THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

WILFRID WARD

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BY WILFRID WARD

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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

PART I

THE STORY OF THE MOVEMENT

I

THE Oxford Movement, or the Tractarian Movement as it is sometimes called, is generally regarded as a revival within the Church of England of the Catholic doctrines always retained in its Prayer Book and maintained in the seventeenth century by an influential party. Such doctrines as the Apostolic succession, the priesthood, the sacramental system, the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist had in the eighteenth century become less and less prominent, and were widely forgotten. From this point of view the Movement was the beginning of the important development which our own day has witnessed, of ritualism and of Anglo-Catholicism. But the Movement also had kinship and common parentage with other religious movements both in England and on the Continent. It is traceable in the last resort to the reaction on behalf of traditional Christianity which followed the French Revolution in so many countries—a reaction signalised by the publication of Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme,* and embodied in what is known as the Romantic School in

France and Germany. The scepticism of the encyclopædists had run its course. The stress of international war following on the convulsions of 1793 brought a new seriousness and sense of reality to European civilisation, which had their effect both on religion and on thought. The Oxford Movement witnessed to this result in both departments. Its immediate causes in the region of ecclesiastical politics shall be shortly described, but they were largely its occasion rather than its true source.

The new religiousness visible in the early years of the nineteenth century expressed itself in many forms—in Simeon's Evangelical Revival, in the influence of Samuel Taylor Coleridge at Highgate from 1818 to 1830, and in the school of earnest and Liberal thought which drew its inspiration from Dr. Arnold's sermons and from the men whose characters he formed at Rugby, as well as in the Oxford Revival itself.

The Movement of 1833 was directly theological and ecclesiastical; but the ground was prepared for it by some years of influence, spiritual rather than ecclesiastical or theological, exercised by its presiding genius, John Henry Newman, as a preacher. Newman was a friend of John Keble, the simple and unworldly poet whose little volume called *The Christian Year*, published in 1826, did much to awaken a spirit of Catholic devotion unfamiliar at the time to members of the Church of England. The *ethos* and practices of the Catholic Church, long preserved by an influential party in the Established Church after the sixteenth-century reformation, had, as I have said, become almost extinct in the eighteenth century. Down to the revolution of 1688, fast days had been kept and saints' days had been remembered. Celibacy was the general rule in the episcopal order, and the Church of England was

still, in the eyes of a large section of its members, a branch of the ancient Church Catholic. By the end of the eighteenth century the ascendancy of Protestantism and Latitudinarianism, inaugurated by William III, had changed all this. Beliefs which implied that the Church of England still preserved a true priesthood and the Apostolical succession had almost disappeared. Catholicism had given place to an avowed ultra-Protestantism, and a Protestant was no longer, as many were in Laud's time, one who protested against Rome's errors and superstitions while still professing to accept the historical Catholic Church, but rather the direct antithesis of a Catholic. A clergyman was at his best what we see him in the pages of Miss Austen. He was, in Dean Church's words, "a kindly, helpful, respectable, sociable person of good sense and character, a worker rather in the fashion of a routine no one thought of breaking." No one would have been more surprised than the clergy themselves at language which should associate their calling with the heroic vocation and supernatural claims of the Catholic priesthood.

The poems in *The Christian Year* brought vividly before many minds the romance of Catholicism, which was already interesting the readers of Sir Walter Scott's works. These poems combined something of the reflective spirit of Wordsworth with the traditional Catholic teaching of which so many traces remained in the Anglican liturgy.

Keble left Oxford in 1823. The active founder of the Movement was John Henry Newman. Dr. Pusey joined it later, as we shall see.

Newman was well known in Oxford before the inauguration of the Movement. In 1826 he was appointed Vicar of St. Mary's, and began his since famous

sermons from the pulpit of that church. He was at that time emerging from the evangelicalism of his boyhood to broader theological views, adopted largely under the influence of Richard Whately. But the early sermons were for the most part ethical, and hardly coloured by any distinctive form of theology. From the first they had a marked effect on many of those who heard them in making religion deep and real to them. The thoughts and feelings of many souls stood revealed in these discourses, and they won for the preacher a following before the Tractarian Movement was thought of. And, as has just been said, in the years in which the early sermons were preached, his views were by no means those which the Movement represented. His deeply inquiring mind was being to some extent affected by the speculative phase of thought visible among his colleagues in the Oriel common-room, which was Liberal rather than Catholic in tendency. These Fellows of Oriel were known as "Noetics," and included besides Whately such men as Davison and Hawkins. After its fashion the Liberal movement of the Noetics was a plea for reality and frankness of mind in dealing with theology, and it was this quality in its method that got a hold on Newman. Dissatisfied with the intellectual narrowness of the evangelical school which had influenced him in boyhood, he was moving, as he has told us in the *Apologia*, in the direction of the Liberalism of the day.

In 1828 illness and the sorrow caused by the loss of a dearly loved sister wrought a change in his theological views. It was the deepening hold of religion on his own personal life which led him by a process at once intellectual and moral to the Catholic doctrines which formed the staple of Tractarianism. He began to be conscious of an irreligious tendency in the intellectualism of the

Noetics which had influenced him for the past few years, and to see a danger lest their principles might issue in developments really destructive of Christian faith. The Noetics, in their excessive candour, were ready to call everything into question. They shared the disposition of Thomas Arnold to view many dogmas and institutions of the Church of England as accretions which superstitious ages had gradually added to primitive Christianity, thereby polluting its original simplicity. An age of greater reality of thought must, they held, get rid of ritualism and superstition, and return to a simpler creed. The deepened religious seriousness which came on Newman in 1828 led him to see at the root of this destructive side of the teaching of Arnold and Whately a form of intellectualism which threatened to destroy in the end even those primitive Christian beliefs of which Arnold held himself to be the champion. The gain in candour and reality was purchased at the cost of reverence and depth. The Noetics were pressing the human reason beyond its true province. They failed to realise the limitations of human thought in dealing with those mysteries which divine teaching must present to man's limited understanding. Moreover, their view was unhistorical. Newman's study of Church history in 1829 and 1830, while he was preparing his book on *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, deepened this opinion, and suggested an explanation of dogmatic and ecclesiastical developments equally frank with that of the Noetics, but opposite to it. He came to see in the early dogmatic definitions and in ecclesiastical institutions, not accretions begotten of superstition, but rather defences erected by Church authority with the object of preserving the mysterious beliefs and the essential spirit of primitive Christianity against the inroads of the intellectualist innovators of succeeding ages. A simple

creed could not stand without theological defences in an era of speculation. The innovators, from the Gnostics onwards, opposed their own private choice and judgment and the explanations of their own limited minds to the authoritative and mysterious tradition received from the apostles, and were therefore called "heretics" or "choosers." They were disposed to rationalise Christian mysteries, and dismiss what they could not explain. The *formulæ* whereby the Church defended her mysteries against them had doubtless the inevitable imperfection of human words and ideas used to represent divine realities. They had also the multiplicity caused by the multitude of attacks they were designed to repel. But their outcome was to preserve the original simple and mysterious Christian doctrine from theories which would deface it, or explanations which were inaccurate. This view led Newman to develop independently some of the deeper thoughts to be found in Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, on the value of tradition and of definite teaching—thoughts applied by Burke to political philosophy and social traditions. Both Coleridge and Burke regarded the traditions of the society in which we live as embodying wisdom which the individual cannot adequately analyse, and yet will do wisely to accept. Burke had applied the philosophy of tradition and growth to our political constitution. Coleridge had maintained that philosophy as an antidote to the radicalism and individualism of the Benthamites: and Newman similarly defended the tradition of the Church of England against the rationalism of the Liberals. He regarded the existing Christian Church as representing the gradual accumulation of the religious knowledge of Christians based on the original Christian revelation and illustrated by the thought of successive theologians of genius. This inheritance was

to be defended against the destructive speculation of individual thinkers, and was sealed by Ecclesiastical authority. The Liberals had posed as the representatives of thought and culture. Newman turned the tables and opposed to the culture and thought of individuals in the nineteenth century the accumulated wisdom of the greatest thinkers of the past, reinforced at every stage by the lessons of experience and the practical piety to be found in the saints of the Church, and based in the last resort on the teaching of Christ. He did not deny the existence of superstitious accretions, but, on the principle of the parable of the Wheat and the Tares, held that the great legacy inherited by Christians in England must be treated as a whole with the greatest reverence and care, lest what was priceless and irreplaceable might be rudely destroyed in the necessary process of reform. He found a philosophical value in the caution of unintellectual conservatism. He opposed a method which was apt to condemn institutions or customs of which individuals failed to appreciate the true value.

These thoughts are apparent in the following letter to his mother, written as early as 1829:

"We live in a novel era—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 priest-craft. All parties seem to acknowledge that the stream of opinion is setting against the Church. . . .

"And now I come to another phenomenon: the talent of the day is against the Church. The Church party (visibly at least, for there may be latent talent, and great times give birth to great men) is poor in mental endowments. It has not activity, shrewdness, dexterity, eloquence, practical power. On what, then, does it depend? On prejudice and bigotry.

"This is hardly an exaggeration; yet I have good meaning and one honourable to the Church. Listen to my theory. As each individual has certain instincts of right and wrong antecedently to reasoning, on which he acts—and rightly so—which perverse reasoning may supplant, which then can hardly be regained, but, if regained, will be regained from a different source—from reasoning, not from nature—so, I think, has the world of men collectively. God gave them truths in His miraculous revelations, and other truths in the unsophisticated infancy of nations, scarcely less necessary and divine. These are transmitted as 'the wisdom of our ancestors,' through men—many of whom cannot enter into them or receive them themselves—still on, on, from age to age, not the less truths because many of the generations through which they are transmitted are unable to prove them, but hold them, either from pious and honest feeling, it may be, or from bigotry or from prejudice. That they are truths it is most difficult to prove, for great men alone can prove great ideas or grasp them. Such a mind was Hooker's, such Butler's; and, as moral evil triumphs over good on a small field of action, so in the argument of an hour or the compass of a volume would men like Brougham, or, again, Wesley,

show to far greater advantage than Hooker or Butler. Moral truth is gained by patient study, by calm reflection, silently as the dew falls—unless miraculously given —and when gained it is transmitted by faith and by 'prejudice.' Keble's book is full of such truths, which any Cambridge man might refute with the greatest ease."

Such a philosophy of religion as is indicated in the above words naturally sharpened the edge of Newman's feeling against the Liberal party in England,—the hostile critics of the wisdom of our ancestors, men whose hot zeal revolutionised our constitution in the Reform Bill of 1832 and threatened to disestablish the Church. Something of the spirit of Burke and Coleridge then, together with a far deeper devotion to the Church of England than characterised either of these two writers, combined in forming the mind which was to set on foot the Movement of 1833—although Newman's philosophy of tradition influenced comparatively few of the men who adhered to the Ecclesiastical Revival which embodied its principles.

II

LET a word be said as to the scene of the Movement of 1833 and the *personnel* of the party.

Dean Church, Newman's close friend and disciple, has described both in a graphic page of his history of the Movement. The scene had a special character of its own as contrasted with that of other great ecclesiastical and theological movements. The scene of Jansenism had been a great capital. Its protagonists moved in a brilliant society. Its battles were fought in the precincts of a court, and the council chambers

of the Vatican as well as in the cells of a convent and the studies and libraries of the Sorbonne professors The personages concerned had been eminent socially and ecclesiastically. English Methodism had spread for the most part in the humble classes. Its adherents had resided in the English villages and country towns, among the moors of Cornwall, in the collieries of Bristol, before Methodism found its way to a limited audience in fashionable London chapels. Both the *personnel* and the scene of this new Movement were different from either. Its scene was an intellectual centre. The leader were young men. Newman and Pusey at the height of the Movement were not much more than thirty-fiv years old. They had never passed beyond the University town.

"The scene of this new Movement was as like as i could be in our modern world to a Greek πόλις, or a Italian self-centred city of the Middle Ages. Oxfor stood by itself in its meadows by the rivers, having it relations with all England, but, like its sister at Cambridge, living a life of its own, unlike that of any othe spot in England, with its privileged powers, and exemptions from the general law, with its special mode o government and police, its usages and tastes and traditions, and even costume, which the rest of Englan looked at from the outside, much interested but muc puzzled, or knew only by transient visits. And Oxfor was as proud and jealous of its own ways as Athens o Florence; and like them it had its quaint fashions o polity; its democratic Convocation and its oligarchy its social ranks; its discipline, severe in theory an usually lax in fact; its self-governed bodies and corporations within itself; its faculties and colleges, lik the guilds and 'arts' of Florence; its internal rivalrie

and discords; its 'sets' and factions. Like these, too, it professed a special recognition of the supremacy of religion; it claimed to be a home of worship and religious training, *Dominus illuminatio mea*, a claim too often falsified in the habit and tempers of life. It was a small sphere, but it was a conspicuous one; for there was much strong and energetic character, brought out by the aims and conditions of University life; and though moving in a separate orbit, the influence of the famous place over the outside England, though imperfectly understood, was recognised and great. These conditions affected the character of the Movement, and of the conflicts which it caused. Oxford claimed to be eminently the guardian of 'true religion and sound learning'; and therefore it was eminently the place where religion should be recalled to its purity and strength, and also the place where there ought to be the most vigilant jealousy against the perversions and corruptions of religion. Oxford was a place where everyone knew his neighbour, and measured him, and was more or less friendly or repellent; where the customs of life brought men together every day and all day, in converse or discussion, and where every fresh statement or every new step taken furnished endless material for speculation or debate, in common-rooms or in the afternoon walk. And for this reason, too, feelings were apt to be more keen and intense and personal than in the larger scenes of life; the man who was disliked or distrusted, was so close to his neighbours that he was more irritating than if he had been obscured by a crowd; the man who attracted confidence and kindled enthusiasm, whose voice was continually in men's ears, and whose private conversation and life was something ever new in its sympathy and charm, created in those about him not mere admiration, but

passionate friendship, or unreserved discipleship. And these feelings passed from individuals into parties; the small factions of a limited area. Men struck blows and loved and hated in those days in Oxford as they hardly did on the wider stage of London politics or general religious controversy."[1]

Among those who took part in the Oxford Movement in its early years then were men of marked individuality who have been described by Dean Church and by Thomas Mozley in his *Reminiscences*. Newman, John Keble, and Richard Hurrell Froude were the leaders during the first years, but Froude's premature death in 1836 early deprived the Movement of his help, and Dr. Pusey's accession established him in the third place in the triumvirate.

Keble was not by nature a leader of a movement. He had no wish for personal influence. He was a born poet, steeped in classical literature and profoundly religious, a brilliant University scholar, but at the same time a "plain unworldly country parson; an old-fashioned English Churchman with great veneration for the Church and its bishops and a great dislike of Rome, Dissent, and Methodism, but with a quick heart; with a frank, gay humility of soul, with great contempt of appearances, great enjoyment of nature, great unselfishness, strict and severe principles of morals and duty." He was short of stature, and not striking-looking—with a sweet and attractive face which yet had a look which made the incorrigible Carlyle allude to him as "some little ape called Keble of the *Christian Year*."

It was the action on Keble of a person of far greater energy and initiative—Richard Hurrell Froude—that made him so considerable a power in the Movement. Froude was Keble's pupil at Oriel at the same time as

[1] Church's *Oxford Movement*, p. 139.

Isaac Williams, another prominent adherent of the Tract Party. Williams reflected the mystical and poetical side of Keble's mind. Froude recognised and awakened his deeper and more philosophical views. The intercourse of pupils and tutor was so free and intimate that Mr. Keble's favourite clerk remarked that "Master is the greatest boy of them all." But the reverence of the younger men for the master was profound. Froude was by nature an agitator, and he gave to Keble's views the point and actuality which contemporary events called for. Gradually he brought Keble to share in the enterprises which appealed to his own more active spirit. Froude brought Keble and Newman together just at the moment when Newman was moving "out of the shadow of Liberalism," and we know from the *Apologia* that Keble's thoughts had a material influence on the direction of Newman's mind. Of the three men Froude was the most directly a man of action, with less of the philosopher in him than either of the other two. Keble was the mystic, the saint, and the poet, with a considerable vein of speculation which might not have made itself felt in the Movement had it not been that his ideas were taken up and developed by men of greater energy and initiative than himself. In the event, however, it was Keble's sermon on the "National Apostasy" that gave the signal for the Oxford Movement.

A mind far wider in designs and more systematic than Keble's, more philosophical than Froude's, was that of J. H. Newman. Yet Newman was open to influence, and it is undeniable that both Froude and Keble very considerably affected both his thought and his action. Had Hurrell Froude lived, it is probable that his commanding personality and directness of aim would have made him very prominent. With a

touch of perverseness and paradox about him, he was a man of considerable mental culture and great brilliance. Intellectually impatient and a lover of extremes in statement, he was an able dialectician. He was a "fastidious high-tempered English gentleman," although he was fond of declaiming against "pampered aristocrats" and "the gentleman heresy." He was a bold rider across country, and a bold thinker. His love of the mediæval Church and strong condemnation of the reformers of the sixteenth century had a marked effect on the Movement, for he was the first to commit himself to such pronounced views in a Roman direction.

Dr. Pusey, who took his place in 1835 among the leaders of the Movement, was a very different character. He represented the moderate interpretation of the Movement, and deprecated severe judgments against the sixteenth-century reformers. He was a man of considerable reading, and alone among the leaders had some knowledge of German theology. Froude's reading was, on the contrary, very limited. And in contrast to Froude's penetrating clearness of mind, and genius for mathematics and abstract thought, Pusey was not clear-headed. He was not an abstract thinker. But he was a Churchman passionately devoted to the Church of England, and his mind and his character were marked by great religious beauty. He was a spiritual guide to many, and an attractive preacher.

Among other prominent adherents of the Movement I have already named Isaac Williams, a saintly poet, and I may add the name of William Palmer of Magdalen. The latter was an active organiser, and the author of an able treatise, on somewhat limited and conventional lines, however, on the Church. Charles Marriott, Fellow of Oriel, was of a more intellectual type, a student of Coleridge. He was a most devoted character, more-

over, and his death—ten years after the crisis of the Movement—was due to exhaustion brought on by varied and unselfish work. Ever ready to help his friends and acquaintances, he gradually came to have such a weight of correspondence and personal service on his hands as helped to wear him out. In the smallpox epidemic at Oxford in 1854 his ministrations were so constant that he caught the disease, and though he recovered for the moment, a stroke in the following year was the beginning of the end.

These are a few specimens of the men who may truly be called the salt of the earth among that generation of Englishmen. "There never had been seen at Oxford," writes Mr. T. Mozley, "indeed, seldom anywhere, so large and noble a sacrifice of the most precious gifts and powers to a sacred cause." Here, indeed, was the strength of the Movement. "By their fruits you shall know them." Heroic lives witnessed to the depth of the principles which they endeavoured to put in practice.

III

The story of the actual beginning of the Movement is the story of a crisis in Newman's own mind. And, on the whole, in spite of Pusey's influence as a spiritual guide, and the general reverence for the saintly Keble, Newman remains throughout the central figure of the story. In the eyes of those who have told the story as admirers of genius rather than as party men, he was first with no second. "The rest were all but as ciphers," writes J. A. Froude; "and he the indicating number."[1]

Reforms in Church and State were in progress and more were in contemplation when Newman started in

[1] *Short Studies*, IV. p. 270.

September 1832 on a voyage to the Mediterranean in company with his friend Hurrell Froude. Newman had "fierce thoughts against the Liberals" at that time. He saw in impending disestablishment in England and in French anticlericalism parts of the same revolt against the traditions of Christendom; and the signs of the French Revolution of 1830, which he witnessed in the course of his travels, angered him. "A French vessel was at Algiers," he writes. "I would not even look at the tricolour." The poems written during his voyage show that his mind was running on the leaders of great movements who had in times past rescued the Church from peril. Early Fathers stood before him as he passed in sight of the field of their work. The Mediterranean recalled Athanasius' journey to Rome. The sight of the track to Carthage made him think with emotion of "Cyprian and the glorious Churches now annihilated." Some Greeks at Malta aroused a train of thought which brought back to him the great work done by Origen. He wrote his poem on the Greek Fathers on December 28th. He visited Rome, and, in spite of his distaste for the "errors" of Popery, was charmed by the city. He had a severe illness in the course of his tour, and returned to his native land in July 1833 with the peculiar freshness of mind which convalescence brings. Immediately on his return he found John Keble protesting against the proposed suppression of ten Irish bishoprics at one sweep. Keble preached his famous sermon on the "National Apostasy" on July 14th. This sermon, delivered from the University pulpit, was ever commemorated by Newman as the beginning of the Oxford Movement. Before the month was over, an agitation was determined on among a little knot of friends with the object of rousing the Church to a sense of its danger. This in Newman's judg-

ment could best be done by reminding men of the value of the great ecclesiastical inheritance which the Liberals were threatening. It was the conception of the Church of England as still aware of its descent from the Apostles, as still the representative of the Catholic Church in history, which gave to the Established Church its true importance as an institution. In 1833 the doctrine of the Apostolic succession, like so many other Catholic doctrines, was held by comparatively few. Most earnest Churchmen of the evangelical school, and the school of Dr. Arnold, simply denied it; and its hereditary upholders, the High Churchmen, had become largely identified with the abuses of an established system, hugging its privileges, but little alive to the deeper value of its doctrines. "High and dry" was a nick-name of real significance.

Newman turned his eyes in wistful regret to the great English divines of the seventeenth century, who, in their theology, had recognised in the Church of England a branch of the Church Catholic—such men as Bull, Laud, Andrewes, Bramhall, Taylor, Hammond, Thorndike, Shillingfleet, Beveridge. Many Catholic doctrines had been advocated by these writers. Since the revolution of 1688, it is true, the school of theology they represented had gradually lost its influence and become almost extinct. Bishops Ken and Wilson stood almost alone at the end of the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth. But the writings of the Anglo-Catholics were part of the rightful inheritance of the Church of England. That Church could be true to her own traditions in reviving their study.

A meeting of friends at Hadleigh Rectory in Suffolk under the presidency of the Rector, a Cambridge man, Mr. Hugh Rose, determined on the issue of leaflets, to be circulated among the clergy with the object of re-

viving the forgotten Catholic doctrines of these English divines, beginning with the Apostolical Succession. Mr. Newman was not present at the meeting, but his friend Richard Hurrell Froude was there. Like Mr. Rose himself, Froude was prevented by an early death from taking a prominent part in the Catholic revival he helped to inaugurate. The idea of circulating leaflets or "tracts" was Mr. Newman's own. They were begun in the autumn of 1833 under the title of *Tracts for the Times*. In these its first promoters the Oxford Movement was inspired by passionate loyalty to the Church of England. And a clinging love of its traditions and associations characterised Newman himself. He was the author of the first Tract, which dealt primarily with the Apostolical Succession. He called personally on the clergy in various parts of the country, and he tells us in the *Apologia* that his visits served to advertise the Movement, and showed that a rally in favour of Church principles was commencing. Mr. Thomas Mozley has described in his *Reminiscences* how he rode from parsonage to parsonage with bundles of the Tracts for distribution.

During the first year the Tracts were very brief. "They were intended," writes Dean Church, "to startle the world, and they succeeded in doing so." Towards the end of 1834, the first forty-six Tracts were collected and republished. They dealt with the essential nature of the Christian Church, the corruptions of the various Churches in Christendom, the current objections to the Church of England, its position as part of the Church Catholic, its liturgy, in which there still remained so many traces of its Catholic parentage. The Anglo-Catholic divines and the Early Fathers were claimed as the ancestors in the faith of English Churchmen. Extracts from the writings of three of the English divines

who were bishops of the Church—Beveridge, Wilson, and Cosin—figured in some of these early Tracts, and translations from such early Fathers as Justin Martyr, Ignatius, and Irenæus. Though Mr. Palmer, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Keble had some small share in the work, nearly all these early Tracts were the work of Mr. Newman himself.

In the following year Dr. Pusey, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Canon of Christchurch, began to take a part in the Movement. His family connections and University position soon gave the party new weight in the eyes of the world. His own Tract on Baptism, published in 1835, was a treatise, not a leaflet, for it extended to upwards of three hundred pages. It was signed by his initials, and the adhesion of its author was thus advertised to the world at large.

IV

Nothing is more remarkable in the story of the Movement than the rapidity of its growth. In the middle of 1833 a small knot of persons embarked on "the almost hopeless endeavour" (in Mr. Newman's own phrase) to revive Catholic doctrine. In the space of a year and a half the party was an acknowledged power in the country.

"From the end of 1835 or the beginning of 1836, the world outside of Oxford began to be alive to the force and the rapid growth of this new and, to the world at large, not very intelligible Movement. The ideas which had laid hold so powerfully on a number of leading minds in the University, began to work with a spell, which seemed to many inexplicable, on others uncon-

nected with them. This rapidity of expansion, viewed as a feature of a party, was noticed on all sides, by enemies no less than friends."[1]

Those who sympathised with the Tracts began at this time to be known throughout the country as the "Puseyites"—the signature of the tract on Baptism supplying an obvious nickname. Dr. Arnold in his letters always speaks of them as "Newmanites," and in Oxford itself that description was common: but eventually the designation "Puseyite" became the more general.

That the Movement was not the mere action of a theological party in view of contemporary politics, but satisfied deep spiritual needs of the time, was evidenced not only by the rapidity of its growth, but by the fact that its originators included persons of very various antecedents.

"Dr. Hook and Mr. Churton represent the High Church dignitaries of the last generation; Mr. Perceval, the Tory aristocracy; Mr. Keble is of the country clergy, and comes from valleys and woods, far removed both from notoriety and noise; Mr. Palmer and Mr. Todd are of Ireland; Dr. Pusey became what he is from among the Universities of Germany, and after a severe and tedious analysis of Arabic MSS. Mr. Dodsworth is said to have begun in the study of prophecy; Mr. Newman to have been much indebted to the friendship of Archbishop Whately; Mr. Froude, if any one, gained his views from his own mind. Others have passed over from Calvinism and kindred religions."[2]

[1] Church's *Oxford Movement*, p. 171.
[2] *Apologia*, p. 98.

The year 1836 marked a distinct development in the Oxford Movement. Its adherents had, as has been said, become a party, and were a power in the University, with a following in the country. The Tracts in this year became more serious and longer, the fashion set by Dr. Pusey in his Tract on Baptism being followed. Some of Mr. Newman's followers began the translations of the Patristic writings into English, which were known as the *Library of the Fathers*. Mr. Newman assumed the editorship of the *British Critic*, which became the organ of the party. In this year, too, he built the chapel at Littlemore, a village which lay in his parish of St. Mary's—which was to be later on the scene of some of his most striking sermons.

An event in the University itself marked in this year the effects of the Movement, and to some degree the power of its leaders. Dr. Hampden had, in 1835, been Bampton Lecturer, and his lectures had shown a liberal cast of theology. They aimed in the first place at deprecating the excessive authority claimed for the Thirty-nine Articles in fixing the belief of English Churchmen; but his argument amounted to the rejection also of the creeds and the Early Councils to whose decisions the English Church was, in the judgment of the Anglo-Catholic party, finally pledged. Dr. Hampden rejected in theory all ground of obligatory belief except the text of Scripture. The lectures gave great offence to the Tractarian party, and when, in 1836, he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity by Lord Melbourne, its leaders protested vigorously but with no effect. In order to mark their displeasure at his appointment, a measure was brought before Convocation to deprive Dr. Hampden of his right as Regius Professor to vote in the election of the select preachers for the University. This proposal was passed in May 1836 by the large majority

of 474 to 94. It was a great Tractarian victory, and marked the moment when the party largely commanded the sympathy of the University, and was not yet widely suspected of Romanist tendencies.

However, the danger that Mr. Newman's revival of Catholic doctrines should be accused of a tendency towards the Church of Rome was obvious; and it was provided against by Mr. Newman himself, who definitely attacked Romanism in his writings at this time, in strong language borrowed from the classical Anglican divines.

The years from 1836 to 1838 were on the whole prosperous years for the party. The revival caused an excitement which was stimulating to its adherents, and yet did not arouse any marked hostility. The "Movement" was *the* topic of the day at Oxford. "All subjects in discussion," writes Dean Church, "seemed to lead up to the Tractarian doctrines—Art and Poetry, Gothic Architecture and German Romance and Painting, the Philosophy of Language, and the novels of Walter Scott and Miss Austen, Coleridge's transcendentalism and Bishop Butler's practical wisdom, Plato's ideas and Aristotle's analysis. It was difficult to keep them out of lecture-rooms and examinations for fellowships." The party naturally, from its very rapidity of growth, came to include men of all sorts—of very varied capacities, tastes, characters. But the profound religious earnestness which characterised its various adherents from first to last is emphasized as strongly by Dean Church as in the words already quoted from Mr. Mozley:

"Of course the party soon had the faults of a party, real and imputed. Is it conceivable that there should ever have been a religious movement, which has not provoked smiles from those outside of it, and which

has not lent itself to caricature? There were weaker members of it, and headstrong ones, and imitative ones; there were grotesque and absurd ones; some were deeper, some shallower; some liked it for its excitement, and some liked it for its cause; there were those who were for pushing on, and those who were for holding back; there were men of combat, and men of peace; there were those whom it made conceited and self-important, and those whom it drove into seriousness, anxiety, and retirement. But, whatever faults it had, a pure and high spirit ruled in it; there were no disloyal members, and there were none who sought their own in it, or thought of high things for themselves in joining it. It was this whole-heartedness, this supreme reverence for moral goodness, more even than the great ability of the leaders, and in spite of mistakes and failures, which gave its cohesion and its momentum to the movement in its earlier stages."

Mr. Newman rapidly became the social centre of the Movement. His friends gathered round him, in Dean Church's phrase, with a "curious mixture of freedom, devotion, and awe." "He had his breakfast parties and his evening gatherings," writes the same witness; "his conversation ranged widely, marked by its peculiar stamp, entire ease, and studied perfection of apt and clean-cut words, unexpected glimpses of a sure and piercing judgment. At times, at more private meetings, the violin, which he knew how to touch, came into play." Newman's conversation had a stamp of its own. "He was impatient of mere idle worldliness, the conceit and importance of men who gave themselves airs; he was very impatient of pompous and solemn emptiness, but he was very patient with those whom he believed to sympathise with what was nearest his heart.

No one probably of his power and penetration and sense of the absurd was ever so ready to comply with the two demands which a witty prelate proposed to put into the Consecration Service of Bishops: 'Wilt thou answer thy letters?' 'Wilt thou suffer fools gladly?' But courteous, affable, easy as he was, he was a keen trier of character. He gauged, and men felt that he gauged, their motives, their reality and soundness of purpose."

Frederick Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford), the intimate friend of Newman and of Froude, has described in a page that is little known the special character of Newman's conversation and personal influence in the earlier years of the Movement.

"Newman seemed to have an intuitive perception of all that you thought and felt, so that he caught at once all that you meant or were driving at in a sentiment, a philosophical reflection, or a joke—within a certain circle, no doubt, but within a circle which comprehended all your common sympathies. And so there was in talking with him that combination of liveliness and repose which constitutes ease; you seemed to be speaking with a better kind of self, which was drawing you upwards. Newman's general characteristics—his genius, depth of purpose; his hatred of pomp and affectation; his piercing insight into the workings of the human mind—at least that part of it which is best worth knowing—his strong and tenacious, if somewhat fastidious, affection (not, it must be confessed, without a certain tenacity of aversion also)—are all matters of history. I should add that he always seemed to me to have a kind of repugnance to the highly finished manners of the man of the world. Nothing covers what is behind it so completely as moral or physical polish. It reveals

nothing but what it reflects. And this Newman did not like. It baffled him and kept him at a distance. He did not know what matter of interest he could touch with confidence; and this, to a man who is keenly alive to sympathy or the want of it, means an atmosphere of artificial constraint. As the (Oxford) Movement gathered power in his hands he became somewhat more disinclined to men who affected an independent position, and was quick in detecting a growing divergence, though sometimes curiously over-confident in his power of counteracting an adverse prepossession. . . . In Newman's Sermons and Hurrell Froude's conversation I found an uncompromising devotion to religion with a discouragement of anything like gushing profession, which I had been brought up to dislike and distrust—also a religion which was fervent and reforming in essentials with a due reverence for existing authorities and habits and traditions, all which I had been brought up to respect—also a religion which did not reject, but aspired to embody in itself, any form of art and literature, poetry, philosophy, and even science which could be pressed into the service of Christianity. And this met my own desires and tastes—not to say my own conception of what man was made for. And lastly I was greatly captivated by the idea that it was possible for a Church not only to teach the truth, but by its discipline to clear itself from impurities and enforce to a certain extent holiness of life among those who belonged to it. Like the rest of our small circle, I fully believed that Newman was to do something indefinitely great in the direction of Christian Church revival—revival in holiness, discipline, and authority." [1]

The position Newman held in the last years of his active leadership in the eyes of younger Oxford, and

[1] *Letters of Lord Blachford*, p. 14.

the charm of his conversation cannot be better brought before the present generation than in the reminiscences of his own impressions as an undergraduate by James Anthony Froude:

"When we met him, he spoke to us about subjects of the day, of literature, of public persons and incidents, of everything which was generally interesting. He seemed always to be better informed on common topics of conversation than anyone else who was present. He was never condescending with us, never didactic or authoritative; but what he said carried conviction along with it. When we were wrong, he knew why we were wrong, and excused our mistakes to ourselves while he set us right. Perhaps 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. Prosy he could not be. He was lightness itself—the lightness of elastic strength—and 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 advantage 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 idolised master. The simplest word which 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." [1]

But Newman's greatest influence was still exercised from the pulpit at St. Mary's; and the character of

[1] *Short Studies*, iv. p. 282.

that influcnce as well as the principal scene of its exercise has been described by many distinguished men who heard him, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Froude himself, Dean Church, Sir Francis Doyle, Dean Lake, and others. Perhaps the most vivid account of his general influence and of his sermons is that to be found in the well-known Essay on Keble by Principal Shairp of St. Andrews, from which I quote the following page:

"... The influence he had gained, without apparently 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 older ages had reappeared. He himself tells how one day, when he was an undergraduate, a friend with whom he was walking in an Oxford street cried out eagerly, 'There is 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 at some vision seen only by himself, with swift, noiseless step he glided by. Awe fell on them for a moment almost as if it had been some apparition that had passed. . . . The centre from which his 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 ques-

tions which touched the heart of unseen things. About the service, the most remarkable thing was the beauty, the silver intonation of Mr. Newman's voice, as he read the Lessons. It seemed to bring new meaning out of the familiar words. Still lingers in memory the tone with which he read: 'But Jerusalem which is from above is free, which is the mother of us all.' When he began to preach, a stranger was not likely to be much struck, especially if he had been accustomed to pulpit oratory of the Boanerges sort. Here was no vehemence, no declamation, no show of elaborated argument, so that one who came to hear a great intellectual effort was almost sure to go away disappointed. Indeed, I believe that if he had preached one of his St. Mary's sermons before a Scotch town congregation, they would have thought the preacher 'a silly body.' The delivery had a peculiarity which it took a new hearer some time to get over. Each separate sentence, or at least each short paragraph, was spoken rapidly but with great clearness of intonation; and then at its close there was a pause, lasting for nearly half a minute; then another rapidly but clearly spoken sentence, followed by another pause. It took some time to get over this, but, that once done, the wonderful charm began to dawn on you. The look and bearing of 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. . . . 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 and 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."

While the sermons at St. Mary's were thus primarily ethical and appealed to all who desired that their religion should be real and earnest, the theological basis of the Movement was being developed at the same time in a series of afternoon lectures given to a select audience by Mr. Newman in Adam de Brome's chapel in St. Mary's. The most important of these were the lectures on "Romanism and popular Protestantism" delivered at intervals before 1837, in which year they were published. In these lectures Newman traced out the middle road—the *Via Media*—taken by the Anglican Church of the seventeenth century between the theology of Rome and the theology of Geneva. The lectures arose from a correspondence between Newman and a French abbé named Jager, and so certain did Newman feel at this time of the strength of the Anglican argument that he had (as he has told us) some anxiety lest he was un-

settling the abbé's mind, and making his position difficult.

Of the other lectures delivered in Adam de Brome's chapel, one series was afterwards embodied in Newman's volume on *Justification;* another in Tract 85 on "Rationalism and the Canon of Scripture." These lectures were attended by two zealous followers of Dr. Arnold—A. P. Stanley, and W. G. Ward—with a lively and hostile interest which has been described by Dean Goulburn in the pages of *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement.* So lively were their demonstrations of interest as they sat in the front row facing the speaker, that the embarrassed lecturer changed the position of the seats for the remaining lectures, and placed them in the position of stalls in the choir. Thus their occupants no longer faced the lecturer. It was a tribute to the power of Mr. Newman that both Ward and Stanley soon came under the spell of the lectures and the sermons at St. Mary's, although Stanley's Tractarian tendency was short-lived. W. G. Ward eventually, in 1838, became a member of the Tractarian party, and gradually a friend of the leader. "Lord Blachford, as much as any one, made me intimate with him," writes Newman. "I remember Blachford saying, 'If Ward comes over he will go to great lengths.'" Ward had been attracted, not only by Newman's sermons and lectures, but by Froude's *Remains*, of which I shall speak in the next chapter, and he revived in the party something of the peculiar temper which had marked Froude himself.

The notoriety of the Tracts greatly increased in these years, and their circulation extended. In 1838 the prospect of the Movement was in all respects brilliant and hopeful. In that year, however, the first symptoms of difficulties for the future made their appearance, to

be followed by more serious dangers to its unity and success in the following year

V

In 1838 appeared the *Remains* of Hurrell Froude, who had died in 1836. The sympathies of Froude were far more Roman than those of Pusey and Newman, and Keble, in editing his *Remains*, endorsed his unfavourable judgment of the English Reformers. This was a point on which Newman differed from the more moderate section of the party represented by Dr. Pusey. Before the end of the year, the erection of a memorial to the martyrs of the Reformation gave a further indication of division of opinion—for Pusey favoured the scheme. There was also visible in this act an anti-Roman feeling in the University which told against the Tractarian party. In the same year and early in the following year, the Roman tendency in the party was visibly strengthened. A group of men became followers of Mr. Newman who were younger than the original Tractarians, more impetuous in temper, less devoted to the Church of England, and obviously attracted by the Roman Church. Among these men were Wllliam George Ward (of whom I have just spoken), Frederick Faber, and John Dobree Dalgairns. These men were often in Newman's company and brought on him a constant pressure in the direction of Rome; and while this new force was incidentally bringing into relief the difference between Newman and Pusey, Newman's own reading in Church History told in the same direction. He studied the Monophysite controversy of the fifth century, and it seemed to him, as he read, that the arguments whereby he had been accustomed

to defend the Anglican Church against the Church of Rome would equally avail to defend the Monophysite heretics against Pope Leo the Great. The Monophysites claimed as on their side the interpretation of the primitive revelation at the Council of Ephesus in which Mary had been spoken of as the "Mother of God." The phrase seemed to some to carry with it the conclusion that Christ had an exclusively divine nature. Pope Leo at the council of Chalcedon disallowed this interpretation. The council censured the Monophysites as heretics, and developed the dogmatic position by adding the words "in two natures" to the hitherto received teaching and expressions. The parallel was obvious. The Church of Rome in her developments at Trent acted like Pope Leo at Chalcedon. At the same time an article by Bishop Wiseman in the *Dublin Review* on the Donatist Schism strengthened the argument that Rome, by uncompromising condemnation of the interpretation of Catholic doctrine by private persons, exercised already in the fifth century the powers she claimed in the nineteenth. "My stronghold," Newman writes, "was antiquity. Now here in the middle of the fifth century I found, as it seemed to me, the Christendom of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the Via Media was in the position of the Oriental Communion. Rome was where she now is, and the Protestants were the Eutychians."

Walking with Henry Wilberforce in the New Forest in September 1839, Newman confided to him his doubt whether it would not prove in the event that in the more modern controversies Rome, after all, was right. He had arrived at no conclusion, but for the first time he doubted the position he had so confidently upheld in his Lectures and wavered in his censure of Rome. His

followers had rested secure in his strong denunciations of the Church of Rome, and the bare possibility of a change in this respect came upon Wilberforce, as he himself expressed it, "like a thunderbolt." Newman attempted to answer his own difficulties in an article in the *British Critic*, published in the following year, and entitled "Catholicity of the English Church," in which the old strongly anti-Roman theory of the Church was dropped and the weaker contention of "faults on both sides" was advanced. The undoubting confidence of earlier days in the Anglican position was gone in his own mind.

Had the party preserved its original Anglican character, Newman's suspicions that Rome might, after all, prove to be right, might have been solely his own. And in one so sympathetic the fact of all the external influence of friends being opposed to the Roman tendency would probably have helped to check it in his own mind. The case however was, as I have already indicated, otherwise. In the very years—1839 and 1840—in which Newman's mind had become unsettled, the younger men, whose sympathies were Roman, grew in numbers and influence. They came to form a party within the party. With them acted Frederick Oakeley, Fellow of Balliol—Newman's contemporary, but hitherto not a Tractarian. Writing of the man who had the most active share in determining the character of this section—W. G. Ward—Newman once said: "He was never a High Churchman, never a Tractarian, never a Puseyite, never a Newmanite." The new party consisted indeed not entirely of High Churchmen, but of men whose antecedents were various. Their goal, however, was the same. They were all, from the first, avowedly turned towards Rome. Many of them were attracted by Continental devotions and the organisation of the Church in communion

with the Apostolic See. John Dobree Dalgairns and Frederick Faber both studied the Catholic religion with close sympathy in foreign countries. They were, to use Newman's words, "eager, acute, resolute minds who knew nothing about the Via Media, but had heard much about Rome. . . . They cut into the original Movement at an angle, fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line in their own direction. They were most of them keenly religious men (Newman adds), with a true concern for their souls, as the first matter of all; with a great zeal for me, but giving little certainty at the time as to which way they would ultimately turn." Mark Pattison, who ultimately turned in the direction of free thought, should be classed with this school. For a short time Arthur Stanley, the intimate friend of William George Ward, was associated with its line of thought and action.

Newman at once saw that his unsettlement would open the door to pressure from this younger section. "We are not at the bottom of things," he writes to Rogers in September 1839. "At this moment we have sprung a leak, and the worst of it is that those sharp fellows, Ward, Stanley & Co., will not let us go to sleep upon it." In the event Ward and his friends were quick to detect the new note of uncertainty in Newman's utterances, and by incessant dialectic urged him on in the Roman direction. "When the new school came on in force," writes Newman, "and into collision with the old, I had not the heart any more than the power to repel them. I was in great perplexity, and hardly knew where I stood. I took their part, and when I wanted to be in peace and silence I had to speak out, and I incurred the charge of weakness from some men, and of mysteriousness, shuffling, underhand dealing from the majority."

Dean Church has described how in particular W. G. Ward urged Newman onwards in the direction of Rome, and helped in precipitating the crisis of 1845.

" [Mr. Ward] was in the habit of appealing to Mr. Newman to pronounce on the soundness of his principles and inferences, with the view of getting Mr. Newman's sanction for them against more timid or more dissatisfied friends ; and he would come down with great glee on objectors to some new and startling position, with the reply, ' Newman says so.' . . . Mr. Ward was continually forcing on Mr. Newman so-called irresistible inferences : ' If you say so and so, surely you must also say something more ? ' Avowedly ignorant of facts and depending for them on others, he was only concerned with logical consistency. And accordingly Mr. Newman, with whom producible logical consistency was indeed a great thing, but with whom it was very far from being everything, had continually to accept conclusions which he would rather have kept in abeyance, to make admissions which were used without their qualifications, to push on and sanction extreme ideas which he himself shrank from because they were extreme. But it was all over with his command of time, his liberty to make up his mind slowly on the great decision. He had to go at Mr. Ward's pace, and not his own. He had to take Mr. Ward's questions, not when he wanted to have them and at his own time, but at Mr. Ward's. No one can tell how much this state of things affected the working of Mr. Newman's mind in that pause of hesitation before the final step ; how far it accelerated the view which he ultimately took of his position. No one can tell, for many other influences were mixed up with this one. But there is no doubt that Mr. Newman felt the annoyance and the unfairness

of this perpetual questioning for the benefit of Mr. Ward's theories, and there can be little doubt that, in effect, it drove him onwards and cut short his time of waiting. Engineers tell us that, in the case of a ship rolling in a sea-way, when the periodic times of the ship's roll coincide with those of the undulations of the waves, a condition of things arises highly dangerous to the ship's stability. So the agitations of Mr. Newman's mind were reinforced by the impulses of Mr. Ward's."[1]

In this state of things it was impossible for Newman to refrain from taking a definite line on the more urgent questions debated in the party, some of which had been raised by himself.

More than anything the Roman party urged the question which had arisen in connection with Newman's publication of Froude's *Remains*, namely, What is the true estimate of the Reformers of the sixteenth century? And above all they asked, How could the Thirty-nine Articles be reconciled with the view of the Church of England which the Oxford Movement was vindicating as the true one? The Articles were on the face of them clearly Protestant, yet Newman was maintaining that the English Church had throughout remained Catholic, though anti-Roman. In the course of 1840 this point was pressed home so insistently on Newman, and it was obviously so vital to his position, that he determined to deal with it explicitly in the *Tracts for the Times*, and it formed the subject of the famous Tract No. 90, which marked a new phase—and the final phase—of the Oxford Movement.

[1] *Oxford Movement*, pp. 314–316.

VI

One remarkable feature of the story of the Movement was the complete and prolonged imperviousness of official Oxford to what was going on. The Heads of Houses certainly justified the reproaches often cast on officialdom of being unable to appreciate the real and deep problems of the hour, and being apt to shut itself up in the ease and security of an established and comfortable position. They began by simply treating the movement as a joke or an eccentricity, and when its seriousness became unmistakable this attitude was converted into alarm and angry hostility. At no time was there any understanding of it whatever. "There is no sadder passage to be found in the history of Oxford," writes Dean Church, "than the behaviour and policy of the heads of the great Christian University towards the religious movement which was stirring the interest, the hopes, and the fears of Oxford."

They had not imagination nor moral elevation to take in what it aimed at; they were content with the routine they had inherited.

The change in their attitude from contempt to alarm was gradual. But the note of alarm was loudly and distinctly sounded in 1841, on the occasion of the publication of the celebrated Tract No. 90.

The Ninetieth *Tract for the Times* was published towards the end of February 1841. The direct motive of its publication was to prevent such men as W. G. Ward and Frederick Oakeley from going over to the Church of Rome in their dissatisfaction with a Church which imposed on its adherents such Protestant formularies as the Thirty-nine Articles. It was de-

signed to show that, while the Prayer Book obviously preserved much of the Catholic teaching of an earlier date, the Thirty-nine Articles themselves, in spite of their Protestant rhetoric, could be subscribed by those who held the Catholic view of the Church of England. Newman argued in the Tract that, while censuring popular corruptions in the Church of Rome, the Thirty-nine Articles did not deny those Catholic doctrines of which they were corruptions. They censured, not the authoritative obligatory statements of Rome, but the prevalent teaching within the Roman Communion. For instance the condemnation of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory in the Twenty-second Article did not, he maintained, condemn all doctrine of purgation after death. Archbishop Ussher had allowed prayers for the dead—a fact which sanctioned this distinction. Also the condemnation of "Sacrifices of Masses" did not, he held, involve the condemnation of the Eucharistic sacrifice, but of Roman abuses of the doctrine and practice. Moreover, as the Articles were drawn up before the Council of Trent, they could not have been directed against the decrees of that Council. This view of the case was confirmed by the fact that the history of the time makes it clear that those who drew up the Articles desired as far as possible to retain within the Anglican Communion those who remained Catholics at heart, provided they consented to accept the sovereign of England as Head of the Church. So Mr. James Mozley recalled, as a matter of common knowledge, in a letter written just after the Tract appeared: "The Articles were expressly worded," he writes, "to bring in Roman Catholics; but people are astonished and confused at the idea now as though it were quite new." It had all been said, in fact, in Charles I's reign by the Franciscan Confessor of Henrietta Maria, Christopher

Davenport known as Franciscus à Sancta Clara, but the Church of England had since those days travelled very far in the Protestant direction. Newman's claim amazed the Oxford of 1841, and the Tract was attacked as an exhibition of dishonest quibbling. Prominent among those who took this view of it was A. C. Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and his first sight of the Tract is dramatically described in the *Life of Stanley*.

"On the morning of the 27th of February, Ward burst excitedly into Tait's rooms. 'Here,' he cried, 'is something worth reading,' and threw No. 90 on the table. Tait described to Stanley how he 'sate, half-asleep,' over the pamphlet, 'rather disturbed from time to time by sentences about 'working in chains,' and 'stammering lips,' till, on turning over the pages, he was suddenly awakened by lighting on the commentary on the Twenty-second Article. He immediately rushed to Ward's rooms to know whether he had rightly understood it; and from that moment the sensation began. He showed No. 90 to one person after another; the excitement increased, but still unknown to Newman; and, on the second Sunday after the Tract had appeared, Ward, who had predicted that it would rouse a tumult, was dining with Newman, and Newman said, 'You see, Ward, you are a false prophet.' When Ward returned that night to Balliol, he found that the Protest of the Four Tutors was already prepared. It appeared the next day; by the end of the week came down, like a clap of thunder, the Protest of the Heads, and instantly the silence was broken by its being reverberated through every paper in the country." [1]

It was early in March that the four Oxford tutors, of

[1] *Life of Stanley*, i. 292.

whom the best known was Mr. Tait, published a protest against the Tract, and a week later a more formal protest was published by the "Hebdomadal Board," as the weekly meeting of the Heads of Houses was called. The excitement in Oxford was extreme. Newman published a second edition of the Tract with changes designed to meet the criticisms it had received. He also wrote a public letter in its defence to his friend Dr. Jelf of Christ Church; but, bearing in mind the strong position as to the claims of Church authority which the Movement had ever advocated, he also wrote to the Bishop of Oxford offering to discontinue the Tracts.

The Tracts did, in the event, come to an end with Tract 90; but the storm once raised was not easily allayed. A war of pamphlets began, among the chief disputants being Mr. Ward and Mr. Robert Lowe—afterwards famous as a statesman. Mr. Ward published a pamphlet called *One Word in defence of Tract* 90. His argument was that the Tract might be accused with justice of dishonest quibbling if it were not clearly understood that the real accusation of quibbling lay against the Reformers themselves. Therefore the severe judgment on the Reformers which Pusey deprecated, and on which Newman did not desire to insist, was quite essential to any satisfactory defence of the Tract. It was they, and not Mr. Newman, who were responsible for the fact that the Articles had a Protestant appearance designed to satisfy the Protestant party, but were, nevertheless, "patient," though not "ambitious," of a Catholic interpretation at variance with their general rhetoric. Mr. Ward invented a phrase which afterwards became popular in the controversy, and declared that he accepted the Articles in a "non-natural" sense. But he argued that the Protestant party must also interpret in a "non-natural" sense the Catholic teach-

ing of the Prayer Book. Mr. Lowe, replying to Mr. Ward, reiterated the charge of dishonesty against Mr. Newman's and Mr. Ward's interpretation of the Articles. The feeling aroused was so strong that Mr. Ward felt called on to resign his mathematical and logical lectureships at Balliol. "What heresy," asked Dr. Jenkyns, the rather famous Master of Balliol of that time, "will he not insinuate in the form of a syllogism?"

The late Lord Coleridge, looking back on the time that immediately followed the publication of the most celebrated and last of the Tracts, has written as follows:

"Four tutors protested, six doctors suspended, Hebdomadal Boards censured, deans of colleges changed the dinner hour, so as to make the hearing of Newman's sermon and a dinner in Hall incompatible transactions. This seemed then—it seems now—miserably small. It failed, of course; such proceedings always fail. The influence so fought with naturally widened and strengthened. There was imparted to an attendance at St. Mary's that slight flavour of insubordination which rendered such attendance attractive to many, to some at any rate, who might otherwise have stayed away. In 1839, the afternoon congregation at St. Mary's was, for a small Oxford parish, undoubtedly large—probably two or three times the whole population of the parish; but by 1842 it 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. One Dean certainly, who had changed the time of his College dinner to prevent others going, constantly went himself; and the outward interest in

the teaching was but one symptom of the deep and abiding influence which Cardinal Newman exercised."[1]

Mr. Newman hoped that his discontinuance of the Tracts would set matters at rest. He went to Littlemore in 1841, determined to put aside controversy and to get to work at his proposed translation of St. Athanasius.

But the current now set in motion against the party grew in volume and intensity. Dr. Arnold was at this time Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and all his influence was directed against the party. The Poetry Professorship became vacant in 1842 by the resignation of Mr. Keble. Mr. Isaac Williams, a prominent member of the Tract party, became a candidate for the Professorship, and Dr. Pusey, misjudging the general state of feeling, published a letter supporting his candidature on the ground that his influence would be beneficial to religion. The result was a decisive defeat for Mr. Williams' candidature by a considerable majority—the more significant as the claims to the appointment of the rival candidate, Mr. Garbett, were inconsiderable.

A little later Dr. Pusey himself preached a sermon on "The Holy Eucharist as a Comfort to the Penitent." The sermon embodied Catholic doctrine strictly within the limits laid down by the Anglican divines of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless it was "delated" to the Vice-Chancellor for false doctrine, and the Vice-Chancellor, in accordance with a University statute, appointed six Doctors of Divinity to inquire into the charge. Dr. Pusey was refused a hearing and con-

[1] See Lord Coleridge's tribute "In Memoriam" to Principal Shairp published in Professor Knight's volume, *Principal Shairp and his Friends.*

demned, the sentence being his suspension from preaching for two years. But yet more serious from Newman's point of view than either of these events, was the fact that the bishops of the Church of England issued a series of charges formally censuring the Tracts. The doctrines of the Movement were thus condemned by the authorised representatives of the Church of England as inconsistent with her teaching. The power of the ecclesiastical rulers as opposed to the power of the State in matters ecclesiastical had been from the first a primary contention of the Tract party. Hence the episcopal censure of their principles was paralysing. The Tractarian leaders were in the position of Lamennais, who, having led the van of the Ultramontane revival, found his principles censured by Gregory XVI.

At the same time the British Government appointed a Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem in communion with the Church of England, and at the same time in communion with the evangelical Church of Prussia. The appointment was part of a scheme of Monsieur de Bunsen, who proposed that the bishopric should be held alternately by an Englishman and a Prussian. This was another formal recognition of the solidarity of the Church of England with Protestantism and its separation from Catholic Christendom—both from the Church of Rome and from the Orthodox Churches of the East. These events gradually broke Mr. Newman's spirit. He lived more and more at Littlemore, and less at Oxford. At Oxford itself Mr. Ward and his friends, in conversation and in the pages of the *British Critic*, maintained the paradoxical position that they might still continue to be members of a Church which condemned their theological doctrines, with the object of gradually bringing over opinion within that Church to their own side, in the hope, as Mr. Ward

expressed it, of gradually "poisoning as many as possible."

VII

NEWMAN collected a group of friends around him at Littlemore, and resigned the vicarage of St. Mary's and edited a series of Lives of the English Saints, obviously out of harmony with the prevailing temper in the Church of England. It is interesting to recall that one of his disciples at this time was Mark Pattison, afterwards the ultra-Liberal President of Lincoln College; and that one of the Lives of the Saints was written by James Anthony Froude.

Mr. Ward became the most prominent representative of the Movement in Oxford itself during the stormy period which preceded its collapse. Dean Bradley writes that "he succeeded Dr. Newman as the acknowledged leader."[1] "He exercised the most constant and energetic influence," writes Dean Stanley, "on all the ramifications of the party, especially over the younger men," by "his unrivalled powers of argument, by his transparent candour, by his uncompromising pursuit of the opinions he had adopted."[2] Dean Church writes of him as follows:

"Mr. Ward had developed in the Oxford Union, and in a wide social circle of the most rising men of the time —including Tait, Cardwell, Lowe, Roundell Palmer—a very unusual dialectical skill and power of argumentative statement: qualities which seemed to point to the House of Commons. But Mr. Newman's ideas gave him

[1] *Recollections of A. P. Stanley*, p. 65.
[2] *Edinburgh Review*, April 1881. Article on "The Oxford School."

material, not only for argument, but for thought. The lectures and sermons at St. Mary's subdued and led him captive. The impression produced on him was expressed in the formula that primitive Christianity might have been corrupted into Popery, but that Protestantism never could. For a moment he hung in the wind. He might have been one of the earliest of Broad Churchmen. He might have been a Utilitarian and Necessitarian follower of Mr. J. S. Mill. But moral influences of a higher kind prevailed. And he became, in the most thoroughgoing yet independent fashion, a disciple of Mr. Newman. He brought to his new side a fresh power of controversial writing; but his chief influence was a social one, from his bright and attractive conversation, his bold and startling candour, his frank, not to say reckless, fearlessness of consequences, his unrivalled skill in logical fence, his unfailing good-humour and love of fun, in which his personal clumsiness set off the vivacity and nimbleness of his joyous moods. 'He was,' says Mr. Mozley, 'a great musical critic, knew all the operas, and was an admirable buffo singer.' No one could doubt that, having started, Mr. Ward would go far and probably go fast.

"Mr. Ward was well known in Oxford, and his language might have warned the Heads that if there was a drift towards Rome, it came from something much more serious than a hankering after a sentimental ritual of mediæval legends. . . . He was not a person to hide his own views or to let others hide theirs. He lived in an atmosphere of discussion with all around him, friends or opponents, fellows and tutors in common-rooms, undergraduates after lecture or out walking. The most amusing, the most tolerant man in Oxford, he had round him perpetually some of the cleverest and brightest scholars and thinkers of the place; and

where he was, there was debate, cross-questioning, pushing inferences, starting alarming problems, beating out ideas, trying the stuff and mettle of mental capacity. Not always with real knowledge, or a real sense of fact, but always rapid and impetuous, taking in the whole dialectical chess-board at a glance, he gave no quarter, and a man found himself in a perilous corner before he perceived the drift of the game; but it was to clear his own thought, not—for he was much too good-natured—to embarrass another. If the old scholastic disputations had been still in use at Oxford, his triumphs would have been signal and memorable. His success, compared with that of other leaders of the movement, in influencing life and judgment, was a pre-eminently intellectual success; and it cut two ways. The stress which he laid on the moral side of questions, his own generosity, his earnestness on behalf of fair play and good faith, elevated and purified intercourse. But he did not always win assent in proportion to his power of argument. Abstract reasoning, in matters with which human action is concerned, may be too absolute to be convincing. It may not leave sufficient margin for the play and interference of actual experience. And Mr. Ward, having perfect confidence in his conclusions, rather liked to leave them in a startling form, which he innocently declared to be manifest and inevitable. And so stories of Ward's audacity and paradoxes flew all over Oxford, shocking and perplexing grave heads with fear of they knew not what. Dr. Jenkyns, the Master of Balliol, one of those curious mixtures of pompous absurdity with genuine shrewdness which used to pass across the University stage, not clever himself but an unfailing judge of a clever man as a jockey might be of a horse, liking Ward and proud of his cleverness, was aghast at his monstrous and unintelligible language,

and driven half wild with it. Mr. Tait, a fellow-tutor, though living on terms of hearty friendship with Ward, prevailed on the master after No. 90 to dismiss Ward from the office of teaching mathematics. It seemed a petty step thus to mix up theology with mathematics, though it was not so absurd as it looked, for Ward brought in theology everywhere, and discussed it when his mathematics were done. But Ward accepted it frankly and defended it. It was natural, he said, that Tait, thinking his principles mischievous, should wish to silence him as a teacher; and their friendship remained unbroken."

Ward's principal field of writing was the *British Critic.* When Newman became unsettled in mind, unable to take any line with confidence, he had resigned the editorship. His last contribution, however, entitled "The Catholicity of the Anglican Church," had opened the door for Roman developments in its pages. In that article he gave up the old *Via Media*, according to which the Church of Rome was in grievous error, and the English Roman Catholics were schismatics; his new position was that both Anglicans and Roman Catholics were members of the Church, and that Anglicans should stay where they are born, in the hope of restoring to their communion its normal character of part of the Catholic Church. He appealed to signs of vitality in the Church of England as a proof that it was not cut off from the graces given to the true Church. Newman was succeeded as editor by his brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Mozley. From this time onwards, W. G. Ward became a constant contributor, and his articles, as well as those of his inseparable friend Frederick Oakeley, caused the editor much anxiety.

"My first troubles were with Oakeley and Ward. I will not say that I hesitated much as to the truth of what they wrote, for in that matter I was inclined to go very far, at least in the way of toleration. Yet it appeared to me quite impossible either that any great number of English Churchmen would ever go so far, or that the persons possessing authority in the Church would fail to protest, not to say more. The cases of the two writers were very different. Oakeley was out of my reach altogether in Liturgies and Ritual. I could only put my finger on a salient point of his articles here and there. This I did, and he submitted, evidently intending, however, to persevere and come round me in the end. It was otherwise with Ward. I did but touch a filament or two in one of his monstrous cobwebs, and off ran he instantly to Newman to complain of my gratuitous impertinence. Many years after I was forcibly reminded of him by a pretty group of a plump little Cupid flying to his mother to show a wasp sting he had just received. Newman was then in this difficulty. He did not disagree with what Ward had written; but, on the other hand, he had given neither me nor Ward to understand that he was likely to step in between us. In fact he wished to be entirely clear of the editorship. This, however, was a thing that Ward could not or would not understand. . . .

"My own feeling about Ward's articles was that they were within comprehension and mastery; and that if I made the required effort I should probably go very far with them, but that I should find myself thereby embarked in an adventure beyond my control; in a word, that the terminus of the articles was outside the Church of England."

Every sign of opinion on the part of a great leader

whose attitude was causing such general anxiety was noted. Therefore people read as ominous the following note added by Newman to one of the discourses in the University Sermons which he published in 1843: "Some admirable articles have appeared in the late numbers of the *British Critic* on the divinely appointed mode of seeking truth where persons are in doubt and difficulty." Four articles are then specified which were known to be by Mr. Ward, whose belief in Rome as the goal of the Movement was openly avowed. "As they appear," the note continues, "to be but the first sketches of a deep and important theory which show the position of the writer's mind, it is to be hoped that they will one day appear in more systematic form."

On this suggestion Mr. Ward did in fact act. The *British Critic* gave so much offence in these years that it ceased to exist in 1844. Deprived of his organ, Mr. Ward elaborated his view of the Roman controversy in a book which he designed as a pamphlet, but which grew to some 500 pages, entitled *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, which appeared towards the end of 1844. Mr. Ward in this work avowedly defended the ideal of the Papal Church, and exhorted English Churchmen to "sue humbly at the feet of Rome for pardon and restoration." A storm followed even greater than that aroused by Tract No. 90. "It created," writes Dean Lake, "a greater immediate sensation than any ecclesiastical book of the century." Mr. Ward's book was attacked in many pamphlets and articles. Keble, Tait, and F. D. Maurice were among those who took the field, expressing respect for Mr. Ward personally but condemning his views. Among the most notable of these publications was an article by Mr. Gladstone in the *Quarterly Review*.

In the course of the October term it was whispered that mischief was brewing, and that the Heads were devising a scheme of repression against the author of the obnoxious book. What the exact measures were to be it was not known. "It was kept a profound secret," writes Dean Stanley, "during three long autumnal months, and the secret was only broken by one of those extraordinary incidents which occur now and then in fiction, but rarely in actual life. The documents (containing the proposed measures) having been sent to London for a legal opinion, were diverted from their proper destination in the post-office at Oxford and inserted in a parcel of college leases addressed to one of the most enthusiastic followers of Dr. Newman and Mr. Ward. [This was Mr. Bloxam of Magdalene.] The secret thus disclosed was in honour kept by the astonished recipient; but it was not in human nature but that particles of the information thus unexpectedly acquired should leak out in answer to perpetual inquiries." Mr. Ward was therefore not wholly unprepared, when at the end of November he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Hebdomadal Board, and confronted with a selection of six of the most startling and extreme passages from the *Ideal*, some of which I have already quoted in the analysis of that work, and asked if he wished to disavow the sentiments therein contained. Mr. Ward asked for three days' grace, in order that he might consult his friends and lawyer before committing himself to any statement; and on appearing before the same tribunal for a second time on 3rd December, refused, under legal advice, to make any statements whatever until the course of action on which the Heads had resolved should be openly avowed."

Ten days later all doubt was set at rest, and the Vice-Chancellor published a notice containing the details

of the intended proceedings. The six incriminating passages from the *Ideal* were given in full and said to be inconsistent with the Articles and with the good faith of William George Ward in subscribing them; and it was proposed, in a Convocation to be held on 13th February following, to pass a resolution to this effect. In the event of this resolution passing, a second one was to follow depriving him of his degrees; while a third measure consisted of a test "by which it was asserted that the Articles for the future must be accepted, not according to the subtle explanations of the nineteenth century, but according to the rigid definitions of the sixteenth. It laid down that whenever subscribed at the University of Oxford they must be accepted in that sense in which they had been originally uttered, and in which the University imposed them.[1]

The test proved so unpopular that it was eventually dropped. In its place a formal censure of Tract No. 90 was proposed to be passed at the same meeting of Convocation, and there is little doubt that it would have been carried, but that the two Proctors—Mr. Church, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and Mr. Guillemard (both of them personal friends of Newman)—exercised their right of veto, and prevented the vote from being taken.

February 13, 1845, the date fixed for the great meeting, arrived. The Sheldonian theatre, the scene of the day's proceedings, was filled with Masters of Arts from all parts of England. It was no merely personal event, it was a crisis in the history of the constitution of the English Church, which was in some measure to decide the legal rights and theological position of thousands of her sons. "A great proportion of those who arrived," writes an eye-witness in the *Times* of 14th February,

[1] Stanley, *Edinburgh Review*, April 1881

"were men distinguished in public life, who came up purposely to be present at the Convocation." Prominent amongst them were Mr. Gladstone, Lord Shaftesbury, the Earl of Romney, Archdeacon Manning, Mr. J. R. Hope (afterwards Mr. Hope-Scott), Lord Sandon, Lord Faversham, Dr. Tait, Dean Merrewether of Hereford, Sir Thomas Acland, Dr. Moberly (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), Sir W. Heathcote, the Bishop of Llandaff, the Bishop of Chichester, Lord Kenyon, the Earl of Eldon, Sir John Mordaunt. The Oxford authorities also were present in large numbers. Dr. Pusey supported Mr. Ward by his presence, in spite of his disapproval of the tone of the *Ideal*. Dr. Hampden was present, to witness the discomfiture of the party which nine years earlier had used its power with so much effect against himself. Dr. Faussett, the protagonist of the anti-Tractarians, was in his place. There was a large number of persons who opposed the measures on public grounds, and a little knot of warm personal friends—Stanley and Jowett, the Fellows of Balliol, Macmullen, Bloxam, Observer Johnson among their number. Oakeley stood with Ward in the Rostrum, identifying his own opinions with those of his friends and prepared to abide by their consequences.

"A full Convocation at Oxford," says a contemporary writer, "is an imposing spectacle. The theatre, one of Wren's noblest works, with its rostra and semicircular galleries, is admirably adapted to enable a large assembly to see and be seen, and to hear a person speaking from one of the rostra . . . though it would be unsuited to a debate in which men spoke from their places. It is fit for its purposes—solemn proceedings and set speeches. On the 13th of February it must have contained fifteen hundred persons, for nearly twelve hundred voted, and the neuters must have exceeded three hundred."

"When the whole assembly," writes Dean Stanley,

"was crowded within the theatre, packed as closely as the area of that splendid building would permit, the Registrar of the University read out the incriminating passages of *The Ideal of a Christian Church.* Grown wiser, and we may add, more just, by the experience of the attack on Dr. Hampden, they did not condemn the whole book, but certain extracts which were chosen from it. The general proceedings were in Latin, but it was curious to hear the grave voice of the Registrar proclaiming in the vernacular from his high position these several sentences [from the book]—'Oh, most joyful! most wonderful! most unexpected sight! We find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen!' Once again the English language was permitted to be heard in that assembly; the Vice-Chancellor rose in his place and announced in Latin that by permission of the Chancellor, to Mr. Ward, and to Mr. Ward alone, was to be given the privilege of using in his own defence his native tongue. Then followed the apology for the book, at that time known in its every part, now probably become one of the obsolete curiosities of literature. It consisted of an effective address, challenging all parties in the Church equally to vindicate their subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and calling upon him who was without fault to throw the first stone."

The speech over, the Vice-Chancellor put the question. There was a roar and counter-roar of "placets" and "non-placets." A scrutiny was then ordered, and the first resolution—the censure of the passages from the *Ideal*—was carried by 777 to 391; the second—the degradation—by a much smaller majority, 569 to 511. Then came the proposal for the condemnation of Tract 90. The Vice-Chancellor read the resolution. But now the two Proctors rose, Mr. Guillemard and

Mr. Church, and uttered the words which, except on one memorable occasion, the Hampden case, no one living had ever heard pronounced in Convocation. When the resolution was put, a shout of "non" was raised, and resounded through the whole building, and "placets" from the other side, over which Guillemard's "nobis Procuratoribus non-placet" was heard like a trumpet and cheered enormously. The Dean of Chichester threw himself out of his doctor's seat and shook both Proctors violently by the hand, and, without any formal dissolution, indeed, without a word more being spoken, as if such an interposition as the Proctor's veto stopped all business, the Vice-Chancellor tucked up his gown, and hurried down the steps that led from his throne into the area, and hurried out of the theatre; and in five minutes the whole scene of action was cleared. Mr. Ward was cheered by the undergraduates as he left the theatre, and the Vice-Chancellor was saluted by hisses and snowballs from the same quarter.

It was noticed that Mr. Gladstone's *non-placet* was peculiarly vehement. He voted in Mr. Ward's favour on both propositions. All the Fellows of Balliol without exception supported Mr. Ward likewise in both votes.[1]

This was, in Dean Stanley's words, "the closing scene of the Oxford Movement." It was not a defeat, it was a rout, to use the phrase of Dean Church. Oxford had definitively repudiated the Tractarians who nine short years ago had carried the whole University with them in the proceedings against Dr. Hampden. The most instructive revulsion of feeling to which the great

[1] This description is summarised from the accounts of eye-witnesses given in *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement.*

meeting of Convocation in February 1845, and its repressive measures, had witnessed was pointed out on the eve of the struggle in an anonymous fly-leaf entitled "Nemesis," which is now known to have been the work of Arthur Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster. It ran as follows:

"1. In 1836 Dr. Hampden was censured by Convocation on an undefined charge of want of confidence. In 1845 Mr. Newman and Mr. Ward are to be censured by the same body.

"2. In 1836 the country was panic-stricken with a fear of Liberalism. In 1845 the country is panic-stricken with a fear of Popery.

"3. Four hundred and seventy-four was the majority that condemned Dr. Hampden. Four hundred and seventy-four is the number of requisitionists that induced the censure on Mr. Newman.

"4. The censure on Dr. Hampden was brought forward at ten days' notice. The censure on Mr. Newman was brought forward at ten days' notice.

"5. Two Proctors of decided character, and of supposed leaning to the side of Dr. Hampden, filled the Proctors' office in 1836. Two Proctors of decided character, and of supposed leaning to the side of Mr. Newman, filled the Proctors' office in 1845.

"6. The *Standard* newspaper headed the attack on Dr. Hampden. The *Standard* newspaper heads the attack on Mr. Ward and Mr. Newman.

"7. The *Globe* and *Morning Chronicle* defended Dr. Hampden. The *Globe* and *Morning Chronicle* defend Mr. Ward.

"8. The Thirty-nine Articles were elaborately contrasted with the writings of Dr. Hampden, as the ground of his condemnation. The Thirty-nine Articles

are made the ground of the condemnation of Mr. Ward and Mr. Newman.

"9. The Bampton Lectures were preached four years before they were censured. The 90th *Tract for the Times* was written four years before it is now proposed to be censured.

"10. Two eminent lawyers pronounced the censure on Dr. Hampden illegal. Two eminent lawyers have pronounced the degradation of Mr. Ward illegal.

"11. The *Edinburgh Review* denounced the mockery of a judgment by Convocation then. The *English Churchman* denounces it now.

"12. And if, on the one hand, the degradation of Mr. Ward is more severe than the exemptions of Dr. Hampden; on the other hand, the extracts from Mr. Ward give a truer notion of the *Ideal* than the extracts from Dr. Hampden of the Bampton Lectures.

"'The wheel then is come full circle.' The victors of 1836 are the victims of 1845. The victors of 1845 are the victims of 1836. The assailants are assailed, the assailed are assailants. The condemners are condemned, the condemned are the condemners. 'The wheel is come full circle.' Voters of the 13th, take this in its true spirit—not as an idle note of triumph, not as a merely striking coincidence, but as a solemn warning to all who were concerned then, to all who are concerned now; as a sign that there are principles of justice equally applicable to opposite cases, and that sooner or later their violation recoils on the heads of those who violate them.

"'The wheel is come full circle.' How soon may it come round again? Voters of the 13th, deal now to your opponents that justice which perhaps you may not

expect to receive from them; remembering that the surest hope of obtaining mercy and justice then is by showing mercy and justice now. Judge therefore by 1836 what should be your conduct in 1845, and by your conduct in 1845 what should be your opponents' conduct in 1856, when Puseyism may be as triumphant as it is now depressed—when none can with any face cry for toleration then who have refused toleration now, or protest against a mob tribunal then if they have used it now, or deprecate the madness of popular clamour then if they have kindled or yielded to it now.'

In September Mr. Ward joined the Roman Catholic Church, and Newman's secession in October formally marked the termination of the Movement.

During the spring and summer Newman had been writing his great work on the *Development of Christian Doctrine*, which indicated the general grounds of his decision that the Church of Rome was identical with that Catholic Church which in all ages had claimed to interpret authoritatively the Catholic faith, and to exclude as heretics those who would not accept her definitions. Before the book was finished he had felt it his duty to make the change of communion, and the book was published in the incomplete form in which it stood at the time.

A large and influential group followed Mr. Newman to Rome, and those members of the party who remained in the Church of England under the leadership of Pusey and Keble appeared to be defeated. Keble lived quietly at Hursley and was henceforth little heard of. Pusey was more before the eyes of men, and before he died in 1881 the party which had appeared in 1845 to be almost annihilated had become a great power in the Church of England. Of the remarkable

development of the principles of the Movement within the Anglican Church in our own time, this is not, however, the place to speak in detail. I only refer to it to remind my readers that the significance of the Oxford Movement is not to be found only in the record of its actual story. It sowed the seed which afterwards bore fruit throughout the whole country, and its final outcome we have yet to see.

PART II

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOVEMENT

What, it will be asked, is the significance and value of the Oxford Movement for our own times? Is it simply the renewed influence of Catholic doctrine and ceremonial in the Church of England? Is the test of its success to be found exclusively in the alternately ebbing and flowing fortunes of the extreme High Church party which has so largely identified itself with matters of ritual detail? Or has it any relation to the deep and urgent question which is weighing on thoughtful minds—the capacity of the Christian faith to survive in the new civilisation which is now succeeding to the old Christendom, in which thought and science were in the hands of Christians? I answer that in the mind of its leader these two aspects were closely united. In reviving the idea of the Church of England as part of the Church Catholic, he was also indicating a philosophy of belief suitable for the times, and giving the less philosophical minds a support for their faith greatly needed in a secularistic civilisation. He did not himself dwell much on the ritual aspect, but it was part of a whole. Catholic principles were essential to the true Christian philosophy, which by its depth and correspondence with what is best in the normal man was capable of holding earnest and thoughtful minds, and enabling them to stand against the flood of new ideas, and hold fast to the Christian creed as still in the

twentieth century the "good news." This philosophy vindicated the functions of tradition and of a visible organisation in preserving religious truth. The Catholic Church was set forth by Newman as being the association in which by mutual aid weak individuals were enabled to withstand the flood of scepticism, not only in virtue of the strength which numbers give in a struggle, but in virtue of the mutually complementary elements in an organised society. The Church as set forth in the essay on the *Development of Christian Doctrine* has the characteristics of a living organism. It protects and represents the Christian idea as the organs of the living body give expression to the thoughts and feelings of its inspiring mind and soul. Christian truth is preserved and defended not by the reasoning of an individual but by the varied powers and perceptions present in a corporate society, and by its very atmosphere. Holier minds bring the insight of sanctity, intellectual minds the insight of philosophy, as contributions to the common store, and help their brethren who are poorer in one or other respect. The wisdom of the Perfect permeates the Church as a whole and supports the faith of its individual members.[1] A man who cannot hold to his faith in a world more and more infected by principles of unfaith, whose mind is poisoned by the atmosphere—secularist and sceptical—of a world which believes effectively only in the present life, may remain true to the unearthly principles of the Gospel if he is sustained by the atmosphere of the Church, its philosophy, its sanctity;—even the beauty of its liturgy having its share in this work. The teaching of its saints and philosophers, and their very authority, help to neutralise the persuasive effect on the imagination of the insidious forces of worldliness and unbelief. Reasons for unfaith

[1] *University Sermons*, p. 300 (edition of 1843).

which would destroy belief were the individual to stand alone, and to rest on his own unaided judgment, find him in fact reinforced both by the thoughts and by the personal weight of the Christian thinkers who stand for him as part of the Church. An attack on Christianity which professes to rest on the new knowledge of the day might pass for the many as being what it professes to be. But it is analysed by the deeper Christian thinkers; and the elements of fact and theory or conjecture which made so formidable a combination are separated, with the result often of discrediting both its scientific character and its strength as an argument. Its force is thus broken for those whose unaided efforts might have been quite unequal to the contest. This mutual help, which common sense demands even among those who profess the most unqualified reliance on individual private judgment, is frankly recognised in the very idea of the Catholic Church; and the acquisitions of its individual members who are exceptionally gifted with spiritual or intellectual insight become a common heritage.

Such a view of the case, while it was most clearly expressed in the leader's later writings—in the *Apologia*, in the *Development of Religious Error*, and in the Dublin lectures—is apparent in some of the Oxford Sermons and Tracts, and in some important chapters in the *Arians of the Fourth Century*, and in the essay on the *Development of Christian Doctrine*. That essay, while it gives the arguments that took him to Rome, also contains the best summary of his religious philosophy—the philosophy which underlies the whole view he took throughout the Oxford Movement as to the practical prospects of Christianity in time to come.

This deeper significance of the Movement is, perhaps, not obvious on the surface, and I propose to say a few words in justification of it.

We have first to consider the various elements involved in Newman's championship of the forgotten Catholic principles and practices in the Church of England of 1833. An inadequate apprehension of elements whose strength lay in their combination has been responsible for very misleading judgments on the whole Movement.

The Oxford Movement has, indeed, from its first beginning up to the present day, encountered the most contemptuous verdicts from its enemies—especially has it been described as unintellectual and devoted to petty objects. Dr. Arnold in its early years described it in the following terms: "A dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony, a technical phraseology—the superstition of a priesthood without its power, the form of episcopal government without its substance, a system imperfect and paralysed, not independent, not sovereign, afraid to cast off the subjection against which it was perpetually murmuring—objects so pitiful, that if gained ever so completely they would make no man the wiser, or the better; they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral, or spiritual." [1] This was written in the 'thirties, and some fifty years later Arnold's close disciple, Arthur Stanley, Dean of Westminster, wrote as follows: "It is curious to look back upon the trivial elements which produced so much excitement. . . . The apostolical succession, the revival of obsolete rubrics, together with one or two patristic tendencies such as the doctrine of reserve and mysticism, were the staple of their teaching." [2] Mark Pattison, in his *Memoirs*, tells us that he felt the society at Littlemore not to be "intellectually equal companions." He adds: "It was a general wonder how Newman himself could be content with such a

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 57.
[2] *Edinburgh Review*, April 1881.

society of men." But even Newman was, he holds, sadly ignorant. "The development of human reason . . . was a sealed book to him." We have recently read similar verdicts in articles by able writers in the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Quarterly Review*, in connection with the published *Life of Cardinal Newman*.

Such criticisms are certainly open to the retort that those who pass them have very insufficiently examined both the Movement and the writings of its leader. The Movement was obviously not exclusively intellectual, yet the criticisms of Mark Pattison and Stanley measure it as though it were. It was a great spiritual revival, which, like Christianity itself, included among its adherents men of all degrees of intellectual culture. The teaching of Christianity claimed to embody a wisdom which was hidden from the learned and those wise according to this world. The Movement, too, was essentially a protest against the claim of the "intellectuals" to a monopoly of truth. It held that life was deeper than thought, thought deeper than its analysis by philosophers. From the days of St. Paul to those of St. Thomas Aquinas, Christianity appealed to philosophical minds without ever identifying itself with any philosophical theory. Philosophers were amongst its adherents and exponents; they paid homage to its depth; they were never its leaders. If St. Paul, St. Thomas of Aquin, and Newman himself (in his measure) were leaders, it was in virtue of something more than their mental gifts. Had the Movement had the academic character required to satisfy Mark Pattison or the modern Edinburgh reviewer, it would entirely have failed to attract the many holy, but unintellectual, men who joined it. Its protest against the arrogant and exclusive claims of the aristocracy of talent would have been obscured or lost.

Arnold's charge of exclusive devotion to ritual is still more obviously untenable than Pattison's. That the Movement had a profoundly spiritual side very distinct from its cultivation of the ritual aspect of religion is plain to any reader of Newman's *Parochial Sermons.* These have so much in common with the sermons of Dr. Arnold himself that the Rugby schoolmaster's remarks would seem to show that he was unfamiliar with the discourses at St. Mary's. The claim of the Movement to include a philosophy of faith is exhibited in occasional passages in the Tracts—notably Tract 85—in Newman's *University Sermons on the Theory of Religious Belief*, and in certain sections of the essay on the *Development of Christian Doctrine.* But these very writings never lose sight of the fact that the deepest truths concerning life and the soul can never be adequately dealt with by a mere intellectual analysis. The "usurpations of reason" is a favourite topic, not in the sense of disparaging the rational nature of man, but in that of deprecating an exaggeration of the reach of formal logic—an exaggeration which, by reaction, is apt to lead to agnosticism. The spiritual and the intellectual elements in Newman's teaching are combined in his Philosophy of Faith.

But such critics as Stanley, Arnold, and Pattison failed also to see that those very elements in Newman's scheme which appeared to them to be either "dry-as-dust" antiquarianism, or an exaggeration, proper to petty minds, of the importance of ritual observances, had a place in his philosophy of the Christian Church. The Christian Church was in Newman's eyes "the concrete representative of things invisible." The historic ritual and liturgy that appealed to the imagination helped her to fulfil this function. For man is affected by imagination as well as by reason both in favour of religious belief

and against it. The Liberals and philosophers pooh-poohed ritual and liturgy as mere "show." The more religious and less philosophical minds among its critics were shocked at making religion a matter of outward forms—the thin end of a wedge which would introduce idolatry. They were disposed completely to separate the permanent truth in religion from ecclesiastical and ritual forms. They even deprecated minute theological formulæ, which they regarded as superstitious accretions. Both the Liberals and the Evangelicals from somewhat different standpoints concurred in saying,

"For forms of faith, let graceless zealots fight."

Newman, though fully alive to the superstitious overgrowths in popular religion, saw that the essence of religion was no more completely separable (in its effect on the human mind) from its manifestations than the *ding an sich* can be known apart from phenomena. To the end, religious truth can only be known inadequately by man, just as the world itself can only be known inadequately by the human senses.[1] Dogmatic formulæ, however provoking in their minuteness, were necessary as symbols of divine truth; the pageant of ritual was desirable to bring home the symbolism of the Church to the imagination. Newman was therefore far more tolerant of superstitions than Arnold. They were excesses arising naturally in weak human nature from symbolic religion; and symbols conveyed spiritual truth rather than obscured it. They must be superseded at best by other symbols conveying it with less admixture of error, but still inadequately. Forms were the indispensable means whereby the truths of religion could act on mankind. The dream of essential religion

[1] See *University Sermons*, p. 331 (edition of 1843).

which the human mind could know, with no admixture of the relative in its knowledge, was Utopian. "Holy Church," Newman wrote, "in her sacraments and her hierarchical appointments, will remain, even to the end of the world, after all but the symbol of those heavenly facts which fill eternity. Her mysteries are but the expression in human language of truths to which the human mind is unequal." So judged, mediæval superstition might witness to weaknesses in human nature and defects in human knowledge without discrediting the value of dogma or of ritual. Each had a necessary place in the earthen vessels which held the divine treasure. So, too, the pages of Church history appealed to the philosopher as well as the antiquarian.

But more than all, the sacramental system, in which symbol and real spiritual efficacy were held to be combined in outward rites, illustrated that deeper view of external religion for which the Tractarians contended. Keble's devotion to the Eucharist, visible in the *Christian Year*, struck a note of deep significance for the future of the Movement.

All this had a close bearing on the practical value of the Oxford Revival. The fundamental objection to Catholicism had ever been based on the idea that it had defaced and obscured the primitive gospel truth. A new loyalty to the Catholic Church was engendered by the view that on the contrary many of her developments, far from superseding the ideals of the Gospel, aimed at protecting them and diffusing them effectively. Dogmatic definitions had been in reality the alternative to corruption by the novel theories they excluded; and the liturgy had aimed at keeping the mysteries of another world before the hearts and imaginations of men. The sacramental system was a direct link with the unseen. The Catholic Church came, under the

influence of Newman's teaching, to stand out before his followers as the articulate voice of the body of Christian believers in the past, the phonograph which preserved their words, the visible symbol which acted as an antidote to the sceptical and irreligious voices of the world.

Those who have read Newman's *Tract* 85 and his Sermons on Faith and Reason cannot but be impressed by the keen sense which he showed, writing seventy years ago, of the coming flood of intellectual unrest and unbelief which we are now witnessing. Newman foresaw the doubt which underlies and so largely paralyses society in our own day.

The Christian often feels himself terribly alone in the modern world with its Babel of voices. All around him is the pressure of a divided public opinion. Many of the ablest minds have decided for doubt or disbelief. The weight of intellectual authority tells heavily against belief. Yet the rationalistic movement which had set in in the 'thirties cut the ground from under the feet of one who rested on the Christian society as a support in his loneliness. The Church was—among the intellectual *élite*—disparaged as the obscurantist enemy, long triumphant in a pre-scientific age of unenlightenment. It was at best the partial corrupter of spiritual truth. All the force of a hostile intellectual atmosphere was brought to bear against faith, and in its favour the believer was allowed only the cheerless pleadings of his own solitary reason. Such was, theoretically, the principle of private judgment which had displaced the old reliance on the Church.

Newman turned the tables. He restored in a reasoned form, and as part of a profound philosophy, the support given by the Church to the faith as well as the virtue of the individual. He exhibited the obvious fallacy underlying the principle of private judgment. He did

not deny the existence of superstitions in the Catholic Church, but in his view of the case they were inevitable accidents attendant on the historical growth of religious belief among corrupt men. Tares grew with the wheat—according to the parable. The Church by her teaching brought home to mankind much more truth than was obscured by the superstitions she had tolerated. She was the witness to, and preserver of, the spiritual truth once imparted by God to man, keeping it alive and operative by the preaching of her ministers, symbolising it by her rites, guarding it by her dogmatic formulæ. These means were indeed imperfect and inadequate. Catholic worship at times degenerated into superstition, but the system was as much superior to the system which banished these means of preserving the truth as imperfect sight which includes many optical illusions is superior to blindness.

So the case stood in the most acute contest which lay between the Church and religious negation. Of pure Evangelical religion—whose representatives also criticised the Tractarian revival—all Newman had to say was that it had no principle of permanence wherewith to withstand the agnostic flood. Its religious spirit was at its best the same as that kept alive by the Church, but the vessel which held that spirit was the religious feeling of the individual believer. Only personal piety kept the Evangelicals from yielding to the unbelief which surrounded them. They had no intellectual basis. And they had discarded the bulwarks of a dogmatic system and a visible organisation which, throughout the history of the Catholic Church, sheltered the weak individual from the assaults of rationalism.

In standing for dogma the Church stood not only for corporate belief as opposed to private judgment, but for an ordered progress resting on tradition. This principle

was, indeed, the foundation of corporate belief. The accumulated wisdom of the past has an authority which cannot be disregarded. Private judgment, that is to say reason which discards established conclusions as premises for its further advance and keeps beginning the process over again in each individual, means a sterile rationalism. Newman called it "Liberalism," and defined it as "the exercise of thought where, from the nature of the case, thought cannot be brought to a successful issue, and therefore is out of place."

Newman saw, as many others have seen, that the whole conduct of life in ordinary secular matters is based on knowledge and principles of action which have been handed down to us, which may be constantly improved, but cannot be dispensed with. It rests, not on the private judgment of the individual, but on the gradually growing and largely inherited wisdom of the race. The presumption was that religious knowledge is no exception to this general rule.

We have already pointed out, in connection with Newman's *History of the Arians*, how Edmund Burke applied to the English Constitution this philosophy of tradition. The value of our political system was tested and made more accurate by additions based on the results of growing experience. Samuel Taylor Coleridge in England, and Vicomte de Bonald in France, applied the same principles to the religious sphere. Newman, as we see from his letters, started on a track similar to Coleridge's, and afterwards learnt that much which he had to say had already been said by the sage of Highgate.

But he combined, as Coleridge did not, the practical and the speculative, and thus drew to the Movement both zealous apostles and deep thinkers. He was not content with a philosophy which helped philoso-

phers: he wanted it to support the many as well. Coleridge had shown that religious tradition was an inheritance from the wisdom and experience of our ancestors, based in the last resort upon the divine wisdom of Christ Himself as the first link in the chain; this was also, as we have already seen, at the root of the philosophy of belief in Newman's mind. But Newman asked the practical question, "How is this philosophy to benefit the average Oxford Fellow or Oxford undergraduate, or the average parishioner of St. Mary's or of Littlemore, who is not a philosopher at all?" And his imagination seized with special vividness on the idea of the visible Catholic Church as combining practical utility with the speculative justification that is to be found in the sum of its wisest thought. Its existence and its teaching were speculatively justified by the principles of Coleridge's philosophy; its practical utility was for the thinkers and non-thinkers alike. It preserved in the weak and vacillating human mind those first principles on which actual belief and its speculative justification alike depended. Even in the intellectual field and for speculative minds the proverb "Evil communications corrupt good manners" holds good. And the antidote to "evil communications" is to be found in the wholesome fellowship of a visible Church.

Moreover, the Church used every practical means whereby a deep philosophy might act upon the many. "A dress and a ritual" may not, in themselves, appeal to the philosopher as valuable; but there is a type of mind for which the influence of spiritual truth is aided by such instruments. And external forms are most despised by those who are least alive to the actual constitution of human nature. Newman's philosophy took account of the varieties of that nature, and the diversities in the means whereby belief is actually produced and

sustained in different types. Once granted that the central doctrines of revelation may be justified by a profound philosophy as embodying a divine wisdom handed down through the ages, the Church as a practical society is justified in gaining adherents to that wisdom by whatever means it finds most effectual. Both the appeal to the imagination through the liturgy and still more the appeal to the moral sense in the pulpit are the Church's natural and effective instruments. The preacher who appeals to the sinfulness of human nature and its deep need of a religion, and gains adherents to Christian doctrine because it satisfies that need—as Newman himself did at St. Mary's—acts like a practical man. If instead he simply treated his hearers to a discourse on the philosophical value of tradition, and the insufficiency of the private judgment of very limited intellects to reach the deepest truths, he would lose many of his converts.

Newman had derived much of his teaching from his studies on the Alexandrian School. In his work on the Arians he concurs with that school in regarding all religions as economical representations of truth. The Christian Church itself was still an economy representing divine truth under forms accessible to the human mind —far more truly than the "dispensation of paganism," but still only as the shadow represents the substance.

When the present writer first read Tennyson's poem entitled "Akbar's Dream," he was forcibly struck by the resemblance, not of course complete, but striking, of the Mogul King's thoughts on this subject to Newman's. The lines which convey them are few and forcible :

> "And what are forms ?
> Fair garments, plain or rich, and fitting close
> Or flying looselier, warm'd by the heart
> Within them, moved but by the living limb,

And cast aside, when old, for newer,—Forms!
The Spiritual in Nature's market-place—
The silent Alphabet-of-heaven-in-man
Made vocal—banners blazoning a Power
That is not seen and rules from far away—
A silken cord let down from Paradise,
When fine Philosophies would fail, to draw
The crowd from wallowing in the mire of earth,
And all the more, when these behold their Lord,
Who shaped the forms, obey them, and himself
Here on this bank in *some* way live the life
Beyond the bridge, and serve that Infinite
Within us, as without, that All-in-all,
And over all, the never-changing One
And ever-changing Many, in praise of Whom
The Christian bell, the cry from off the mosque,
And vaguer voices of Polytheism
Make but one music, harmonising 'Pray.'"

Thus the exclusive claim of the Church by no means implied her sheer antagonism to other religions. On the contrary, in some measure all religions were her allies, and the argument from the religious consciousness, whatever its value, was wholly on her side. No passage is more characteristic of Newman's teaching than the following from the Essay on Development:

"The phenomenon, admitted on all hands, is this: That great portion of what is generally received as Christian truth is, in its rudiments or in its separate parts, to be found in heathen philosophies and religions. For instance, the doctrine of a Trinity is found both in the East and in the West; so is the ceremony of washing; so is the rite of sacrifice. The doctrine of the Divine Word is Platonic; the doctrine of the Incarnation is Indian; of a divine kingdom is Judaic; of angels and demons is Magian; the connection of sin with the

body is Gnostic; celibacy is known to Bonze and Talapoin; a sacerdotal order is Egyptian; the idea of a new birth is Chinese and Eleusinian; belief in sacramental virtue is Pythagorean; and honours to the dead are a polytheism. Such is the general nature of the fact before us; Mr. Milman argues from it, 'These things are in heathenism, therefore they are not Christian;' we, on the contrary, prefer to say, 'These things are in Christianity, therefore they are not heathen.' That is, we prefer to say, and we think that Scripture bears us out in saying, that from the beginning the Moral Governor of the world has scattered the seeds of truth far and wide over its extent; that these have variously taken root, and grown up as in the wilderness, wild plants indeed but living; and hence that, as the inferior animals have tokens of an immaterial principle in them, yet have not souls, so the philosophies and religions of men have their life in certain true ideas, though they are not directly divine. What man is amid the brute creation, such is the Church among the schools of the world; and as Adam gave names to the animals about him, so has the Church from the first looked round upon the earth, noting and visiting the doctrines she found there. She began in Chaldea, and then sojourned among the Canaanites, and went down into Egypt, and thence passed into Arabia, till she rested in her own land. Next she encountered the merchants of Tyre, and the wisdom of the East country, and the luxury of Sheba. Then she was carried away to Babylon, and wandered to the schools of Greece. And wherever she went, in trouble or in triumph, still she was a living spirit, the mind and voice of the Most High; 'sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions;' claiming to herself what they said rightly, correcting their errors, supplying their defects,

completing their beginnings, expanding their surmises, and thus gradually by means of them enlarging the range and refining the sense of her own teaching. So far, then, from her creed being of doubtful credit because it resembles foreign theologies, we even hold that one special way in which Providence has imparted divine knowledge to us has been by enabling her to draw and collect it together out of the world, and, in this sense, as in others, to 'suck the milk of the Gentiles and to suck the breast of kings.'"[1]

The philosophy of Coleridge and of the Oxford Movement was not the first philosophy which appealed as a matter of common sense to the wisdom of the race as something more trustworthy than the reason of the individual. That appeal had been made in the very matter of religion as long ago as the days of Euripides. "We do not reason about the gods," we read in the *Bacchæ;* "the traditions of our ancestors and those which we receive that are coeval with time itself no reasoning can overthrow."

Nor was the duty of the Church to use all manner of influences—preaching, ceremonial, liturgy, popular devotion—in winning men to religion a new idea. It is, so far as practice goes, a familiar idea.

What was peculiar to Newman was (as I have above implied) that he combined the two, and justified the practical by the speculative. And in doing so he brought an effective force to bear in discrediting the rationalism of the hour. The thought of the day regarded embarking on the deep of speculative philosophy and adherence to ecclesiastical tradition as opposite courses. The fashion of the moment was (as I have already said) strongly on the side of intellectual Liberalism.

[1] *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 380.

Reason and reform were popularly regarded as being on one side; the blind force of custom, the pressure of Church authority, the power of place and privilege, on the other. In the Mills and Benthams this general view underlay their religious agnosticism. It led more religious minds, at all events, to divorce religion from such discredited accompaniments as minute dogma, ritual, and an Established Church. The disestablishment of the Church was advocated with genuine zeal, not only by opponents of Christianity like Mill and Bentham, but by Christians themselves, as a truly religious step, emancipating religion from State fetters, purifying it from formalism, and giving religious equality to all whose beliefs were equally sincere. The school of Newman made a vigorous effort to destroy this contrast between the cause of Reason and the cause of the Church—to show that, in spite of abuses and exaggerations, Church authority and the Church system embodied a far deeper philosophy of religion and of life than individualism and private judgment. So successful was the effort in appealing to the more candid thinkers, even among hostile philosophers, that we find John Stuart Mill himself writing to Mr. Bain: "I always hailed Puseyism, and prophesied that thought would sympathise with thought." Newman thus gave to the Church the fresh life and influence which came of restored confidence in what had seemed in 1833 almost a lost cause. A fresh access, both of thought and of zeal, within the Established Church dates from the rise of the Oxford Movement.

The abuses of Conservatism, indeed, were not to be denied. To them was largely due the depth to which the influence of the Church had sunk. The war between Newmanism and the Heads of Houses at Oxford witnessed to the profound contrast between the Oxford

school and the inert, lethargic Conservatism of the old "high and dry" divines. It was Newman's great and, in the circumstances, difficult achievement to bring home to the rising generation the philosophical and practical value of a Church—which had become discredited by the apathy and red-tapism of its representatives—as giving moral support among weak men to the cause of religion, when without such support they might be unequal to resisting its brilliant assailants.

Six hundred years ago St. Thomas Aquinas had noted the same thing as Newman. He urged that, even in those fundamental matters in which reason can reach the truth—such as the existence of God—it is practically necessary that we should have them taught us by the Church as necessary beliefs, and he gives the following reason:

"In human investigation," he writes, "there is generally a mixture of falsehood on account of the weakness of our intellect in judging . . . and therefore, if the intellect were left to itself, many would remain in doubt concerning those things which are most truly proved, from ignorance of the force of the proof, especially when they see that different opinions are maintained by various persons, all of whom have a reputation for wisdom."[1]

Newman, as we all know, came in the end to identify "the Church" with the Catholic Church in communion with the Apostolic See. But his philosophy in its main outlines applied also to his earlier conception of it, as the *ensemble* of Churches claiming the Apostolic succession, represented in England by the National Church. The Church of England had its rites and its theology, and its ministers who preached God, and Christ, and

[1] *Summa Contra Gentiles*, c. iv.

future retribution. It was in its measure the "concrete representative of things invisible." His general line of thought fully allowed for a considerable admixture of imperfection and error in the actually existing Church—whether in his earlier or in his later use of the word "Church." Indeed, that she witnessed to deep truths by symbols which were inadequate to the reality was a part of his theory. Thus the prevalence of Protestantism in the Church of England did not (he held) prevent its fulfilling, more or less effectively, its position as a witness to Christian truth.

Newman's conception of a living and developing Christian society took the sting out of cavilling objections to many matters of detail. If his philosophy exalted dogma as from God and unchangeable, it also recognised that the human ideas used in its explanation were necessarily affected by the development of our knowledge. That Christ ascended to heaven was an unchangeable, divine dogma ; that He went up from a stationary earth into the blue vault above, was a human cxplanation that might change with advancing science. Objections to theological dogma might prove in this or that case to be only objections to its human explanations. Thus crucial issues could sometimes be adjourned *sine die*, until knowledge was mature enough for their solution. But meanwhile the Church remained an abiding representation of the unchangcable divine truth, reminding the world of the reality of that truth and of its bearing on human life.

Thus, while the thinkers and men of science were at liberty to help the theologians to recognise modifications in theological statement which the growth of experience and knowledge made necessary, these operations in no way suspended the work and influence of the Church itself in teaching the many. It remained a living

organism while it was modified by assimilation and excretion. Its message was ever substantially the same —the variations hardly affected its popular teaching. The clergyman in his pulpit had the same essential message to preach in spite of the disputes in the theological schools.

For a long time Newman's practical and his more speculative teaching were alike accepted by members of both sections of the Oxford party—by those who remained faithful to the Church of England, and those who went to Rome.

But eventually the streams perforce parted. Newman came to hold that the Church, as "the concrete representative of things invisible," was to be found in the great communion which had ever been organically one, and had ever been tenaciously and rigidly conservative in its traditions. He still held that the Anglican theory had much cogency and that the Church of England was a "serviceable breakwater against errors more fundamental than its own." But, on the whole, the "urgency of visible facts" made its claim to be part of the Catholic Church untenable. Such thinkers as R. W. Church and J. B. Mozley continued to uphold his philosophical principles in the Church of England. And the practical zeal which had marked the movement from the first had many exponents—learned men like Pusey and Liddon, and a large school of self-denying and devoted clergymen. Many of these had little thought of the problems of faith and unfaith. Many devoted a degree of attention to ritual matters which confirmed the successors of Arnold in maintaining their master's estimate.

Into the controversies between Rome and the Church of England this is not the place to enter. The spread of High Church opinions in the 'eighties and 'nineties of

the last century was extraordinary. But it is not rash to say that if the High Church Movement is to make the Church of England a power against the incoming flood of religious scepticism with those who are infected with the doubts of the age, it can only be by in some degree realising or illustrating Newman's principles in respect of the deeper philosophy, speculative and practical, which belongs to the idea of the Church Catholic. A merely ritual system, at variance with tendencies in the Established Church of England which are still very strong, and identified with a measure of obscurantism, is not likely to give the National Church the strength to withstand a destructive philosophy of life with success. Such a system accords neither with the most powerful nor with the most intelligent elements in that Church. Moreover, the extreme High Church party may plausibly be represented as rather hostile than helpful to actual living ecclesiastical authority in the Church of England. Rome can often act with great effect by sheer resistance in virtue of the union and discipline of her large forces under acknowledged authority. Uniform discipline is far less effective in a party of free lances in the Established Church. No human power can effectively shut out the ascertained results of thought and criticism, but the slow-moving forces of Rome are far more effective in periods of uncompromising protest and resistance against the mixed movement of contemporary thought, which contains both truth and falsehood, than a single party in the Church of England can be. The apostolic zeal of the party can no more suffice to give it a secure basis if belief is imperilled than the piety of the Evangelicals can enable them to stand secure without any theoretic justification. Thus the success of the High Church Movement as a force to be reckoned with is largely

dependent on its intelligent combination of conservative and assimilative action; on its assimilating the work of historical critics like Hort, Lightfoot, and Westcott, and of temperate and far-seeing apologists like Mozley and Church; and, in our own day, Dr. Neville Figgis and Professor Sanday. Here the prospect seems to vary from year to year, and the present writer is not in a position to hazard a confident opinion as to the future. It is not that zeal may not be a very potent force quite apart from a deep philosophy. But what tends to identifying a religious party in the public eye with untenable positions will lessen its influence on those who are specially affected by the Zeitgeist with its tendency to religious negation, and it is these persons who will be the protagonists in the crucial battle of the future.

This brings us to the most important issue of contemporary Christian thought. Newman's great work on Development is too often regarded merely as a work of controversy on behalf of the Church of Rome. This is a very false estimate of the extent of its practical value. Whatever view we may take of its practical conclusion, the book contains (as I have already said) the fullest analysis of the deeper principles of the Oxford Movement. Newman expressly applied this very theory of Development to Anglican theology as well as to Catholic theology. To apply the essay on Development to present conditions it is necessary to read Newman's later essay on *Christianity and Scientific Investigation.* Taken in combination these two essays represent the principle on which the defenders of Christianity must work in future in order to maintain its influence. We live at present amid an influx of new knowledge. It is urged on every side that Christian theologians must, if they would hold their own among

the educated classes, assimilate the discoveries of the historical and critical sciences as they have already largely assimilated those of the physical. This is true, but there is one danger to which many who so speak are insufficiently alive. The Christian Church has represented in the past the onward movement of great spiritual ideals and a spiritual faith, the detailed expression and application of which has inevitably been affected by many of the defects of the unscientific ages through which it has passed. Undoubtedly what an unscientific age contributed to the setting of the Faith, a scientific age has a good claim to rectify. But the modern so-called scientific movement which comes upon us challenging acceptance of its conclusions as the alternative to obscurantism is in reality a very mixed movement. Its science has not been pure science of the impersonal and objective character which led to the discovery of the law of gravitation. Careful historical and biblical criticism has gone hand in hand with speculations deeply marked by the pre-existing ideals of its promoters. And these have had a large share in their conclusions. If Christians simply surrender to the challenge of the modern critics the result may be not that Christianity will assimilate new knowledge and rectify the accretions of ages of ignorance, but that its distinctive character will be swept away, that it will accept along with true discoveries not only every conjecture advanced confidently in the name of science, but false philosophies and ethical principles destructive of its very essence. For many of these false principles are just those under which the Rome of Augustus groaned and from which it was delivered by the unearthly ideal of the Gospels. It was against this danger above all things that Newman provided both in his earlier essay and in his later. Resistance to secularist ideals and to a

naturalistic philosophy is as necessary to the welfare of the Christian Church as the frank recognition of the new knowledge. In the essay on Development he showed how in the much slower movement of theological speculation during the first six centuries of our era there was constantly an alternation in the Church between uncompromising opposition to alien movements of thought and assimilation of those elements in them which were true and beneficial. The opposition was necessary because new systems came more or less in the form of rival systems. Their genius was hostile to Christianity, although they might incidentally contain truths of value. They had to be broken as systems before the truths they contained could be assimilated. Such was the lesson of history, and this Newman held must be the method of action in the Christian Church in the times that are to come. So far as the early centuries are concerned he has described this mode of action in a memorable passage :

"Two opinions encounter ; each may be abstractedly true ; or again, each may be a subtle, comprehensive doctrine, vigorous, elastic, expansive, various ; one is held as a matter of indifference, the other as a matter of life and death ; one is held by the intellect only, the other also by the heart ; it is plain which of the two must succumb to the other. Such was the conflict of Christianity with the old-established Paganism, which was almost dead before Christianity appeared ; with the Oriental Mysteries, flitting wildly to and fro like spectres ; with the Gnostics who made knowledge all in all, despised the many, and called Catholics mere children of the Truth ; with the Neoplatonists, men of literature, pedants, visionaries, or courtiers ; with the Manichees, who professed to seek Truth by Reason, not

by Faith; with the fluctuating teachers of the school of Antioch, the time-serving Eusebians, and the reckless versatile Arians; with the fanatic Montanists and harsh Novatians, who shrank from the Catholic doctrine without power to propagate their own. These sects had no stay or consistency, yet they contained elements of truth amid their error, and had Christianity been as they, it might have resolved into them; but it had that hold of the truth which gave its teaching a gravity, a directness, a consistency, a sternness, and a force to which its rivals for the most part were strangers. Hence, in the collision, it broke in pieces its antagonists and divided the spoils. This was but another form of the spirit that made martyrs. Dogmatism was in teaching what confession was in action. . . . 'No one,' says St. Justin, 'has so believed Socrates as to die for the doctrine which he taught.' . . . Thus Christianity grew in its proportions, gaining aliment and medicine from all that it came near, yet preserving its original type from its perception and its love of what had been revealed once for all and was no private imagination." [1]

If I mistake not we have in this passage the key to the present situation in the Anglican communion and in the Catholic Church alike. The process of assimilation is actually at work in both communions. But Newman clearly saw that corruption of the original type might arise from such assimilation unless Christians were firm and even obstinate as well as teachable. M. Loisy and Father Tyrrell both owed much to Newman's thought—the former especially understood some of its deeper lines as few have done. But both men in holding to some lines of his philosophy lost sight of the functions of *intransigeance* in the onward

[1] Essay on the *Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 358.

movement of the Church—a point essential to Newman's analysis of its nature. The importance of the assimilative process they recognised, but the necessity for self-protective resistance and for the most extreme caution lest the primitive faith be defaced or even superseded by alien principles introduced as being professedly the results of scientific achievement, have not been adequately appreciated by either of them. In the Church of England we have, in the school of thought described in Mrs. Ward's *Richard Meynell*, a yet stronger instance of this defect. The intemperate advocates of "progress" in the Church fail to appreciate the necessity of self-defence in a living system in presence of enemies or free lances who masquerade in the attractive garb of neutral scientists and thus gain entrance to the citadel to its destruction.

It is probably owing to the immense strides of physical science that it has become fashionable to talk of "scientific" history and "scientific" criticism as though the branches of study could take the objective character of physical science and impose their conclusions as ascertained facts. In point of fact, while much has been done enabling the student to appreciate more exactly the value and significance of documents, and while many facts of history are far more critically understood than of old, the estimate of probabilities in historical conjecture constantly introduces elements liable to no objective test. And these again and again determine the conclusions which able historians and critics put forth with confidence. Hence it is hardly ever safe to accept such conclusions without examining carefully step by step the process by which they have been reached. New discoveries of fact must, of course, be accepted, but the use that is made of them is often coloured by the antecedent views of the critic, by his estimate of human

nature or of a particular character (in which specialists do not necessarily excel), or by his views of antecedent probability, or by his philosophy. Many of his conclusions are question-begging, for the anti-Christian conclusion arises from the previous introduction into the premisses of an anti-Christian assumption. If in place of a jealous guarding of Christian presumptions we have among Christian theologians an enthusiastic optimism as to the probability of any new theory which comes in the company of wide learning and is set forth with a parade of the critical method, we are likely to lose from the methodical statement of Christianity not what the new learning disproves, but what learned men who are indifferent or hostile to Christianity deny in virtue really of their initial incredulity. Again, like other nostrums, the new criticism is apt greatly to exaggerate its own reach and powers. It sometimes recalls the advertisements of quack doctors. Newman's searching and critical eye—cold and critical in such matters in spite of his capacity for enthusiasm—was keenly alive to these exaggerations; and the danger-signal he raised may well give us pause. Other ages have had their intellectual fads and have been credulous as to the efficacy of their new inventions. In the thirteenth century the use of the syllogism was developed with a persistence and a skill unknown before, and enthusiasts came to have such passionate faith in its efficacy that they expected it to discover the secrets of nature. We now see things very differently. We see the grave defects and limitations of mind introduced by an exclusively scholastic training although we are not disposed to question the logical power of St. Thomas or Scotus, or the value of their reasoning in certain limits. May not our own successors see an equally irrational tendency to exaggeration among the most

sanguine believers in the value of conclusions confidently put forth by modern German critics in history and Biblical exegesis? Newman's own suspicion was undoubtedly in the direction of an affirmative answer to this question.

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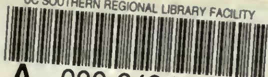
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