland, and also from the Irish members

CARDINAL MANNING.

After the painting by G. F. Watts, R.A.

To face p. 224.]

of Parliament who remembered his educational work in Dublin. In April he left for Rome, where he was received in audience by the Pope, and on May 12, in the presence of a large number of ecclesiastics and influential laymen, he received the formal announcement of his elevation to the rank of a Cardinal. On the following Wednesday he went to the English College to receive the gifts which had been subscribed for by English, Irish, Scotch, and American residents in Rome, a complete set of vestments and other ecclesiastical ornaments. The address which accompanied the presentation testified to deep and affectionate veneration in which Newman was held by English speaking Roman Catholics. "We feel that in making you a Cardinal the Holy Father has not only given public testimony of his appreciation of your great merits and of the value of your admirable writings, in defence of God and His Church, but has also conferred the greatest possible honour on all English speaking (Roman) Catholics who have long looked up to you as their spiritual father and their guide in the paths of holiness." *

Newman valued the dignity, but he thought more of the opportunities which the Cardinalate gave him. As a member of the Sacred College, he could now speak with greater authority, his words would have more weight, and he looked forward to wielding a still greater influence in the service of the Church. One of his first acts was to commence a letter to a life-long friend, William Froude, who was a freethinker, and for whose conversion he had

* Ward, ii., p. 464 n.

often prayed. It was a reply to a letter Froude had written to him about religious certainty. Newman would write from Rome itself as a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. The letter was almost completed, but it was never dispatched, for while the rough draft was being corrected "the news came that William Froude was dead. He had died at Admiralty House, Simon's Town, of dysentery, following on drinking some tainted water in the neighbourhood." *

(ii.)

Newman was nearly eighty years of age, but he continued to take an active part in public life; he was consumed by his burning zeal for the Church he loved. His greatest happiness was found in the employment of his powers in the service of religion. The official dignity was an asset which strengthened his position, and of which he determined to avail himself to the full. There is something truly heroic in the figure of this man, enfeebled by old age, and weakened by physical infirmities, continuing his work, and persevering in his schemes. His educational plans were very near his heart, and he now indulged hopes of obtaining the Papal approval. He planned a return to Rome in order to confer with his brother cardinals, and also to open his mind fully to the Pope. He decided to go in March, 1880, but an unfortunate "accident which fractured two of his ribs confined him to his home, and the opportunity thus lost never returned. Each successive year left its deeper mark of age upon him." †

* Ward, ii., p. 466. † *Id.*, ii., p. 476.

The question of the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the English Universities was not, however, allowed to drop. Other influential Roman Catholics reopened the discussion with the proposal that the younger generation should be allowed to finish their education at Oxford. Newman gladly authorised those who were going to Rome to place his own views on the subject before Leo, and he wrote a letter which Lord Braye laid before the Pope when the petitioners were received in audience. The deputation received a favourable reception, and although they were not immediately successful, they prepared the way for the "withdrawal by the Holy See of the law which forbade (Roman) Catholics to frequent the national University," * which took place ten years later.

(iii.)

Newman was no longer able to do great things, but he continued to pay close attention to the innumerable details of practical administration. His interest in, and sympathy with, the joys and sorrows, the successes, the cares and anxieties of his fellow men endeared him to many hearts. In 1881 he lost a friend who had stood by him in the dark and dreary days of his life, the Provincial of the Dominican Sisters, Mother Imelda Poole. Shortly after her death he visited the convent to say Mass for her, and spoke to the assembled sisters about the *joy* all ought to have in the midst of bereavement. After dinner the Cardinal "asked to be taken to the choir that he might pray by Mother Margaret's and Mother Imelda's graves. He knelt by them

* Ward, ii., p. 487.

for some time in silent prayer, evidently deeply moved," and as he came away he said, "I would not have missed this for the world." *

About the same time he heard that an old Oriel friend, Mark Patterson, lay upon his deathbed, and that he was distressed on account of his religious beliefs. Newman was ill in bed, and the doctors warned him of the danger he incurred by going. "Is the little life left me," he said, "to be weighed against the chance of good in such a case as this? Let the doctors say what they will, I shall go!" † He wrote three or four letters, and then went to Oxford to see the sick man. No one knows what was said at that interview, but his taking the journey at great personal risk, shows how keenly he desired to help others. He went wherever he was needed.

Wilfred Ward, his biographer, the son of his old Oxford friend, who was also one of his most formidable antagonists in the educational controversies, found in Newman a wise counsellor and adviser. Newman could not forget how deeply he had been wounded by Ward's determined opposition to his Oxford scheme. The sense of estrangement had deepened, and the two men had each gone their own way. But the son could tell Newman that his father's love had never changed, and that he had even wanted him to read philosophy and theology at the Birmingham Oratory, in order to be under Newman's influence. "This touched the mainspring of the long estrangement. Want of trust had struck deeper than mere opposition, and an unmistakable

* From a description by one of the Sisters, quoted Ward, ii., p. 480.

† Father Neville's Reminiscences, quoted Ward, ii., p. 481.

sign that very much of the old confidence in the value of his guidance had remained, did far more to obliterate past resentment than the knowledge of any merely affectionate feeling" on the father's side.*

Newman also followed with great interest the course of public affairs. He noted carefully the course of the Egyptian War and the Gordon Relief Expedition. "All through the war he kept three maps of the country hung up before him, that he might follow the route, and he would not afterwards have them removed. The sacrifice of Gordon, for such he judged and termed the General's fate, had the same effect upon his bearing as a personal loss. He felt it as an almost unparalleled disgrace to the country." † Gordon had with him at Khartoum a copy of the "Dream of Gerontius," in which he had marked his favourite passages in pencil and underlined the name "Gordon" in the dedication to the memory of Father Joseph. This book was afterwards sent for Newman's inspection. "It is indeed," he wrote in his letter of thanks for the volume, "far more than a compliment to have my name associated in the mind of the public with such a man,—so revered, so keenly and bitterly mourned for as General Gordon." ‡

Newman was not too busy to attend to matters which at first sight seemed too small for the attention of so great a man. A number of young Roman Catholic girls were employed in a large manufactory. The masters belonged to the Society of Friends,

* Ward, ii., p. 490.
† Father Neville, "Recollections," quoted Ward, ii., p. 514.
‡ Ward, ii., p. 514.

and required every one on the premises to assemble once a day for religious instruction, at which there was the reading of a passage of Scripture with a short exposition. When the priest of the mission heard about it, he forbade his own people to attend. "The masters would not take the priest's word as final; they would like, they said, the opinion of some such liberal-minded (Roman) Catholic as Cardinal Newman on so unexpected a command. This our Cardinal thought a call upon him to come forward and he lost no time. It was in the month of November, the year before he died, a time of thick snow and thaw, which obliged him to walk some little way to the works; but he would not hear of any delay, and drove to see the masters. . . . The masters received what he put forward with kindness and respect, and they said they would talk the matter over by themselves. Anticipating success, the Cardinal's first words on re-entering his carriage came with pleased briskness: 'If I can but do work such as that, I am happy and content to live on.' A few days brought the good news that all difficulties had been got over by a room having been set apart for the (Roman) Catholics to meet in for prayer by themselves." *

(iv.)

The last ten years of the Cardinal's life passed very quietly. There are no burning controversies to record, no fresh tasks undertaken, but they are full of good works, they were spent in the service

* Father Neville, "Recollections," quoted Ward, ii., pp. 534, 535.

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

After a drawing by Jane Fortescue (Lady Coleridge).

To face p. 230.]

of God and of his fellow men. He wrote letters of spiritual counsel and advice upon difficult questions. He was able to supply information to Dean Church for his well-known history of the "Oxford Movement," and also to advise upon what he had written. The daughter of a friend wrote a religious story and sent it to him for criticism. He tells her what he thinks of it, praising the good points, and suggesting details in which there was room for improvement. Newman meant to die in harness, he would work while it was day. He did not fear death, for him it meant the Vision of God, an eternity in God's presence. "It is the thought of God," he wrote in 1880, "His Presence, His strength, which makes up, which repairs all bereavements." * Death came suddenly, he passed away on August 11, 1891, after only two days' illness. On the pall was the motto which he chose as his own when he was elected Cardinal, *Cor ad cor loquitur*, "Heart speaketh to heart." He died full of days and honour. His life work was completed, the labourer had entered into his rest.

VII.

For Newman life's day did have "calm unclouded ending"; his career of strenuous activity was followed by a brief period of peace and rest. But during the greater part of his life he was engaged in bitter controversies, which were a sore trial to his sensitive nature. His was a life of arduous labours; in the Roman Church he had to encounter the relentless opposition of superiors who treated him quite

* Ward, ii., p. 479.

as shamefully as the adversaries of his Anglican days. Manning's antagonism to Newman will always remain a blot upon the conduct of that great Archbishop; while Newman's patience and perseverance under the most trying circumstances will always command the admiration of fair-minded Englishmen.

Newman was a man of manifold gifts. As a philosopher, theologian, poet, and preacher he displayed conspicuous ability and exercised a profound influence upon contemporary thought. As an ecclesiastical statesman he occupies a place in the foremost rank among the religious leaders of Roman Catholicism. He possessed remarkable insight, and was able to grasp the main features of any existing situation, and to distinguish between what was local and transitory and what was fundamental. He was consequently able to form a sane and sober judgment as to the value of any proposed plan of action, the accuracy of which was frequently vindicated in the course of history, especially when for a season it was disregarded by the ecclesiastical rulers. Yet the secret of his extraordinary power lay in his personal character, his goodness, his deep spirituality. Newman was always loyal to his own convictions, he had confidence in his own judgments, and his prevision of the inevitable consequences of the fatal policy which his superiors were pursuing, led to his adoption of a course of action which involved him in suspicion and gross misrepresentation. For Newman, the voice of the Roman Church was the Voice of God, the Divine authority must not be weakened or discredited, rather than this should happen the individual must be sacrificed; and

Newman was willing to be sacrificed, his duty was to do what he could, to use every means in his power to secure the Papal approval of his own schemes, even when by his persistence he ran the risk of losing the Episcopal favour. The long series of continuous disappointments were to him the cross which he bore patiently, and he made the most of every favourable opportunity to further the interests of the Church to which he belonged.

We have already noticed the strange dualism in Newman's character; the absolute loyalty to conscience, coupled with a keen and critical intellect which he strove to keep in subordination, but which was continually asserting itself. This dualism can be detected in all the work he undertook. The ecclesiastical controversies were but the counterpart of a perpetual inner conflict in the secret depths of his own soul. His own vivid and painful experiences made him sympathetic towards those whose difficulties were so near akin to his own. The antithesis of Faith and Reason, the Heart and the Intellect, is found in every form of religion; and the religious teacher is faced with the problem, not only of removing the seeming antagonism, but also of showing their mutual relation and interaction in the development of Creed and character. The harmonisation of these two conflicting elements in human life was one of the principal objects Newman kept continually in view.

Newman will always have his critics. To some minds he made the great mistake of his life when he joined the Roman Church, and his treatment in that communion certainly gives grounds which

support this verdict. On the other hand, when we take into consideration the circumstances with which he was surrounded, when we try to understand his complex nature, to see with his eyes, and identify ourselves with his point of view, his conduct becomes intelligible and we can understand why he acted as he did. Appreciation is a far nobler aim than criticism, and in Newman we have a man who devoted the whole of his time and talents in order to commend Roman Catholicism to the minds of a people prejudiced against Romanism in any form. According to the late Dr. Fairbairn, Newman did not cease to be an Anglican when he became a Roman Catholic; he and his friends carried with them the principles which had been educed and developed in the Anglican Church and in its interests.* With certain reservations this judgment is quite fair. The story of Newman's relations with his ecclesiastical superiors gives us some idea of the divergence in outlook and practical policy between English and Roman Catholicism. His training as an Anglican had left an indelible mark upon his mind, and throughout the controversies in which he took an active part he displayed that healthy independence, coupled with an intense loyalty to the Divine Society, the Church, which is one of the distinguishing features of Anglo-Catholicism. A comparison of these two ideals of Catholicism will issue in results which are distinctly encouraging to English Churchmen. The progress of the Oxford Movement under Keble, Pusey, and their successors, not only established beyond all question the con-

* "Catholicism, Roman and Anglican," pp. 79, 80.

tinuity of the English Church, but also showed that her ideal of Catholicism is identical with that of the Church of the Early Fathers. If we do not follow Newman's example it is because we believe that the English Church is a true branch of the Catholic Church, and that the gifts of " grace " are mediated through her divinely appointed priesthood, and the regular administration of the sacraments. There is no need for us to seek in an alien communion those unique privileges we already possess as members of the English Church.

Newman was one of the greatest religious leaders of the past century ; and English Churchmen have every reason to be proud of the man, who, when he was a Roman Catholic, came forward as the champion of the great principles of religious freedom which are the glory of Anglo-Catholicism. His was a nature which cried out for the living God, and to him was vouchsafed the reward which God bestows upon all who seek to know the truth, the increasing consciousness of the Divine guidance throughout the days of his earthly pilgrimage, and the vision of the King in his Beauty when his life work was completed and he entered into his eternal rest.

APPENDICES

I.

Papal Aggression.

"In regions where the ordinary hierarchy of the Church has not been established, and which consequently fell under the ordinary and immediate jurisdiction of the Pope in a special manner, the Holy See usually governs such missionary regions by means of a delegate who has received episcopal consecration to some titular see, and who is designated a Vicar-Apostolic. These prelates generally have the same powers that bishops have by common law in their own dioceses, and the Congregation of Propaganda also concedes to them various extraordinary faculties." *

In 1688, Pope Innocent XI. divided England into four districts, the London, Midland, Northern and Western; and placed each under the control of a Vicar-Apostolic. In 1839, Pope Gregory increased the number to eight, and the following year "Dr. Wiseman was consecrated bishop, and appointed coadjutor to Dr. Walsh, Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland district." † In 1847 he was transferred to London, and elevated to the rank of a Cardinal. Many of the older Romanists were alarmed at his ambitious schemes, and feared that his activity would provoke repressive legislation, and result in the revival of persecution and the increase of

* "Catholic Encyclopædia," article "Vicars-Apostolic," xv., p. 401.

† Purcell, "Manning," i., p. 661.

religious disabilities. Their opposition to Wiseman's policy on these grounds secured his recall to Rome. The residence of a Cardinal who was not a diocesan Archbishop or Bishop was practically compulsory, and under these circumstances, Wiseman naturally thought that his work in England was at an end. His removal was really desired by English Romanists as a precautionary measure, in view of the strong Protestant feeling existing throughout the country. The next step came as a surprise to most people. In 1850 Pope Pius IX. issued his " Pastoral " announcing the restoration of the ancient hierarchy. A metropolitan see and twelve episcopal sees were created, and Wiseman was appointed Archbishop of Westminster. This " Forward Movement " was not the result of a sudden and hasty decision. It had been thoroughly thought out and carefully planned. Newman heard about what the Pope intended to do, when he was in residence at Rome, and in 1848 rumours were freely circulated to the effect that the hierarchy was shortly to be restored in England; these rumours gave rise to questions in the House of Commons. Moreover, there were strong points which Romanists could urge as reasons for the change. The number of Roman Catholics was, at that time, on the increase; hindrances to the spread of the faith had been removed; and petitions had been received from both clergy and laity. The Pope felt that the time had now come when the full episcopal organisation could be restored in England.

The publication of the " Pastoral " is known in history as the Papal Aggression, but as a matter of fact, the existing civil and ecclesiastical rights were respected. The " Pastoral " was only intended for existing Roman Catholic congregations; beyond that area it was inoperative. The changes only affected directly the internal administration, and the relations with the Papal See. The Roman Church in England was no longer regarded as a Mission; her members possessed the same privileges, and stood on the same ground as their fellow Churchmen in openly Roman Catholic countries.

II.

Newman and Manning.

Newman's strained relations with Manning exercised a profound influence upon the careers of both these ecclesiastics; and consequently the brief references in the text of these lectures needs to be supplemented by a closer examination in order to discover the causes of their mutual opposition, and to show how their estrangement was aggravated by misunderstandings and suspicions.

Some men can distinguish between the antagonism which arises out of personal ill-feeling, and the antagonism which accompanies divergent public policies. Where it is possible to do this, it generally happens that the former alone seriously weakens personal friendship. Manning was far better able to make this distinction than Newman, whose honesty and transparent sincerity made it almost impossible for him to be friendly with one whose general policy was so diametrically opposed to his own. Other important, even if subordinate, causes affected this relationship and increased its complexity. These will be noticed in due course. But the narrative of events must be read in the light of the foregoing considerations. We must keep in mind the two distinct kinds of antagonism, personal and public, and we must remember how widely different Newman and Manning were as regards type of character. Their strong opposition can, in the main, be accounted for in this way.

I.

In 1860 and 1861 public attention was directed to the question of the temporal power of the Pope, and

Manning delivered some lectures which were afterwards published. He was strongly in favour of its support, and at one time indulged a hope that it would be defined as an Article of Faith. The *Rambler*, on the other hand, which was the official organ of Liberal Catholicism, took a different line, and in consequence the already existing suspicions of its orthodoxy were strengthened. Manning regarded it as disloyal to the Holy See. Newman was for a time a theological censor of the Review, and from March to July, 1859, he was editor. In November, 1861, an article appeared in its columns criticising Manning's lectures. Manning thought that Newman had seen the article before publication, and expressed his agreement with it. That belief was unfounded. Newman did not even know that Manning credited him with attacking his lectures until August, 1867, when Manning referred to it in a letter as the first of the series of events which shook his confidence in Newman. In this way the publication of the article in question marked the commencement of the estrangement. In another letter (August 29, 1867) Manning wrote—

"It is a satisfaction to me to be assured by you that you were not participator in the first act which gave rise to the belief of opposition between us.

"But they who caused it were publicly believed to be in communication with you; and you have been thought responsible for their acts, as you have thought me responsible for the acts of those about me.

"Whether you had any cognisance of their acts or not, the public effect of their acts was the same." *

II.

Towards the close of Cardinal Wiseman's life, an important question was raised as to whether or not Roman Catholics were to take advantage of the removal of religious tests, and send their sons to Oxford or Cambridge. The lack of a University education was a serious handicap to Romanists. "Their intellectual

* Purcell, "Manning," ii., p. 340.

inferiority as a necessary result of the lack of higher training was a reproach to the (Roman) Catholic Church." * Consequently they were not able to hold their own in the controversies with those who had graduated at one of the Universities, nor were their apologetic writings free from defects which weakened the force of the arguments they employed. Wiseman at first wanted to grant the necessary facilities, and favoured the proposal to "found a College or Hall at Oxford under exclusively (Roman) Catholic management." Manning, on the other hand, considered that Romanists could not attend either of the Universities without endangering their faith, and won over Wiseman to his views. The influence at Oxford was, in his eyes, strongly anti-Roman, "the University would de-Catholicise the (Roman) Catholic Hall; and further, he urged that the only effectual way of preserving the faith was to prohibit parents from sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge." † Manning was also in constant correspondence with Mgr. Talbot; he sent a statement of the case to Propaganda, and used his influence to secure some expression of their disapproval of Oxford or Cambridge as an educational centre for Romanists.

Two meetings of the bishops were held at Easter and in December, 1864. The latter was a special meeting convened at the express request of Propaganda. The outcome was the abandonment of the plan to found a branch of the Oratory at Oxford.

"In the joint letter addressed from the meeting to Propaganda, the bishops expressed their unanimous agreement against establishing (Roman) Catholic colleges at the Universities, and on the duty of discouraging (Roman) Catholics from sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge; but *plurimi*, the letter said, were of opinion that the circumstances of the moment suggested the gravest deliberation before issuing any absolute prohibition." ‡

* Purcell, ii., p. 287.
† *Ibid.*, p. 289.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 293, quoted from Dr. Ullathorne's pamphlet.

The next step was the proposal to build a church at Oxford in 1866, which was sanctioned by Propaganda, subject to the condition that Newman was not to reside there. "Propaganda was besieged afresh with informal petitions, letters, denunciations, and direful predictions of the evils which would overtake (Roman) Catholicism in England if Newman were permitted to open an Oratory at Oxford, or (Roman) Catholics to frequent the University. The natural result followed. The mind of Propaganda was aroused and alarmed at the alleged dangerous tendencies of English (Roman) Catholicism, and deeply prejudiced against Dr. Newman." * This scheme too was, as we have already seen, ultimately abandoned. Wiseman died in 1865, and Manning was now Archbishop.

The following extracts from Manning's letters explain his attitude.

(i.) Fear of the growth of an Anglo-Catholic party—

"Every week, ever since you went, some new evidence of the growth of an English party appears. The Anglicans have already perceived it, and used it in the *Christian Remembrancer*, in the *Union*, and in the *Quarterly*. The old jealousy of Rome, and desire of independence, is coming up again under the form of conciliating the English people and giving to the intellect its due freedom in all but dogma.

"While men sleep the enemy is sowing tares, and certain men *alte posite* seem *alte dormire*: but, as you will see from the Cardinal's last letter to the Propaganda, he has roused up. The amount of unpopularity and odium thrown on every one who speaks out for Rome, the Temporal Power, the Roman Congregations, etc., is very great, and many who really hold right principles are silent through cowardice. The Cisalpine Club is dead, but we shall have an English Catholicism in its place. Nothing can exceed the lukewarmness with which Rome and its present trials are treated." †

* Purcell, ii., p. 298.

† Letter to Mgr. Talbot, August 29, 1864, quoted Purcell, ii., pp. 299, 300.

(ii.) Fear of Newman's residence at Oxford.

"I have written nothing about Dr. Ullathorne's reopening the question of Dr. Newman and Oxford. But I am certain it will bring back the University question, and encourage the (Roman) Catholics to send their sons to Oxford.

"If Propaganda sanctions it, I trust they will couple with it a renewed and stronger declaration against the Protestant Universities. I think Propaganda can hardly know the effects of Dr. Newman's going to Oxford. The English national spirit is spreading among (Roman) Catholics, and we shall have dangers." *

Again: "I was, and am, convinced that no (Roman) Catholic parents ought to send their sons to the National Universities; that no (Roman) Catholic can be there without danger to faith and morals; and that to engraft ourselves on the un-Catholic and anti-Catholic intellectual culture of England would have two effects—the one that the (Roman) Catholic Church would abandon all future effort to form its own university, and the other, that our higher laity would be like the laity in France, (Roman) Catholic in name, but indifferent, lax, and liberalistic.

"I was compelled therefore to oppose the scheme. Newman did not disclaim approval of this scheme. The opposition, therefore, included his going to Oxford, as the effect of it would be powerfully to attract our (Roman) Catholic youth." †

(iii.) Manning's judgment upon Newman's theological position and influence.

"What you write about Dr. Newman is true. ‡ Whether he knows it or not, he has become the centre of those who hold low views about the Holy See, are anti-Roman, cold and silent, to say no more, about the Temporal Power, national, English, critical of Catholic

* Letter to Mgr. Talbot, June 26, 1866, quoted Purcell, ii., p. 300.

† Manning's Autobiographical Note, written in 1887, quoted Purcell, ii., p. 349.

‡ See Talbot's letter below.

devotions, and always on the lower side. I see no danger of a Cisalpine Club rising again, but I see much danger of an English (Roman) Catholicism of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary, Oxford tone, transplanted into the (Roman) Church. It takes the line of depreciating exaggerations, foreign devotions, ultramontanism, anti-national sympathies. In one word, it is worldly Catholicism, and it will have the worldly on its side, and will deceive many."*

Mgr. Talbot's letters contain (among others) the following statements :—

"Dr. Newman is more English than the English. His spirit must be crushed." †

"Poor man, by living almost ever since he has been a (Roman) Catholic surrounded by a set of inferior men who idolise him, I do not think he has ever acquired the Catholic instincts. I have reason to suppose that secretly he has always sympathised with the *Rambler* school." ‡

Manning was anxious to remain on good terms with Newman. He evidently thought that personal friendship need not necessarily be disturbed by the stern, repressive measures which were essential to the success of his public policy. As an ecclesiastical statesman he considered it his duty to enforce the decisions of the Papal See, and to adopt certain measures in the interests of Roman Catholicism. He saw clearly, however, that an open breach between himself and Newman would aggravate the existing party feeling, a contingency he was anxious to avoid. This explains a paragraph in one of his letters to Newman (August 7, 1867).

"I do not believe that among your old friends there is any one who has remained more unchanged in all the kind regards which have so long united us. If our lines have differed, I cannot suppose that either you or

* Letter to Mgr. Talbot, February 25, 1866, quoted by Purcell, ii., pp. 322, 323.

† Quoted Purcell, ii., p. 323 n.

‡ Ibid.

I would invest that fact with any personal feeling. If misunderstandings have come between us, I feel it in every way a duty to endeavour to clear them away." *

The question of policy is raised in a letter to Talbot (May 3, 1867).

"The chief aim of the Anglicans has been to set Dr. Newman and myself in conflict. For five years papers, reviews, pamphlets without number have endeavoured to do so.

"A conflict between him and me would be as great a scandal to the Church in England, and as great a victory to the Anglicans as could be." †

The following extract is taken from the Autobiographical Note written in 1887.

"During all this time I can declare that I have cherished the old friendship between us. I should never have been in Birmingham without going to Edgbaston, if the Bishop of Birmingham had not advised me not to go. I can truly say through all these years I have never had a feeling of offence or of resentment against Newman. I began with a great admiration, a true affection, a warm friendship.

"I always regarded him as far above me in gifts, and culture of every kind, that I never had a temptation to rivalry or jealousy.

"We diverged on public duties. My line was not my own. It is that of the bishops in 1862–1867, of the Holy See, and of the Vatican Council. It is also the line which is unpopular in England, and in the public opinion of all countries."

"That Newman has a morbid sensitiveness is well known. His relations with Faber, the late Cardinal, Father Coffin, the London Oratory underwent the same change as his relations to me. I have never referred to him in print except with affection and respect as a friend. If I have been opposed to him, it has only been that I must oppose either him or the Holy See." ‡

* Quoted Purcell, ii., p. 330.
† Ibid., p. 319.
‡ Ibid., p. 351.

III.

Manning clearly suspected Newman. He had doubts about his loyalty, and regarded him as the representative of a "worldly" type of Roman Catholicism. Every attempt to conciliate a party, which was opposed to any extension of the Papal powers, was, in his eyes, a disloyal act. The stability of the Roman Church was threatened, her security depended upon an uncompromising statement of her claims. The whole of the correspondence from which the foregoing extracts have been taken supports this conclusion. If Newman was "more English than the English," then Manning was certainly "more Roman than the Romans."

There are also points in the narrative which throw doubt upon the sincerity of Manning's desire to remain on friendly terms with Newman. One of the extracts already quoted shows that he feared the consequences of an open disagreement with him. An expression of confidence signed by about two hundred influential laymen was presented to Newman in April, 1867. In May, Manning wrote to Talbot, and in the course of his letter said that he must avoid an open breach with Newman; and in the following July he commenced the long correspondence in which he referred with regret at the long alienation, and expressed the hope, that as a result of mutual explanation, their estrangement would come to an end. Manning's motives were probably "mixed," but it seems quite evident that questions of expediency weighed considerably with him, in his advances for the renewal of their former friendship.

This conclusion is supported by evidence obtained from other quarters. Dr. Ward's attacks upon Newman in the columns of the *Dublin Review* had Manning's sympathy and approval. In a letter to Mgr. Talbot (1866) he wrote—

"You may rest satisfied that nothing is published by Ward which does not pass under the censure of three competent ecclesiastics, and I mostly see every critical article." *

* Purcell, ii., p. 309.

Manning was obviously using every means in his power to undermine Newman's influence, and while it can be fairly urged that he was acting upon convictions, yet it is a fact worth noticing that Manning was in close touch with Newman's most vigorous assailants at the time when these friendly advances were made. A time when there was keen personal rivalry was hardly a suitable occasion for seeking a reconciliation and the renewal of a lapsed friendship.

Manning betrayed a similar spirit in his controversy with Gladstone. In a letter to the *New York Herald* (Nov. 10, 1874), referring to Gladstone's pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees, Manning describes its publication as "the first event that has overcast a friendship of forty-five years." * Gladstone challenged this statement, and reminded Manning that during the forty-five years, he had been charged by him "with doing the work of Anti-Christ in regard to the Temporal Power of the Pope," and also that the friendship had been in abeyance for at least twelve years.† Manning in his reply further defines what he means by friendship.

"Our friendship has indeed been strained to any degree you will fix, by public opposition for conscience' sake, but never by private acts or words unworthy of either you or myself." ‡

Now, the question of Papal Infallibility was a question of public policy equally with the Temporal Power of the Pope or any of the other burning questions which brought Manning into conflict with Gladstone and Newman. In Manning's letters to both these men he affirms that personal friendship is not inconsistent with difference of opinion upon matters which concern the general welfare. The description of Gladstone's pamphlet on Vaticanism as being the first event which has overcast a friendship of forty-five years is not easy to understand in the light of the above-mentioned distinction which Manning always professed to carefully maintain.

* Purcell, ii., p. 476. † Ibid., pp. 477, 478.
‡ Ibid., p. 479.

Manning's relations with Gladstone are further described in the Autobiographical Notes dated September, 1887.

"I have just read over my letters to Gladstone from the year 1835 to 1851. Then my submission to the Catholic Church suspended all communication by letter or meeting until about 1861. In that year I was walking with William Monsell (Lord Emly) in Downing Street, and I came upon Gladstone walking with some one whom I forget. We shook hands warmly, and he said, 'I shall be glad to see you.' When I went home, I wrote, saying, 'You said so-and-so. Was it a mere form of speech, or did you mean it?' For I have always felt that I had no right to expect a continuance of relations when I had myself dissolved the basis on which they rested. He answered that 'he meant it,' and his letter is in the series dated March 12, 1861. After this our correspondence and meetings were renewed until 1873. And our letters were, I think, more in number and more important than in the first period, for then we were in early life, and afterwards we were in the stress of responsibility.

"In 1873 he published his ill-starred 'Vaticanism' and his unpardonable article upon Pius IX. From that day we parted again. I have never again entered his house nor he mine. Our letters were very few, and simply official until the beginning of last year. Since then we have written oftener, and on the old terms. But we have only met twice in these fourteen years, once at a garden party at Chiswick, and once in a sculptor's studio." *

* * * * *

"When I submitted to the Church, in April, 1851, I did not withdraw from my old friends, but I felt they were all released from any relations of our former friendship. I had dissolved the foundations of our friendship, and the change was made not by them, but by me. Nevertheless, I let them know that in my friendship for

* Purcell, ii., pp. 489, 490.

them there was no change, but that I should never by word or deed seek them, as I did not know what they might wish, but that if they sought me they would find me unchanged, except only in my Faith, and glad to renew so far as possible our old friendship. I thought this course considerate, just, and prudent. There may have been a mixture of human pride in it, for I could not place myself where my friendship might be declined; nor act as if my submission to the Catholic Church was a thing to be ashamed of.

"When Gladstone, therefore, in 1873, publicly declared that our friendship had ceased, I was, as I think, justly displeased, for I had never sought him or his friendship." *

IV.

It will at once be seen that Manning's version of his relations with Gladstone does not, on certain points, tally with the correspondence, and consequently it is by no means easy to define his actual position. His opportunism was in some measure responsible for his public policy, and also affected his various ecclesiastical and other relationships. He may have held that public rivalry need not affect personal friendship, but he certainly had a very inadequate conception of what the essentials of true friendship really are. If, as in the case of Gladstone, a separation of twelve years did not impair friendship, it is natural to ask, What was the corresponding reality in Manning's mind when he used the word? Is friendship something which can be suspended and interrupted, and then after a lapse of time be tacitly resumed as though nothing had happened? If Manning simply meant "the absence of any bitter feeling" or "the willingness to be on friendly terms" his conduct is intelligible, but if more was implied in his idea of friendship, how can his acts be said to be in harmony with his words? Surely something more than certain feelings is required to justify any claim to friendship.

* Purcell, ii., p. 491.

Newman mistrusted Manning, and from what has been said, it is evident that he had good grounds for doing so. He never understood his complex nature, and he knew that he was responsible for the official opposition to his plans, and the bitter disappointment which accompanied their enforced abandonment. Newman asked for deeds, not words. In one of his letters (July 28, 1867) he wrote in reference to the Oxford Mission—

"The best means which the Archbishop could take to set the world and me right, and to show that he had nothing to do with barring me from Oxford, would be to effect the removal of any remaining difficulty which lies in the way of my undertaking the mission. In saying this I do not mean to imply (which would be untrue) that it would be any personal gratification to myself to have such difficulty removed; but that such an act on his part would be going the way to remove an impression about him, which every one seems to share, and no one seems even to question." *

A second letter followed a few days later (July 31, 1867)—

"The question is, whether his house has not been a centre from which a powerful antagonism has been carried on against me; whether persons about the Archbishop have not said strong things against me both here and at Rome; and whether, instead of showing dissatisfaction publicly of acts which were public, he has allowed the world to identify the acts of his *entourage* with himself. No one dreams of accusing me of thwarting him—indeed, the idea would be absurd, for I have not the power. The world accuses him without provocation of thwarting me; and the *primâ facie* proof of this is, (1) that his *entourage* acts with violence against me. (2) That, instead of taking any steps to prevent them, he contents himself with denying his having done anything against me himself, and with deeply lamenting that there should be a distance between us.

"The world thinks, and I think, that he has virtually

* Purcell, ii., p. 328.

interfered in the Oxford Oratory matter—and the world and I have to be convinced to the contrary, or we shall continue to think so." *

The correspondence coupled with Manning's public acts show that Newman's cold reception of his advances did not spring out of any personal animosity; he had good reason to suspect him of insincerity, and beyond this he had tasted the bitterness of a defeat for which he felt sure the Archbishop was mainly responsible. So long as there was mutual mistrust, friendship was impossible. This the correspondence did not remove, and when it came to an end, the desired result was as far off as ever.

That Manning had an ulterior object in view is suggested in a letter to Mgr. Talbot (October 9, 1867).

"I have lately had two correspondences—one with Dr. Newman, the other with the Bishop of Birmingham, neither satisfactory. But I have no anxiety about it; nor need you have any." †

Evidently Manning was still thinking of the scandal which would follow an open conflict with Newman.

V.

The foregoing considerations threw light upon the strained relations between the two men. A criticism of Manning's policy happily lies outside our province. Newman's conduct throughout merits the warmest praise. His loyalty to his superiors during these years of trial indicates the strength of his faith in the Roman Church. "Obedience" was one thing, "Friendship" another, and his persistent refusal to respond to Manning's advances, especially at a time when acquiescence on his part would have strengthened his own position, is the evidence of his fidelity to deeply rooted convictions. Newman would never sacrifice principle to expediency. His absolute sincerity was one of the brightest features of his life.

* Purcell, ii., pp. 328, 329. † Ibid., p. 342.

III.

Newman and Modernism.

At first sight there appear to be no legitimate grounds for connecting Newman in any way with the rise of Modernism in the Roman Church. His rigid orthodoxy and his suspicion of Liberalism have already been frequently alluded to ; in fact, this new conception of religion is completely foreign to his theological system. We are naturally surprised to find his name in any way associated with this heterodox movement. The late Father Tyrrell, one of the English leaders, admits the dissimilarity between Newman's theological position and his own.

" If a man is to be judged by what he is fundamentally, and in his dominant aims and sympathies, it is absurd to speak of Newman as a Modernist in any degree. . . . The whole aim of his apologetic was the integrity of the Catholic tradition of the Roman Church ; its preservation against the corrosive atmosphere of rationalism and liberalism." *

This admission raises the further question of Newman's actual relation to Modernism. Both Loisy and Tyrrell refer to his *Essay on Development,* and claim that the theory therein elaborated will, if carried to its logical conclusion, lead to results which Newman certainly did not foresee. The Modernists, therefore, are indebted to Newman for the methods they have employed, and not for the results which have followed their rigid application. The likeness is confined to a

* Tyrrell, " Christianity at the Cross Roads," p. 30.

well-defined area, which now calls for a closer examination. The Modernists claim to have started from Newman's position; the road along which they have travelled was suggested by the direction of his own apologetic.

I.

Now, the word "Development" is a vague and elastic term; not only its meaning, but the laws which govern its operation vary according to the object to which it is applied. In the material world it is one of the ordinary life processes with which we are all familiar. The acorn develops into the oak; the egg develops into the chicken; the child develops into the man. In every case the future can be predicted with practical certainty, provided, of course, that no alien force interferes with or checks the normal process of development.

Again, we speak of the development of scientific knowledge, by which we mean, not that there is any change in the operation of natural laws, but rather that man is becoming more and more familiar with those laws. Each new discovery increases the number of ascertained facts, and brings man nearer and nearer to the realisation of his supremacy in the physical world. The development of the human mind must be placed in a distinct category. It interprets and makes explicit laws of universal validity. Our discoveries neither create them nor change their nature. We simply recognise their existence, and use the newly-acquired knowledge for our own benefit. So, too, as regards religious knowledge. Dogmas represent the definition of revealed truths. They neither affect nor change the facts revealed. They do not adequately express the fulness and wealth of their meaning, but they are the statements of those truths in terms of life and experience for human acceptance and appropriation. The doctrine of the Trinity, for instance, was not formulated until the fourth century, although there had been movements in the

preceding centuries in the direction of definition. Yet the Scriptural evidence is wholly in favour of the conclusion that what was new was not the belief, but the theological statement of the belief. We have to notice not only what the Apostles taught, but what they did, their acts as well as their words bear witness to their faith. Their attitude towards Jesus Christ, their belief in the power of God the Holy Ghost are features of strong evidential value. The difference between the first and fourth centuries lay, neither in actual beliefs, nor in the attitude of the Church towards her Divine Lord and Master, but rather in the publication of doctrinal statements which expressed what had always been believed within the fellowship of the Christian Church. In other words, there was no change in the Faith or Life which was continuous, but there was a change in the form in which beliefs were expressed and safeguarded. These were adapted to meet the actually existing needs which had arisen. Doctrinal development does not involve any change in the nature of truth, but rather witnesses to and interprets the eternal verities God has revealed to the sons of men. The development is the outcome of an increasing knowledge of the mind, will, and purpose of God. That which is implicit is made explicit. The development has taken place within human personality, not in the object to which it is related.

When we pass to the spiritual realm we can at once detect a marked change in the principles of development. Man is not a machine, but a free responsible agent, with power (within certain limits) to control and direct the course of his life. The child will develop into a man, so much we can predict, but we cannot predict with absolute certainty what kind of a man he will be. The use of his special gifts, the character he will acquire, his tastes and disposition, and his relations with his fellow men are all largely determined by his own deliberate choice, the exercise of his own will. The future is beyond our ken.

"Spiritual development is not a process of passive unfolding, of which each step is rigorously determined by the preceding; but a process of active reconstruction,

conditioned by the chance materials furnished through the quite incalculable succession of experiences." *

The Church represents mankind in its social and religious aspects. The Church is inspired and directed by God the Holy Ghost. Consequently, development in Christianity is development on the highest plane; it is "a process of active reconstruction." The difference between the Church of the first and the Church of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is explained in this manner.

Tyrrell summarises Newman's argument as follows :—

"His [*i.e.* Newman's] 'Essay on Development' is an *argumentum ad hominem*, addressed to the Tractarians. He uses his favourite method derived from Butler: If you come so far, you must either come further or go back. If you are a Deist you must become a Christian or a Rationalist; if you are a Christian, you must become a Catholic or a Deist. In short, if you are not a Roman Catholic, you must become a sceptic. So, too, if the Tractarians reject the later developments of Roman theology, why not those of the Fathers and early Councils? If they can reconcile the latter with the Vincentian canon, why not also the former? In no case can the rigid and literal identity of the later and earlier theology with the *Depositum Fidei* be maintained. Development of some sort must be admitted. The original 'deposit' must be conceived in some sense as a germ. To conceive it as a body of theological premisses, susceptible of indefinite dialectical development, would be obviously inconsistent with the appeal to the Apostolic age as the most spiritually enlightened. Theology and Revelation must be distinguished. The content of Revelation is not a statement but an 'idea'—embodied, perhaps, in certain statements and institutions, but not exhausted by them. This embodiment is susceptible of development; but the animating 'idea' is the same under all the variety and progress of its manifestations and embodiments. There is a development of institutions and formulas, but not of the revealed 'idea,' not

* Tyrrell, "Through Scylla and Charybdis."

of the Faith. Thus the advantage of later over earlier ages is merely secondary and protective—a compensation for their growing disadvantage. As time goes on the preservation of the original 'idea' needs more complex defences against oblivion and distortion. As the initial force lessens, it needs to be husbanded more carefully.

"In this notion of an 'idea' as a spiritual force or impetus, not as an intellectual concept, Newman identifies himself with the modern, and separates himself from the scholastic, mind." *

The following quotation from the "Essay" in question further illustrates Newman's position :—

"Ideas may remain when the expression of them is indefinitely varied. Nay, one cause of corruption in religion is the refusal to follow the course of doctrine as it moves on, and an obstinacy in the notions of the past. So our Lord found his people precise in their obedience to the letter; he condemned them for not being led on to its spirit,—that is, its development. The Gospel is the development of the Law; yet what difference seems wider than that which separates the unbending rule of Moses from the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ? The more claim an idea has to be considered living, the more various will be its aspects; and the more social and political is its nature, the more subtle and complicated will be its development, and the longer and more eventful will be its course. Such is Christianity." †

In a later chapter Father Tyrrell explains what he means by the word "idea," when he describes it as "a concrete end, whose realisation is the term of a process of action and endeavour. It is akin to that Augustinian *notio* (or *ratio*) *seminalis*, with which every living germ seems to be animated, and which works itself out to full expression through a process of growth and development. It does not change in itself, but is the cause of change in its embodiment." ‡

* Tyrrell, "Christianity at the Cross Roads," pp. 31–33.
† Quoted from William's "Newman, Pascal, etc.," pp. 240, 241.
‡ Tyrrell, "Christianity at Cross Roads," p. 62.

Newman wrote his "Essay on Development" during the last months of his life in the English Church. He saw that some rational justification was needed in explanation of the contrast between the Roman Church of his day and the Church of the Fathers. The theory of the development of religious knowledge was not adequate to this task, moreover, it was freely employed by both Anglicans and Romans. Newman adopts the theory of organic and spiritual development which he enlisted in the service of Roman Catholic apologetics. In the light of this conception of religious development, he set out to vindicate the claims of Roman Catholicism, and at the same time to show that the Anglican position was untenable. The sequel is both interesting and instructive. To-day, Newman is claimed as the "Father of Modernism." The theory of organic and spiritual development has proved to be a two-edged weapon, and in the hands of this new school it is a danger to orthodoxy. It is deeply suggestive that a book written in support of Roman Catholicism should have stimulated inquiry and research of which Modernism is the outcome.

II.

We are now in a position to notice the theological position of the Modernists.

Tyrrell claims that Catholicism is "primarily a life, and the Church a spiritual organism in whose life we participate, and if theology be but an attempt of that life to formulate and understand itself—an attempt which may fail wholly or in part without affecting the value and reality of the said life." *

That "life" had its origin in the influence of Jesus upon His immediate followers.

"This it is that distinguishes Christianity from the following of a teacher or prophet. It teaches the precepts of Christ as a means to a birth of Christ in the soul—to the constitution of a divine personality within us; of a spirit that shall supersede all law and precept, as

* Much Abused Letter, pp. 51, 52.

itself the source and the end of all law. Jesus Himself was the great sacrament and effectual symbol of the Divine Life and Spirit. He worked on His disciples, not doctrinally as a teacher of the understanding, but with all the force of a divine and mysterious personal ascendency, transmitted through every word and gesture. He was not a prophet speaking in the name of the Spirit, but the Spirit itself in human form. He spoke as only conscience can speak. Men heard and obeyed, they knew not why. He entered into their souls and possessed them and shaped them to His own image and likeness. When He left them externally, He was still with them internally. Conscience took shape, and it was the shape of Jesus. Struck down by conscience Paul cries: 'Who art thou, Lord?' and the revealing answer comes: 'I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.' To this he refers when he says it was the good pleasure of God 'to reveal His Son *in me*'; I live, and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth *in me*.' In what other religion do men so speak of their founder, however loved and revered and followed? Personality is the end, and personality, mediated no doubt through external signs and symbols, is the means. Fire is kindled from fire. The Spirit of Jesus uttered in the Church, in the Gospel, in the sacraments, is apprehended by His followers, not as a doctrine, but as a personal influence, fashioning the soul to its own divine nature." *

Thus far Tyrrell is perfectly orthodox. He takes his stand upon present experiences; the "Church" is a living reality, fellowship with Christ is a fact, the Sacraments are means of grace; herein are found the means for sustaining the spiritual life, and for ministering to the religious needs of mankind. It is at this point that the Modernist parts company with traditional Christianity. His religious experiences are so real that he thinks he can afford to be unconcerned about the historic basis of his faith.† The Virgin Birth and the

* Tyrrell, "Christianity at Cross Roads," pp. 264–266.

† See additional note at end of chapter, "Dean of St. Paul's on Modernism and the Historic Christ."

Resurrection can be regarded as the creation of a poetic imagination which loves to invest its hero with supernatural powers, and to attribute to Him a series of wondrous portents. He can discredit the facts of the Creed—yet remain in communion with the Church. It is sufficient for him to believe that the Personality of Jesus created a living "idea" which has developed into the Christian Church with its elaborate ritual and ceremonial, and its dogmatic system with which we are all familiar. Tyrrell goes on to claim that the worship at St. Peter's "is of the same type and belongs to the same idea which was that of Jesus and His Apostles. In this respect, too, the Catholic Church is identical and continues with the Apostolic band that Jesus gathered round Him." *

This new apologetic is intended as a defence against the attacks of modern criticism. The miraculous element in Christianity incredible to a mind which approaches Christianity with the presupposition that allusions to direct supernatural interventions in history must be reduced to purely natural occurrences. It is the apologetic of a school which either looks with suspicion upon the Evangelical narrative, or which fears that the historic bases of Christianity will not survive the searching examination of present-day criticism. With regard to the prevailing tone in the scientific world Tyrrell writes—

"I see how the close historical study of Christian origins and developments must undermine many of our most fundamental assumptions in regard to dogmas and institutions. I see how the sphere of the miraculous is daily limited by the growing difficulty in verifying such facts, and the growing facility of reducing either them, or the belief in them, to natural and recognised causes." †

III.

We have already noticed Newman's insistence upon the importance of dogma. He was very far removed

* "Christianity at Cross Roads," p. 77.
† Much Abused Letter, pp. 48, 49.

from the extravagances of Modernism, and would have recoiled with horror at the use made of his writings. Yet with Newman as with Tyrrell, Christianity was primarily a life, and dogma important only in order to secure its preservation and continuity. Newman traced its origin to the historic life of Christ, and accepted the miraculous elements without question. The doctrine of the Incarnation was the starting point for subsequent developments. He assumed the historical trustworthiness of the Evangelical records. The Modernists regard Newman's underlying assumptions as developments from pre-existing beliefs. In other words, they put the starting point further back, and find it in the influence of a strong Personality creating in the minds of His immediate followers a living "idea." The directly supernatural elements represent an attempt to interpret in a symbolic form the meaning and value of that Life. They retain their value as symbols, even when their historicity is denied.

To sum up: Modernism aims at removing Christianity out of the reach of scientific and historical criticism, and placing it in a new and impregnable position, where it can remain undisturbed, even when the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection, to say nothing about the other miracles, have been eliminated as incredible. The success in this direction is purchased at the cost of taking away the historical foundations of Christianity, and when this has been done we are told that we are in a far more secure position than we have ever been before. The days are past when the supernatural and miraculous elements were assigned a place of primary importance in Christian Evidences, but it remains true that, apart from these elements, there is no absolute certainty that God has spoken to man in the Person of His Son. The value and finality of the Revelation depends upon the doctrine of the Person of Christ.

Newman's theory of development has been introduced to support the startling conclusions of Modernism; but in no other way is that great religious leader connected with the movement.

The Dean of St. Paul's on Modernism and the Historic Christ

"Even Mark, M. Loisy thinks, probably only incorporates an eye-witness document. The Gospel which bears his name was issued probably about fifteen years later than the destruction of Jerusalem, by a non-Palestinian Christian who lived perhaps at Rome. The Gospel of Matthew was written by a non-Palestinian Jew who lived in Asia Minor or Syria about the beginning of the second century. He writes in the interest of Catholic ecclesiasticism, and may well have been a presbyter or bishop who wished to advocate the monarchic episcopate. The chapters about the birth of Christ seem not to have the slightest historical foundation. The story of the Virgin Birth turns on a misunderstood text of Isaiah. . . . The Third Gospel, he proceeds, was probably written in the last decade of the first century; but the first edition, which traced the descent of Christ through Joseph from David, has been tampered with in the interests of the later idea of a Virgin Birth. As for the Fourth Gospel, it is enough to say that the author had nothing to do with the son of Zebedee, and that he is in no sense a biographer of Christ, but the first and greatest of the Christian mystics.

"We have, then, according to M. Loisy, only very corrupt sources for a biography of Christ. And the only chance of reconstructing the actual events lies in forming a mental picture of the Galilean Prophet, and rejecting all that fails to correspond to it. This picture, for M. Loisy, is that of an enthusiastic peasant, 'of limited intelligence,' who came to fancy Himself the Messiah, and met His death in a foolhardy and pathetic attempt to proclaim a theocracy at Jerusalem. Any statements in the Gospels which contradict this theory are summarily rejected in the name of what the Germans call *Wirklichkeitssinn*. The guillotine falls upon them and there is

an end of it. The Resurrection is, of course, dismissed as unworthy of discussion. The corpse of Jesus was thrown with those of the two brigands into *quelque fosse commune*, and the conditions of burial were such that after a few days it would have been impossible to recognise the remains of the Saviour, if any one had thought of looking for them. The disciples, however, had been too profoundly stirred by hope to accept defeat. They hardly realised that their Master was dead ; they had fled to their homes before the last scene ; and besides, they were fellow countrymen of those who thought it quite possible that Jesus was John the Baptist come to life again. What more natural than that Peter should see his Master one day while fishing on the lake ? 'The impulse once given, the belief grew by the very need which it had to strengthen itself.' Christ soon appeared also to 'the eleven.' So their faith brought them back to Jerusalem, and the Christian Church was born.

"'The supernatural life of Christ in the faithful and in the Church has been clothed in a historical form, which has given birth to what we might somewhat loosely call the Christ of legend.' 'Such a criticism does away with the possibility of finding in Christ's teaching even the embryonic form of the Church's later theological teaching.' The Christ whom the Church worships is the product of Christian faith and love. He is a purely ideal figure ; and it betrays a total absence of the historical sense, and a total inability to distinguish between things so essentially different as Faith and fact, to seek for His likeness in the Prophet of Nazareth.

"This new apologetic is likely to take away the breath of the ordinary Christian believer. The Modernist professes himself ready to admit not only all that a sane and impartial criticism might demand with reference to the Gospel history, but the most fantastic theories of the destructive school. And then, having cheerfully surrendered the whole citadel of orthodox apologetics, he turns round and says that nothing is lost—that for his part he claims to be treated as a good

son of the Church, and wishes to be allowed to recite her creeds and observe her discipline. . . . The Church is made to take the place of Christ. It is the life of the Church which constitutes Christianity."

(W. R. Inge, "Faith and its Psychology," pp. 167–170. This passage is quoted by permission of the publishers, Messrs. Duckworth & Co.)

IV.

The Association of Ideas.

The recent study of Human Personality has brought to light the infinite variety to be found among the members of the human race. This is, of course, a truism to all who have reflected upon their intercourse with their fellow men. At the same time it is easy to forget that the many differences of opinion are to a very great extent the outcome of this variety. No two individuals are exactly alike; we see through our own eyes, and not the eyes of other people; and the appeal of objects external to ourselves depends very largely upon our own personal character, our tastes and temperament, our training, and the circle of ideas with which we are habitually familiar.

Modern Psychology has devoted some considerable attention to what is described as the law of the "Association of Ideas." Mental processes are never easy to follow, but the mechanical element is far greater than is commonly supposed. Certain objects suggest certain ideas, and the connection is so close that the discovery that the two are not inseparably linked together comes as a surprise. We are apt to imagine there is identity where in reality there is nothing more than association. The simplest experiences of life are conformable to this law. We give names to objects and individuals, and when these names are mentioned certain trains of thought are suggested by the knowledge we already possess. The words and acts of men are judged and interpreted not only by their apparent meaning, but also by our

wider acquaintance with their personal character, and the general tendency of their lives. Very frequently we are unconscious of the extent to which we take this personal factor into consideration, yet this fuller knowledge exercises a decisive influence in the formation of our verdict upon what has been said or done. The same man will appear as a hero to one person, while in the eyes of another he is a very ordinary individual. In fact, we have in common use a proverb which tells us that "No man is a hero to his own valet." Various causes contribute to these divergent estimates of the lives and characters of our fellow men, but not the least among these is the fact that our whole outlook is governed by certain fixed ideas (and these vary in the case of each individual) around which all the happenings of life group themselves; the extent to which the manifold incidents of daily life harmonise with these pre-existing ideas is the measure of our approval or disapproval. The improvements in our Educational system are partly due to the adoption of methods, in which this "law of Association" is recognised as a valuable asset in the training of young people. The modern teacher must aim at far more than simply imparting information; he must—to use the words of the late Professor James—aim at "building up useful systems of association in the pupil's mind," * and the same writer goes on to show that "any object not interesting in itself may become interesting through being associated with an object in which an interest already exists." † Naturally what applies to children applies equally to adults, for this law of Association is a law of universal validity.

The operation of this law in Church life and work is not at first apparent, but a little consideration will show that it has an important bearing upon the course of ecclesiastical controversies, party spirit in the Church is a factor which has to be reckoned with, but it is often overlooked that this "law of Association" is responsible, not for the parties in the Church, but for the acuteness of the controversies which arise from time to time.

* "Talks to Teachers," p. 83. † *Id.*, p. 94.

The high Church party (the word " Catholic " is avoided, for when it is applied to a party it loses its universal significance) lays special emphasis upon a divinely constituted priesthood, and supernatural grace mediated through sacramental acts. The Evangelical party, on the other hand, adopts an attitude which is equally positive as regards the gift of supernatural grace; regeneration, justification, and sanctification are to them words as pregnant with meaning as these same words are to their fellow Churchmen; the ministry of the Word and Sacraments is never undervalued, but they are keenly alive to the danger of formalism, and consequently seek to avoid anything which is in the slightest degree mechanical, and which seems to set limits to the operation of divine Grace. Nothing more than a very general statement of the characteristics of two great parties has been attempted, but this goes to show to how great an extent they occupy a common platform. There is a marked identity in fundamental religious beliefs, but the mode of expression of those beliefs varies, and the same ideas are associated with different acts in religious habits and ceremonial.

If the matter were allowed to end here, reconciliation would be an easy matter, but two very serious obstacles stand in the way. In the first place, the root cause of mutual suspicion can be traced to the tendency to forget our limitations. Our outlook is circumscribed by our mental and material environment, and by our personal character. The result is that we associate certain ideas with modes of worship and ceremonial and imagine that every one else does the same. What to the High Churchman appears cold, uninspiring, and perhaps irreverent has a very different meaning to the Evangelical, and *vice versâ* what to the Evangelical appears formal, mechanical and unspiritual may and does often prove a real help to spiritual vitality and power to the advanced Churchman. The removal of one of the grounds of mutual suspicion will follow the recognition of our own limitations. The ideas we associate with certain acts—either as individuals or

as a party—are determined by the many causes which have made us what we are. The attribution of the same ideas to other schools of thought is far more than simply unjustifiable, it is responsible for much of that sharp and undeserved criticism of the religious habits of devout churchpeople which has done much to aggravate our existing divisions.

The discussion of questions which relate to the practical administration of Church affairs often raises a second obstacle to unity and co-operation. The proposals for the revision of the Prayer-book have aroused strong feelings of dissent, and uncompromising opposition, as it seems as though on each side some fears are entertained lest the other should reap some undue advantage. The Kikuyu controversy with the more recent action of the Bishop of Zanzibar shows how strong a feeling still exists upon questions which have been the subject of long-drawn-out controversies. Facts of this kind are a very fair index of current opinion, and conditions are bound to arise which, by revealing differences of opinion demand concessions from all concerned. Nothing can prevent the recurrence of these critical periods, nor would it be desirable to do so if we could. The matter of supreme moment then, as always, is the spirit in which such questions are discussed. Mutual suspicion always has been and always will be a bar to agreement, but where this is removed, as it can be on the grounds intimated in the course of this argument, there is the possibility of greater concord and wider toleration in the days to come. Party spirit is not necessarily an evil. Each of the great parties have made contributions of incalculable value to the life of the Church. Moreover, it is quite possible to be loyal to a party without falling a victim to that narrowness which makes for disintegration and disunion. The present is certainly no time for looseness and indefiniteness in religious beliefs; nothing worth doing has ever been achieved without strong convictions, and these have been fostered and encouraged under the conditions which have prevailed during the last century. The need

of the moment lies in another direction ; it lies in the constant remembrance of the fact that a party is not the whole, but a *part* of the Catholic Church, and it best fulfills its mission when it is inspired by a wider vision of the Church, which in order to be Catholic must in the truest sense of the word be comprehensive. Diversity in religious practices is but the counterpart of diversity in human life, and a clearer perception of the distinction between ideas and their modes of expression, will not only increase our respect for the convictions of our fellow Christians, but will also pave the way for mutual concessions, and bring into greater prominence the fundamental verities of our Faith.

THE END

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