PROVOCATIVES OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND ITS NEXUS WITH ENGLISH LITERARY ROMANTICISM

DISSEMINATION

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Introduction

The Religious Mind

The religious mind has ever been a startling paradox to the person whose lack of sympathy with it has made him consider the phenomenon externally. Unless one has really suffered from the certitude of knowledge of good and evil he is unqualified to discuss the subtle branchings of belief, and to dwell analytically upon what he considers a twisting of the bonds of true logic. The psychology of William James did not enable him to view conversion more than superficially, nor can Freudianism, although more probing, explain the workings of a mind when it ignores religious values in interpreting the lives of men whose entire conduct is regulated by religious motives. It is not that these psychologists are unfitted for their work, nor that they are not eminently capable in their lines; their sin lies in the fact that they have never succeeded in establishing that secret current of comprehension between their subjects and themselves which is necessary for authentic dissection.

There are two manners of approaching the idea of God. One, initiated by the reformers, involves the right of the private way and judgment; the other is the approach to him through tradition. The first is responsible for the growth
of the thousand sects in the world, and for the continued birth of new ones. It has succeeded in weakening the stem of religion and creating great abuses. If every man on the street can set himself up as a direct associate of God, there will exist no necessity for any authority to rule upon and propagate the truth of religion. If in his dreams he believes that he is visited with vision, if his imagination suddenly furnishes him with fragments of sentences, if his subconscious leads him to experience certain impulses which he thinks come from God, then he finds a Church hindersome to his path. He can pretend that his tablets of gold discovered near the Great Salt Lake have been divinely dictated, or he can foolishly believe that in a spiritualistic séance run by illiterate women he finds the secrets of the world. In short, he can advance any of his personal opinions as a divinely founded religion, and there is no one among his similarly minded followers who will doubt the integrity of the revelation, nor contest any of his tenets. The assumption that men have sometimes, however, become true mystics with more proof of their union with the divine current than their mere unsubstantiated assertion, establishes a possibility of individual communion with God, and may be allowed as a connecting link between the emotionalism of private opinion and the authority of an earthly church which is given the power to pronounce upon the authenticity of the mystical experience.
The other approach to the idea of God is through tradition, and it is upon this stream that the ships of the Oxford Movement sailed. It is founded upon the inescapable premise that one accepts, completely, the doctrines of revealed religion contained in the Bible, and especially, perhaps, in the New Testament. If one believes that Christ really told Peter he was the rock, and upon the rock Christ would build His church, which would exist to the end of the world and not be prevailed against by hell, then the rest, backed by history, comes naturally, and the power of the priesthood, handed on from bishop to bishop, remains alive to the present day.

But why, it may be asked, will a man accept this sunburst of tradition; how can he, and what influences him to follow this way to God? There may be many things in his personality which make it possible for him. Circumstances of a disturbed and broken life may cause him to long for the introduction of a firm anchorage in his existence; disgust with mismanagement, collision with superiors may unconsciously lead him to desire an infallible hierarchy to govern his affairs. Illness may be a potent factor; confusion, argument and unhappiness may urge him to seek stability. Perhaps as with John Keble, his early family life was marked with unwavering obedience to a father's commands. The hate of heresy, insubordination, resistance to things established, claims of independence, disloyalty, innovation and a criti-
cal, censorious spirit, which Newman claimed was all instinctive with Keble (1), might have been woven by certain hidden threads of event in Keble’s life; Froude’s hatred for the reformers may have arisen similarly. There must be at least some predilection towards authority in a man’s personality to enable him to follow the path of tradition.

The greatest prodigy of the religious mind, however, and the one most incomprehensible to those who survey its reactions from an external point, is undoubtedly the seeming abasement of reason before every paradox of faith. Charles Kingsley created one of his most pointed barbs when he attacked Newman with the accusation. “He is most anxious,” he wrote, “to show his credulity. He has worked his own mind, it would seem, into that morbid state, in which nonsense is the only food for which it hungers; like the sephists of old, he had used reason to destroy reason. I had thought that, like them, he had preserved his own reason, in order to be able to destroy that of others. But I was unjust to him, as he says. While he tried to destroy others’ reason, he was at least fair enough to destroy his own.”(2)

Indeed, it would appear from his succeeding life that Newman had used reason to destroy reason. He spent his time in arguing for the paradoxes of his faith, explaining and substantiating miracles, proving the power of saints, attempting to create a universal acceptance of supernaturalism. For him, and for the later members of the Movement, there was no “withering of miracle before the breath of the zeitgeist.” Their thirst for the supernatural was diabetic.
(3). There was nothing more improbable for them in the Joshua-sun episode than that an earthly official should suspend a law during the existence of a state of alarm. The union of mental strength with subservience, the submission of the will and reason, is not strange in these men, for one finds the explanation hidden in this sentence: "Now it need not be denied that those who are external to the Church must begin with private judgment; they use it in order ultimately to supersede it; as a man out of doors uses a lamp in a dark night, and puts it out when he gets home."(4)

Here was their defense, and herein lies much of the secret of the religious mind as it was manifested in the Oxford Movement. These men began with the reformation-alleged right of everyone to judge for himself. If their reason led them to the doors of the ancient church, and if they were honest men, they entered, after laying aside that quality for which they would have no more use. When they submitted to the Church they bound themselves to defend her dogmas, and there was nothing illogical in this procedure which could have been arrested at any point where they found themselves unable or unwilling to believe. It was—and is—the right of every man to judge for himself, not of the revelation of the Son to man, but of the course his life will take.

Once caught up in the certainty of the presence of good and evil, once convinced of the existence of truth
somewhere in the world, nothing will seem unusual for them. The practice of living to please God, who demands through the Christian code the abrogation of sensuous delight, comfort and luxury, allows the performance in any degree of the rigours and abstinences which the Church may suggest. "And we may rest assured," murmured Newman from the pulpit of St. Mary's, "that unless we chasten ourselves God will chasten us." (5) Renunciations become the "weapons of saints", and every hour spent uneasily is a golden balm to the wounds of God.

The traditionally religious mind, when thoroughly comprehended, is no longer a trap of insanities, but one which works with a clear and mortal logic. Eccentricities inexplicable to the rationalist are grounded upon, and are intelligent applications of firmly held principles. Ironically, the one held weak becomes strong, with reason on his side. The Oxford Movement moved slowly, ponderously, upon cogs that were polished bright, and hard as steel. Only the uninformed and bigoted persist in viewing its component mentalities as weak and superstitious instruments. The Oxford Movement was a battle in logic, an argument fought with most unbending swords.
Notes to Introduction

1---Apolo gia, Note A; on Liberalism, p. 495; ref ed.

2---Ibid, p. 43. Quoted from Kingsley's pamphlet: What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?

3---H. L. Stewart, A Century of Anglo-Catholicism, p. 65

4---Newman, Loss and Gain, p. 203

5---Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons, VII, 110. See also the section below on Asceticism.
Part I

English Literary Romanticism

and the

Oxford Movement
There are too many kinds of romanticism to permit the forming of an inflexible definition of its component emotions; it may be religious or sensual, libertine or sacerdotal, personal or objective, puerile or adult, or combinations of any or all of these. It need not confine itself to material things, but may grow greatly in the imponderable world of ideas, of situation, and even of relationships.

It has come generally, however, to fall into three types, none of which does not overlap another, but which are usually distinguished by applying to them the names of those people whose writings popularized the qualities: Byron, Wordsworth, and Scott, the first with his wild-eyed extravagant melancholia, the second with his quiet pantheism and mystical Weltanschauung, and the third with his stock of theatrical effects, his superb pageantry of the middle age. All of these types of romanticism, together with their related branches, are vocal in the Oxford Movement. Byron, with his romantic delusions of persecution and his view of the world as unsympathetic and incomprehending, finds elaborate echo in Pusey and Newman; the Wordsworthian pantheism, symbolism in nature, feeling for places and restraint, are
revealed in Keble and Newman; Scott's medievalism and love for the supernatural are amply expressed in the personality of Froude, and to a lesser extent in those of Keble and Newman.

In religious romanticism there appear, however, certain other things, which, though seeming removed from romanticism are but slightly altered manifestations of the impulse. Of these religious ritual and liturgy is one; for these men, although not being the vitalizing element behind religion, ceremonial was necessary to its best presentation because of its emotional and romantic appeal. Asceticism and penance, as frequently shown in the course of these pages, are as romantic as the sad suffering a lover endures for his lady; denial replaces indulgence, becoming as sensationally expressive as sensual laxity; remorse supplants melancholy. Chastity, in religious romanticism, is more intoxicating than profligacy and promiscuity; flagellation and the use of the discipline becomes more longed for than the satisfaction of lust. Mysticism, with its intense love of God, is the substitute for secular lubricity.

Other things are common to both religious and general romanticism: the love of all things old, of tradition and antiquity; the associative instinct; the feeling for objects; the desire for annihilation, in religious fields timidly expressed; the idealization of masculine friendships, and the interest in architecture. Likewise, the whole train of activity characterized by the term 'Gothic' runs equally well
through both camps, secular and sacred; in the former it excites the building of domestic Gothic manors; in the latter, the construction of churches, and through its literature it perhaps incites the desire for monasticism as revealed in the Oxford Movement.

How these things appeared in the Oxford Movement, and floodlighted the backdrops of the Tractarian drama, is a question vital to the comprehension of the fons of that singular flower of faith which grew out of the dung of the 1830s.

Admittedly there is small reason for the historian of romanticism to lance the soil of the Oxford Movement expecting to find its roots wrapped around more than a meagre treasure. There is very little about the beginnings of the movement which can be called romantic or aesthetic or sentimental, although as it progressed it began to exude the small sweet drops of romanticism, and even inwardly to alter in a fashion that permitted it to be recognized, in the religious world, of that renascence of the human spirit which is termed the romantic revival. Newman on the surface seemed quite indifferent to the subtle spells of the arts of the middle age, and to an appreciation of all that pageantry of wild nature which had come into favor with Byron. At least, Aubrey de Vere, urging Newman to accompany him upon an expedition among the Wicklow mountains, reports that he was smilingly answered that life was full of work more important than the
enjoyment of mountains and lakes; he complains that this great theologian, within a few miles of Glendalough Lake and its great monastic ruin (of which Wordsworth curiously made no mention in *Tintern Abbey*), would not take the time to visit it. *(1)* In *Loss and Gain* there is unending sport made of the ritualistic group in the university who were attracted principally by the external beauty of worship. Newman from the age of fifteen had considered dogma as the fundamental principle of his religion; religion as a mere sentiment, a swooning over candelabrum and thurible, was a dream and a mockery.* *(2)* Naturally then he satirizes a solemn young bore, Bateman, who took a great interest in "candlesticks, ciboria, faldstools, lecterns, ante-pendiums, piscinas, rood-lects and sedilia," *(4)* who would tolerate no music but Gregorian, no architecture save Gothic *(5)*, who thought it would be "quite sweet to hear the vesper-bell tolling over the sullen moor every evening," who planned to restore a chapel in purest XIV century style, buying land about it for a cemetery wherein would be medieval monuments and sculpture, and who wore a long cassock which showed most laughably under the tails of his coat. *(6)* Another of the company, a young aesthete called White, declared there was no poetry or beauty
save in the Catholic Church. "You would see what I mean," he said, "if you went to a foreign cathedral... The celebrant, deacon and sub-deacon, acolyte with lights, the incense and the chanting all combine to one end, an act of worship."(7) Newman found ceremonial important to religion, but not to the exclusion of what he considered the major question: its truth. His own tastes were in all things ascetic; the 'Oriel tea-pot' which had replaced the use of wine in the common-room was a joke in all of the Oxford colleges. He veered from all discussions of liturgy and ritual. His poems have nothing in them of the romantic either in temper or style; they are devotional purely. It was not so much the pomp and color of Catholicism that impressed him as it was the solid and imposing unity, authority and hierarchy of the Church of Rome, and he romanticized this idea with as great gusto as his friends romanticized the ancient arts and rituals. Newman, with his emotional life broken into fragments over the successive friendships he formed with Hurrell Froude, Gennaro, John Bowden, Ambrose St. John (within whose grave he asked to be buried) and others, would naturally seek a stability in his intellectual life. Another source of conflict in his personality is expressed in Charles Reiding's words to his sister: "I am sure that, did I give my heart to any creature, I should be withdrawing it from God."(8) But Newman could not help giving his heart in his friendships, and the realization that he lavished upon men an affection which was wholly the due of the
deity made him just as miserable as it did Saint Augustine.

Even later in the course of the movement, when a medievalizing tendency had set in, it was the medieval concept of holiness, the ideal of monasticism, which proved the candle to his moth.

His sensitivity, however, to all this body of beauty was quivering and alive. He saw poetry in the very being of the Church, and hence he praised, but solely from an ecclesiastical point of view, the function performed by the arts in their primitive state, the pointed Gothic, the simple Gregorian.*

* Vide The Idea of a University, page 82, quoted later on page 
. Vide also in Parochial and Plain Sermons, II, 371: "...If then we allow our feelings to be excited without acting on them, we do mischief to the moral system within us... I might speak of that entire religious system (miscalled religious) which makes Christian faith consist...in the luxury of excited religious feeling." Vide also the sermon on The Gospel Palaces, ibid, VI, 279: "...and most unhappy [they], who, while they have eyes to admire, admire them (i.e. cathedrals) only for their beauty's sake, and the skill they exhibit; who regard them as works of art, not fruits of grace; bow down before their material forms...; count their stones and measure their spaces, but discern in them no tokens of the invisible, no canons of truth, no lessons of wisdom, to guide them heavenwards...!"

It would seem that Newman had only scorn for the sensuous delights of worship, or considered them of secondary importance and as more or less necessary adjuncts to the centerpoint of religion. But it is comparatively easy to show that in the secret corners of his heart, despite his emphatic denials, he was thoroughly under the sway of the romantic tide. He could not escape it any more than could a bird the air. He could deny it and all of its branchings, and he did, because he thought
he saw weakness and shallowness in the admission of its lure. He had known too many Batemans and Whites, too many young Byrons among his androgynous coterie. The seven-branched candlestick, the censer and the font were to him but slightly altered expressions of the romantic mood inspired by grand vistas of sombre forests, deep chasms, and quiet lakes; necessary, of course, to religion, but not the animative element behind it. To admit oneself attracted by externalities alone was to give evidence of a flabby mind and a sick soul. Newman carefully tried to disguise, therefore, all of his instincts and impulses which savored of this cursed ill, but sometimes he was forgetful, and said or wrote things which when collected show him as the secret romanticist.

It has long been admitted that Charles Reding, the protagonist of Loss and Gain, is an autobiographical portrait of Newman himself, his troubles and cares, although the Cardinal denied this. The two lives coincide in most particulars, and the novel becomes a fictionized Apologia. And when Charles Reding says (9), "Wherever I go, whomever I talk with, I feel him to be another sort of person from what I am... The words of the Psalm 'I am a stranger upon earth' describe what I feel. No one thinks or feels like me"---when he says this, it is simple enough to run down the catalogue of the symptoms of the romantic agony, pause before the romantic delusion of an unsympathetic, non-understanding world, and say that this is one of Newman's complaints. Or again:
"Charles sighed. 'Come, Mary,' he said, 'give us some music, now the urn has gone away. Play me that beautiful air of Beethoven, the one I call 'The Voice of the Dead'. 'Oh, Charles, you do give such melancholy names to things!' cried Mary. 'The other day,' said Eliza, 'we had a most beautiful scent wafted across the road as we were walking, and he called it 'The Ghost of the Past'; and he says that the sound of the Bolian harp is 'remorseful'."

Charles says, after his mother and sister have admired the gold and russet of the autumn, that it makes him melancholy and saddens him. Reproached, he explains, "It is because I can't separate the look of things from what it portends; that rich variety is but the token of disease and death,"

and in explaining, binds himself even closer to the romantics who saw through the dark glass of nature into the events which nature symbolized.

There were few enough romantic events in Newman's earnest pale life, at least few enough which could be set down in black and white, but the Mediterranean interlude was one upon which he could throw himself without inhibition, and loosen the flood of his veiled romantic longing. Moreover, it was in the company of his beloved Hurrell that he set forth!

True, Hurrell's father was along, but that made small difference. The Mediterranean, the Isles of Greece! Within a short time, however, he had conquered his first excitement and rationalized, with characteristic Newmanism, his desires. Was he not in danger of becoming a trifle narrow-minded, hedged in by the towers of Oxford? Travel was the thing to offset
this. The trip would be good for his mind and body. It would give him the opportunity to woe his muse; in fact, it was the raison d'être of that series of poems published in the British Magazine and later known as the Lyra Apostolica. He and Hurrell would write travel verse. And so they were off, with everything new and exciting and strange, and on the fourth day out Newman saw for the first time a foreign shore, Cape Ortegal on the Spanish coast, "magnificent in its outline", three ranges of mountains becoming gradually marked out, "in some places very precipitous."(12) He was attracted by the thrilling new sights, by the electric phenomenon of fire at "the edge of the water, where it broke by the pier... Wherever the oar went it was a sheet of soft liquid flame, sparkling besides, wherever the splashes fell. It was as if the under surface of the water was fire, and the oar turned it up."(13) The water was "so gentleman-like in colour; and then so deep and solemn, and... so strong, and then the contrast between the white and the indigo..." while later the sea "brightened to a glowing purple, inclined to lilac."(14) Hurrell reacted similarly to the scene; the next day (December 12, 1832) he wrote home to John Keble: "All day yesterday the wind was fresh from the east, and the sea very wild and grand, of a deep black blue covered with breakers... There is no tint of green in it today; it has been a pale blue, like a beautiful lake; yesterday it was a black purple."(15)

What a trip this was for two young men, both of them unwittingly romantic! Froude realized especially his leaning;
in his Journal (16) he often refers to his "sawney" feelings, using the colloquialism of the time to signify the foolish sentimentality which he perceived in himself. (17) Newman's sentimentalism was more carefully guarded than that of his companion, but it was continually springing forth whenever his iron censor for a moment relaxed. He enjoyed the wild romantic scenery, the bright-faced little monks [seminarists] he saw in Rome, the temple at Egesta, and the "superb Cyprus wine" served to him. He revelled in the opportunity given him of unleashing his long-repressed artistry in the eloquent and meticulous descriptions of the grandeur of earth, air and sea which he sent back to his mother, sister and friends.

Gothic-wise, he heard the steps of supernatural visitants while in quarantine near Malta. (18) Curiously enough, at the sight of all these wonders, it was not biblical associations which first occurred to his mind, but classical. The biblical came as a sort of pious afterthought, always composed in a tone that sounds half-guilty, as though he were only too conscious of his slightly unchristian defection. "At the base of the cliff the waves are dashed, the foam rising like Venus from the sea." (19) "We neared Cape Bon and saw the track to Carthage... Nothing I had seen touched me so much as this. I thought of the Phoenicians, Tyre, of the Punic Wars, of Cyprian, and the glorious churches now annihilated." (20) Passing the mountains, he cried, "And to think that here were Brasidas, Phormio, Demosthenes, Cimon and the rest!" (21) At Malta he had with him Homer's Odyssey, Virgil and Thucydides,
"and seemed transported back to their times, for everything looks now just as it did then. Mountains cannot change..."(22) In Rome, viewing the various creations of the Greek genius, he remarked: "The Apollo is quite unlike his casts. I never was moved by them at all, but at the first sight of the real statue I was subdued at once."(23) In Naples he visited Virgil's tomb (24); at Syracuse he saw the fountain of Arethusa, "and rowed up the Anapus to gather the papyrus and to see the remains of the Temple of Minerva, which are indeed magnificent, and looked at the remaining columns of Jupiter Olympus. I have been conning over Thucydides...and am at home with the whole place; only I have not seen the theatre and amphitheatre, which, being Roman, I care little for."(25) His first two days on the Mediterranean inspired all sorts of strange reflections when he considered how the coasts of that sea had been "the seat and scene of the most celebrated empires and events which were in history... Here the Romans and Carthaginians fought; here the Phoenicians traded; here Jonah was in the storm; here St. Paul was shipwrecked; here the great Athanasius voyaged to Rome."(26) The classical is ever paramount with Newman, especially the Greek classical world, and under excitement his enthusiasm will flame forth, until he recalls the divine hand upon his life. Here, in a modified fashion, are the very sentiments which swept the soul of the young Childe Harold as he stood behind the figurehead of his wind-whipped craft. But Newman realized the danger which lurked behind the unlimited enjoyment of all these sights and sounds:
the fine wine, the food, the sea, the dark handsome natives, the color of life—everything from the simplest sensations to the most complex. The violent magic of these things opened the dread false gate to pantheism. He had not more than left Gibraltar when he wrote to his mother half-fearfully, wishing he were back at home in the midst of those enjoyments and pleasures which came to him in the course of ordinary duty, not distracted by the bright remnants of paganism. "For what are all these strange sights and vanities," he queried, "attended...with anxious watchfulness lest the heart be corrupted by them..." (27) Newman's nonage had been passed in the study of the classical languages and literature of Greece and Rome. The spells now cast over him arose no doubt from the imaginations and associations of his imagination in childhood. But, as Geoffrey Faber (28) pointed out, there might have been a deeper and a subtler attraction. The old pagan culture accepted and glorified a life of the senses, and showed how splendid and beautiful such an existence could be. These were thoughts not easy to reconcile with perfect loyalty to the Christian dispensation. Newman suppressed them, and pretended that his yearning towards heathen scenes was nothing but an intelligent interest in human history (29).

It is almost needless to emphasize the well-known nexus of the romantic atmosphere and a reverence for antiquity; the one develops the other, and if a man begin by loving the old and far-off things, he is certain to become the romantic in
other ways. Thus with Newman, whose theory of welcoming the mysterious for its own sake could do naught else but lead him to kneel before the ancient shrines to which he had already been predisposed by his love and defense of the apostolical tradition and the direct line which connected the Church of England, as he then thought, with the rock of Rome.

Besides his quickened heart pulse at the relics of pagan Greece and Rome, however, there exists another trait in Newman which is revelatory of his hidden self, and characteristic of the romantics. This is his feeling for things, and for places. Charles Re ding, returning for a last farewell, walks down the banks of Oxford to the Isis: "There was no one to see him; he threw his arms round the willows so dear to him, and kissed them; he tore off some of their black leaves and put them in his bosom. 'I am like Undine,' he said, 'killing with a kiss. No one cares for me; scarce a person knows me.'"(29) Upon reading, in Italy, that Rogers was elected Fellow of Oriel, with great emotion Newman "kissed the paper rapturously."(30) Before he paid his nurse-boy, Gennaro, after he recovered from his fever in Sicily, he [Gennaro]"began to spell something; but what he thought of was an old blue cloak of mine, which I had had since 1823; a little thing for him to set his services at---at the same time a great thing for me to give, for I had an affection for it. It had nursed me all through my illness; had ever been put on my bed, put on me when I rose to have my bed made, etc. I had nearly lost it at Corfu---it was stolen
by a soldier, but recovered. I have it still. I have brought it up here to Littlemore, and on some cold nights I have had it on my bed. I have so few things to sympathize with me that I take to cloaks."

The last sentence, indeed, is a most pathetic cry from a lonely heart, a heart hungry for love and ever finding it snatched away until the repeated shocks withered and hardened it against hope. Friend after friend had come and gone, undergraduates, Hurrell Froude, John Bowden, Gennaro, Ambrose St. John. Small wonder that he should attach himself to things which seemed less under the sway of the dark angel than living man. Death had no power over his willow-leaves and his blue cloak, nor could it touch the fervent unremitting devotion which Newman always carried in his mind for all the places where he had ever lived. His house at Ham, near Richmond, was ever in his dreams (32); when, in a foreign land he neared Ithaca, that island called by Homer 'dear and little', he "thought of Ham, and of all the various glimpses which memory barely retains, and which fly from me when I pursue them, of that earliest time of life when one seems almost to realize the remnants of a pre-existing state. Oh, how I longed to touch the land, and to satisfy myself that it was not a mere vision that I saw before me!" (33) At Naples he dreamed of the shrubberies at Ham, and when he dreamed of heaven as boy, it was always Ham. "There,' thought I to myself, 'on this seat or that arbor, which I recollect from a boy, I shall recover myself. But I
never did."(34) How tenderly he writes of the feelings of Saint John Chrysostom when he was exiled from his native land; with what sympathy does he paint the nostalgia which came over Theodoret as he turned his eyes towards his beloved Antioch!(35)

There are other things which add evidence to the case for Newman's concealed romanticism. From Rome he wrote to his sister Harriet that he had seen a small picture painted by that arch-romanticist Albrecht Dürer, which was entitled The Death of the Virgin, and that he considered it "one of the most impressive, religious and admirable pictures" he had ever seen. (36) Considerably earlier than this, in 1820, he wrote to his father: "I also send Crabbe's Tales of the Hall, a work of which I am excessively fond; but the monotoneous gloominess of which is so great an objection that I can hardly think he will ever have many admirers. Hardly one of his Tales has a fortunate ending; hardly one of his Tales but has the same ending; hardly one of his Tales but is disfigured by the most prosaic lines or degraded by familiar vulgarity. However, for all this, he seems to me one of the greatest poets of the present day. His 'Lady Barbara', out of many beautiful ones, is the most uniformly elevated and animated."(37) The tale of Lady Barbara drips with romantic and supernatural horrors and dullness, as do most of the Tales of the Hall, which are generally the recountings of amorous adventures or ghostly encounters, either of which was good for a pleasing thrill or chill among the maidens---and some men---of the first two decades of the XIX century. A third point is the interest in Gothic architec-
ture.(38) Newman was at one time called upon to be the arbitrator in an argument among Faber, Pugin and March-Phillips on architectural orthodoxy, and he expressed his opinion thus:"... I do not say you, Mr. Phillips, but are there not persons, who would be more distressed at a man's disliking a chancel-screen than at his being a Gallican?... If Mr. Pugin persists, as I cannot hope he will not, in leading with bad names the admirers of Italian architecture, he is going the very way to increase their number. Men will not be put down without authority which is infallible. And if we go to authority, I suppose the Popes have given a greater sanction to Italian than to Gothic."(39) In another place where he is pointing out how the fine arts might prejudice religion by giving the law where they should be subservient, Newman paid a tribute to Gothic architecture while he showed that one should be on guard against the excesses into which all revivals have a tendency to fall. "For myself," he said, "certainly I think that that style which whatever be its origin, is called Gothic, is endowed with a profound and commanding beauty, such as no other style possesses, with which we are acquainted, and which probably the Church will not see surpassed, till it attain to the Celestial City. No other architecture, now used for sacred purposes, seems to have an idea in it, whereas the Gothic style is as harmonious and intellectual as it is graceful."(40)

It is not unreasonable to suspect that Newman should even have been predisposed to the Gothic by another reason
than that of its embodied idea. Romantic literature was at this time still a strong influence. Sir Walter Scott was at the peak of his popularity, and Newman, as will shortly appear, was one of his many followers. It was a well-diffused bit of knowledge that Sir Walter lived in a modern Gothic castle, and the fact that the author of Ivanhoe found Abbotsford romantic enough may have increased the popularity of the taste for Gothic manors.

Newman had a great love for Scott, remarks Aubrey de Vere (41): "He delighted not only in the Waverly novels, but like Mr. Ruskin, in Scott's chivalrous poetry." It was an affection which began early and continued from his first childhood all through his life. In thanking J. R. Hope-Scott, in 1871, for a copy of the abridged Life of Scott, he said: "In one sense I deserve it; I have ever had such a devotion, I may call it, to Walter Scott. As a boy, in the early summer mornings I read 'Waverly' and 'Guy Mannering' in bed when they first came out, before it was time to get up; and long before that—I think, when I was eight years old—I listened eagerly to the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' which my mother and aunt were reading aloud." (42) In 1820, he found time for lighter reading, and was enthusiastic to his mother about Ivanhoe, especially the second volume. (43) In a letter to J. E. Bowden, October 31, 1833, he said: "As the man says in Ivanhoe, 'a man cannot do more than he can'." (44) In February of the same year he sent two songs from Naples to his sister Jemima, saying they were written "à la mode de Sir Walter
Scott." (45) In 1836 he spoke of trying to beat out bad sermons by supplying a more real style, just as Scott beat bad novels out of the field (46), and in 1842 he regretted that ten years earlier he and Froude had kept off from the meeting at Oxford about the Walter Scott Testimonial simply because it had been taken up by the Liberals, and to have joined it would have seemed to be adopting Liberal principles (47). In 1851, writing on Tradition the Sustaining Power of the Protestant View he referred to Walter Scott as being ashamed of his own Catholic tendencies, and cowering before the jealous frown of the tyrant tradition (48). He remembered the works of Scott all his life, and his imagination was ever colored by them. He liked even to read about Scott, as well as what he had written. In 1842 he wrote to Keble: "Curious, I have just been reading Lockhart's Life of Scott. Curious, too, I feel so different about it from you. It has brought more tears into my eyes than any book I ever read, but withal has left an impression on me like a bad dream. I cannot get the bitter taste out of my mouth. I mean it is so like a 'Vanity of Vanities', except that I really do trust he has done a work, and may be an instrument in the hands of Providence for the revival of Catholicity." (49) From these testaments the warmth and affection felt by Newman for Scott grows evident. Not only Newman, but the rest of the Tractarians (as will appear) felt that their debt to the 'wizard of the North' was measureless, and as Knox points out, it was not less characteristic of the age that Evangelicals were divided as to the pro-
priety of reading the Waverly novels. (50)

It is impossible to believe, in the face of these facts, that there was no undercurrent of romanticism in Newman. Newman was one of the leaders of the movement; after a certain time, he was the movement, and though his romanticism has been here emphasized to the exclusion of his other side, it has been done so purposely. Too frequently it is forgotten that the personality of Newman is double-sided; on one an almost feminin tenderness and thirst for affection, on the other the repelling and dry fortress of a man who has resolved to remain alone, so that he will not be opened again to wounding. In viewing the Cardinal through the accepted lens, one sees him as the stiff relentless logician of the *Apologia*, the bitter god with thunder and destruction in his blasting pen, the terrifying defendant of the Church of Rome, and is only too liable to forget that Aubrey de Vere wrote of him: "Early in the evening a singularly graceful figure in cap and gown glided into the room. The slight form and gracious address might have belonged either to a youthful ascetic of the middle ages or a graceful and high-bred lady of our own days." (51) This discussion has been devoted to the high-bred lady in Newman, the pale face and the high forehead of the "old lady washed in milk."

His theory of religious knowledge, of the reality of a supernatural life, was fed and watered by all this environment of romanticism, and made him inclined to accept every paradox of his religion and world as an expression of the
sovereign power of faith. His intelligence, lucid, subtle and crafty, seemed to take an oblique joy in putting cap and bells on reason, and abasing it before the throne of blind belief. If he were not of the most robust faith, remarks Brémond,(52), he would be the most formidable of the professors of skepticism. It is difficult to determine whether the irreconcilables, the advanced, or the compromisers can logically claim to possess Newman, although there is no obscurity about the validity of the cájim of the dilettanti. At all events, the young man who would not touch wine at Oriel and enjoyed it in Malta, who seemed to scorn the delights of ritual while he was insensibly drawn to their obvious counterparts, who had his fits of romantic melancholy and his ecstasies of joy over the scenery of ancient Greece, who heard ghosts, pocketed willow leaves, clung to blue cloaks and loved Scott is quite as important in the comprehension of Newman as the knowledge of the man who in righteous indignation drew steel on his opponents, and who defended, with gusty and noisome bravura, the cloud-washed topless portals of the Church.
Notes on Chapter II, Part I

1--Recollections of Aubrey de Vere, p. 268
2--Apologia, p. 150. 1865 edition: p. 49
3--Lewis E. Gates, Three Studies in Literature, p. 115
4--Newman, Loss and Gain, p. 273
5--ibid, p. 276
6--ibid, passim
7--ibid, p. 43-44
8--ibid, p. 105
9--ibid, p. 255
10--ibid, p. 248
11--ibid, p. 246
13--ibid, I, 265
14--ibid, I, 251
16--ibid, I, i, p. 316 and p. 258
17--For further discussion of Froude's sentimentality, see the section devoted to him, immediately following.
18--Letters, I, 293-94
19--ibid, I, 257
20--ibid, I, 269
21--ibid, I, 277
22--ibid, I, 290
23--ibid, I, 316
24--ibid, I, 345
25--ibid, I, 252
26--ibid, I, 266-7
27--Vide the lines in the poem beginning:
   Why, wedded to the Lord, still yearns my heart
   Towards these scenes of ancient heathen fame?
   'Tis but that sympathy with Adam's race
   Which in each brother's history reads its own.

Quoted from the *Lyra Apostolica* by Geoffrey Faber in
*Oxford Apostles*, p. 289

28--Letters, I, 266. December 19, 1832


30--Letters, I, 245

31--ibid, I, 377. March 25, 1840

32--ibid, I, 14, n.

33--ibid, I, 279-80. The latter part of this is quoted for
   the purpose of interesting comparison with Wordsworth's
   *Intimations*.

34--ibid, I, 346

35--Newman, *Historical Sketches*, vol. II. *St. Chrysostom*,
   passim; *Theodoret*, p. 332

36--Letters, I, 333

37--ibid, I, 46

38--Vide also the section below devoted to this subject.

39--Quoted by Michel Trappes-Lomax, in *Pugin: A Medieval
   Victorian*, p. 225

40--Newman, *Idea of a University*, p. 82

41--op. cit., p. 270

42--Letters, I, 15. Quoted from the *Memoirs of J. R. Hope-
   Scott*, II, 243

43--ibid, I, 46. Note by Anne Mozley
44--ibid, I, 414

45--ibid, I, 308. The songs are Prosperity, beginning "When mirth is full and free", and Warnings, beginning "When Heaven sends sorrow."

46--ibid, II, 181

47--ibid, II, 359

48--In Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England, 1851, second edition, pp. 68-9. The whole passage is quoted for the interest it may have: "...The tradition of Protestantism is strong enough...to force its reception on each successive generation of authors. There is Alexander Pope, a Catholic, and who would discover it from the run of his poems? There is Samuel Johnson, born a Protestant, yearning for the Catholic Church, and bursting into fitful defences of portions of her doctrine and discipline, yet professing to the very last that Protestantism which could neither command his affections nor cure his infirmities. And, in our own time, there was Walter Scott ashamed of his own Catholic tendencies, and cowering before the jealous frown of the tyrant tradition. There was Wordsworth, obliged to do penance for Catholic sonnets by anti-Catholic complements to them. Scott must plead antiquarianism in extenuation of his prevarication; Wordsworth must plead pantheism; and Burke, again, political necessity." Newman, it would seem, must plead a declining birth-rate of Catholic artistic works for such a violent wrenching and perverting of viewpoint.

49--Letters, II, 360. What actually was in Lockhart's Life which might have tended to effect this, and what was in the works of Scott themselves, will be found below in a brief section devoted to Scott.

50--E. A. Knox, The Tractarian Movement, p. 30

51--op. cit., p. 256

52--Henri Brémont, The Mystery of Newman, p. 13
Chapter II

Freud and the Romantic Temper

The great trinity of the Oxford Movement includes Keble as the father, Newman as the son, and Hurrell Froude as the sainted ghost. As with the ancient Christian concept of the trinity, so here would it be quite as difficult to determine which of these three should receive the largest share of credit for the rejuvenation of faith which occurred in the Church of England. And it would be as easy to speculate on the form of religion that would be in existence today if there had been one God instead of a tripartite one, as it would be to imagine what the Oxford Movement would have been if any one of these three men had worked without the others. Predictions are wild. John Keble, after gaining some slight measure of attention with his devotional poems, which Newman said anestored the movement, and after exhausting the fountain in his lectures at Oxford, might have retired to a comfortable living in the country, leaving it only when his presence elsewhere seemed necessary to avert a change of the old order. Newman might have been anything, but probably not a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. Hurrell Froude, like the para-clete, would have descended dove-wise upon his pupils, breathing into them his inexhaustible burden of inspiration, in-
flaming, stirring, impassioning, and then fading quietly back into his heaven. Thus they might have lived separately, but they did not, and the three of them are the triune authors and creators of the Oxford Movement. It was Keble who gave the inspiration with the Christian Year, says Church (1); Froude who supplied the impulse, and Newman who took up the work, making both inspiration and impulse thenceforth his own.

Hurrell Froude, says Church again, added two points to the definition of the Church which was usual then, and these two sounded very new to English ears. He affirmed, first, "that there were great and to most people unsuspected faults in the English Church, for some of which the Reformation was gravely responsible," and that the Roman Church was more right than people had been taught to think in many parts both of principle and practice; second, that the quarrels which existed on these points arose from ignorance and prejudice in the body of the Established Church. (2) This was astonishing, even shocking, and it was by such continued fire from his flaming tongue that he gave spur to the sluggish creature, prodding while others hesitated. His strong and vigorous language was quick with the heroic confidence of victory, and filled with deep scorn for the ideals of the myopic present. He was the first to see the unshaken claims of Rome, and admit them, although he recognized that it, like Canterbury, was great and defective at once. His actual importance in the movement's birth was realized in a statement made while he was dying in 1836, at the age of Christ: "Do you know the story of the murders;
who had done one good thing in his life? Well, if I was ever asked what good deed I had ever done, I should say I had brought Newman and Keble to understand each other."(3) Thus through him the Oxford Movement began, and sped onward without him.

His friends thought of him as the young Achilles, with his high courage and noble form, and 'eagle eye', winged for such great flights, but destined so soon to fall. "Bright and beautiful", they called him, and asked who could refrain from tears at the memory of Hurrell Froude.(4) His was the most colorful personality of the movement, and had he lived longer, he might have been remembered as well as Newman.

Romanticism generally signifies excess, and it has come to be thought of as excess in the realm of the senses---of emotion, of love, and of hate, of indulgence to the hilt in the rich body of full living. It has meant aesthetic, epicurean and libertine, but rarely ascetic. The ascetic seems to be a state entirely removed, by its very essence, from all connection with the romantic. Yet not so. For a certain type of personality, denial can be as sensational and fascinating as the wildest indulgence. Remorse can replace melancholy, and can be a genuinely romantic variant, especially when the mind is under the stress of a great idea. In the lower plane this is supplied by the illusion of love for a woman; along the higher levels, it is that of a man for his god. The panting young lover carries a rose to his lady; the romantic young ascetic
finds that every hour spent in discomfort is mystically a sweet unguent to the holy wounds of his Lord. Penance grows into a passion as sweeping and enervating as that of love; the rod and the staff alone shall comfort, and penitential denial can father as great excesses as can indulgence. Masochism is the fundament of character needful both for Childe Harold and Hurrell Froude; they must be able to enjoy their pain and fashion from it that which is best suited to their purposes, remorse or melancholy. And once this curious alteration of the romantic temper is observed, it becomes easy to comprehend one aspect of Hurrell Froude, whose idée maîtresse was his love for God, and whose romanticism expressed itself, one channel branch of several, by self-denial.

"Is it not plain," asked Newman and Keble in their editors' preface to the Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude, "that fasting and other outward exercises, strictly as he thought it his duty to observe them, were with him but as means to an end?" His papers showed "such views to be perfectly consistent, nay, inseparably bound up, with the most elevated notions of inward sanctification, of a renewed heart and life."

(5) Certainly the trivial purposes and failures, indicated and confessed in the Remains, if not considered as means to an end, would provoke grave doubts of Froude's balance. But even viewed as steps on the way, one still wavers between canonization for him or a kick in the pants.

It was Froude's theory that a charitable and religious state of mind, the only one acceptable to God, was to be ac-
quired only by practice, and he underlined the necessity of an unremitting occupation with charity and holiness; "he who puts off the attempt to acquire...this state of mind," he declared, "with the intention to make up for his negligence at the last, is acting just as foolish a part as the man would who should think to prepare himself for running a race by spending the last few days in over-abstinence and violent exercise, instead of submitting to a long and regular training." (6) As if anticipating the cruel thrusts of critics who descended upon the Remains when they appeared, he stressed the dignity of temperance and sobriety, and showed that they were not unmanly and pitiable except to those of limited comprehension. (7) And though the materialist of today may smile at fasts and penance, seeing no necessity at all for them, he will be forced nonetheless to admit that there is nothing unmanly or pitiable about Froude’s heroic fasts, save sometimes the excuse and reason for them.

"I was not up till half past six," he wrote, as though such an hour were reserved for the leisured rising of great ladies, "slept on the floor, and had a nice uncomfortable time of it... tasted nothing today until tea-time, and then only one cup, and dry bread." (8) Entries like this are common in the Remains. He wished there were no pews in the Cathedral at Exeter, sure that the ensuing discomfort of religious services would then be more conformable to God’s intention. (9) For an examination of conscience before receiving
the sacrament, he planned to spend one hour on his knees each day for a week. And much credit is due him for an entry like this: "As soon as I am out of reach of observation, I will begin a sort of monastic austere life, and do my best to chastise myself before the Lord."(10) This is his ideal, but he could not always keep it unsullied, nor free from other motive.(11)

These rigidly kept and rigorous fasts would have played havoc with the body of a strong man, and it is small wonder that the pale and delicate Froude found himself becoming inattentive at prayers, dull in his studies, slothful in his labors—which he complained of so frequently; these penitential periods were too strictly observed, and came too often. He realized that his abstinences were greatly to blame. "Yesterday, before breakfast," he wrote, "while the vacancy produced by fasting was still on me..."(12) and "I suppose, when I have become accustomed to fasting a little longer, I may be able to shake off the silly fancies about exhaustion, which get possession of me now."(13) His bodily weariness made him nervous and high-strung, so that he wept on reading his mother's journal.(14) Like the Duchess of Malfi, he died young, and it would be unreasonable not to admit that the cough which killed him came at least partially from the weakness engendered by penance.

But the motives for this standing in a white sheet were not always unquestionably, nor born of the fierce consecration of self to God. Froude tried hard to make them so, and no one can read his Journal without sensing acutely the agony
cost him by the realization of his weakness. "November 9, 1826. Was disgustingly ostentatious at dinner in asking for a china plate directly, as I had finished my meat. I did it on purpose, too, that the others might see I ate so much less than they did." (15) What an effort it must have been to set such things down in writing, and how his wretched shade must have been tortured when he saw Keble and Newman, earnest but misguided and overzealous friends, exposing to the world the self he had concealed! This motive of harmless ostentation, however, is milder and less suspect than another angle; the group exhibitionist particularizes his art, and from the audience of many chooses one. In this case it happened to be P*****, or George Prevost, one of Keble's Oriel young men, an undergraduate whom Froude knew from September, 1826, when he was first mentioned in the Journal, to October 21, 1826, after which no reference was made to him. "I felt a wish cross my mind to show off my abstinence before P*****, of which I am thoroughly ashamed... I am not so sure I would have eaten anything if P***** had been in the room." (16) "I have been tolerably abstemious today, but caught myself once or twice, as well in other matters as in this, thinking what P**** would think of me." (17) "...I gave P**** my Greek testament for a memorial. We had slept in the same room; I felt how little root I had in myself, as it came into my head whether he would think my prayers long e-
nough."{(18)} In the face of sentiments like these, it becomes doubly difficult to establish purity of motive. Was it love of God, or love of Prevost that led him to fast? Did he really feel sincere when he wrote that he 'would chastise himself before the Lord', as soon as he was away from observation? These are interesting contradictions in his life, and lead the psychologist into slightly twisted fields where saint and show-off dwell together.

At this point the ice grows thin, and progress becomes awkward; it is necessary, whether pleasant or not, to survey certain evidence—presented by Geoffrey Faber and refuted by Christopher Dawson—of an obliquity in Froude's life, an obliquity fostered then as now (19) by the 'queer lotos-dust' in the Oxford air which seems to emanate from the ancient towers, and press older ideals upon the modern age. In passionate friendships with men Hurrell Froude sought romance, and by so doing set up a steady source of conflict in his life. He could not alter his longings, though he tried with miserable persistence, and with this wayward love he bound himself to romanticism by yet another thread.

It is Faber's thesis, and he attempts to prove it by quotations from the Remains, that Froude's language unmistakably bears the stain of Gomorrah.{20} His burden of proof rests on certain passages in the Journal and Letters, but mainly upon a poem, Dialogue between a Man's New Self and his Old Self, which Froude sent to Keble on June 30, 1833, calling it a composition of "sawney" verses, asking if they
could be doctored into anything available, or if they were merely dotings. They eventually became number LXXIX in the *Lyra Apostolica*, and are quoted here in their entirety:

New Self
Why sitt'st thou on that sea-girt rock,
With downward look and sadly dreaming eye?
Play'st thou beneath with Proteus' flock,
Or with the far-bound sea-bird would'st thou fly?

Old Self
I list the splash, so clear and chill,
Of yon old fisher's solitary oar:
I watch the waves that ripple still
With tiny voice across the marble shore.

New Self
Yet from the splash of yonder oar,
No dreary sound of sadness comes to me:
And the fresh waves that beat the shore,
How merrily they splash, how merrily!

Old Self
I mourn for those delicious days,
When those calm sounds fell on my childish ear,
A stranger yet to the wild ways
Of triumph and remorse, of hope and fear.

New Self
Mourn'st thou, poor soul! and would'st thou yet
Call back the things which shall not, cannot be?
Heav'n must be won, not dream'd; thy task is set;
Peace was not made for earth, nor rest for thee.

Haeo memini, et victum frustra contendere Thyrae.
Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis. (21)

Faber translated the Latin thus: "These things I remember," says the shepherd Meliboeus at the end of Virgil's seventh eclogue, after narrating a contest between the two shepherds, Thyrae and Corydon: "and how Thyrae, though defeated, went on vainly contending. Ever since that time Corydon, none but Corydon, is our poet."(22) By this quotation, he says, Freud clearly meant to compare the Old Self and the New Self
of his own poem with the Corydon and the Thyrsis of the Eclogue. Which corresponds, which is triumphant? The obvious answer, Faber says, is that the Old Self is defeated, and the New Self is the triumphant Corydon. But, in the Eclogue, it is Thyrsis who has the last turn, just as in Freude’s poem it is the New Self who has the last word. It is Thyrsis who still goes on trying, although defeated; just so is it the New Self who goes on trying though defeated. Corydon is the Old Self. And Corydon is inseparably associated with the second Eclogue, where it as a name has become famous, or infamous: *Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim.* Does it not appear then, queries Faber, that the Corydon who stood for the unregenerate Freude was the Corydon of the second as well as the seventh Eclogue?

At such Freudian exegesis Dawson snorts. Freude’s intention is obviously to emphasize the victory of the New Self---Corydon---over the Old Self---Thyrsis---who continues to strive in defeat. Says Mr. Dawson: "Mr. Faber, however, argues that since the New Self is the last speaker in Freude’s poem and Thyrsis is the last speaker in the Eclogue, therefore Corydon is the Old Self, and it is the latter which is victorious. But this is not all; in the second Eclogue Corydon is the lover of the fair Alexis, therefore Freude intends to confess the "vile affections" of his old self. Q. E. D. Comment is needless!"(23)

Some little comment might have helped Dawson’s case. The truth seems to be that Faber did not establish a topple-proof
structure, nor did Dawson succeed in knocking it over. Faber could have made his argument much stronger by emphasizing certain other passages in the Journal, and Dawson could have made his refutation more complete and convincing by pointing out with more vehemence and detail the dangers of a psychology which ignored religious values in interpreting the behavior of men whose whole lives were guided by religious motives. Froude, he said, exercised a deliberate and conscious repression over all his natural instincts, however apparently innocent they may have been. The unwary Freudian who regarded Froude's anguished self-accusation as evidence of some perversion might be disconcerted to find that he was dealing not with some dark hidden sensuality, but with an unmortified desire for roast goose or a secret brooding over the pleasure of a day's yachting. Dawson falls into that particular brand of distasteful scholarship which seeks to win its battles by distracting its readers with trinkets of phrasing and insouciant gew-gaws, endeavoring to convince them by a twist of purpose instead of a valid reason. There are certain passages in Froude's Remains which he conveniently neglected to perceive, or at least to quote, passages which bear the mark of the beast.

The brief-lived devotion to George Prevost has already been discussed as a motive for Froude's asceticism. But Prevost appears in other connections with Froude. "Walked up the vale of Rhydol to Devil's Bridge, with P******, and liked him exceedingly...: the walk was an attempt at romance, and it an-
served to a certain extent; when young (-_-_--) and (-_____)
came, I lost sight of the original idea altogether, and let it
dwindle into a jolly party." (25) "I like P•••••• more and
more every day, and feel quite thankful for having been thrown
in his way." (26) "Felt silly at being beaten by P•••••• at
a little game." (27) The Oriel Fellow comes to the top for
a moment, while the lover feels that his undemanding devotion
is being a trifle imposed upon. "Yesterday a romantic walk
to Mallwyd..." with Prevost. (28) "I have been tolerably ab-
stemious today; but was foolish enough to allow the idea to
cross my mind for an instant that P•••••• and I, monopolised
each other and made me a secondary person. If it was so, it
is no more than I deserve; I have no right to expect to be
made much of by any one." (29) The reaction is so typical that
one smiles. Prevost was getting himself engaged to Isaac Wil-
liams's sister (the I. is undoubtedly Isaac) and naturally the
two would be friendly. Added to this is Williams's own testi-
mony of his cloven foot in his Autobiography (30), a pravity
undoubtedly realized by Froude, who saw it as a legitimate
cause of jealousy. Immediately upon the heels of this the in-
feriority complex, inevitable companion of the psychopath, ex-
pands and succeeds in completing his misery.

Froude continually referred to this "romance" in connec-
tion with other men. While he was staying at Cwmcyfnfelin with
Isaac Williams and George Prevost, he wrote several letters to
Keble. The first three were never sent; one was destroyed, and
two were printed in his Remains. In one, which was not sent, he tried to tell Keble something about his trouble, and ended: "I have been trying almost all the long to discover a sort of common-sense romance..." Some way, perhaps, of satisfying his hunger without offending God? He was sure that there was such a thing, and that "nature did not give us a high capacity for pleasure without making some other qualification for it besides delusion."(31) Certainly he was tortured, since he did not even have the assistance of modern psychology. Not as strongly inclined to celibacy as Newman, feeling that the marriage contract was not for him, his life must have been a torment because he realized that his desires and their fulfillment must have been especially obnoxious to God. In the same month he wrote in his Journal: "I was getting in an overstrained way, with which I might have got disgusted, and these fellows (with whom I have gone shooting) have brought me down to a more sober level. I will not let go my visions of romance, but the foundation is not yet solid enough to bear their being realized."(32)

On December 9, 1826 this singularly revelatory entry appears: "(-----) has applied to T. to ask him if I will take him as a pupil, just as I have come to the determination of employing myself in this way. If the thought was sudden on his part, the coincidence is still more curious; at any rate the fates seem to have thrown us together. I must repress all enthusiastic notions about the event, and content myself with steadily keeping in view those ends, on account of which I
resolved on the step I have taken. Must keep down my anxiety about his 'class', be proof against accepting over-pay, and above all watch and pray against being led out of the way by the fascination of his society; but rather by steady perseverance in the right course, do what I can with God's assistance, to be of some little service in guiding his ways." (35) Dawson says of this that "Fraude's self accusation in regard to his first undergraduate pupil has nothing to do with any guilty passion; it is simply due to his characteristic dread of making the attempt to do good to others an excuse for self-assertion, and self-satisfaction." (34) And so it might have been considered, if read in isolation from the rest of the Remains. As it is, however, it seems to form an additional link in the chain of circumstantial evidence.

There can have been no immediate companionship with the unnamed boy, remarks Faber, because the vacation had already begun. (35) But the prospect was enough to produce a dreadful tumult. A month later he composed some prayers: "O God, thou hast set my misdeeds before Thee, and my secret sins in the light of Thy countenance. I stand in my naked filthiness before Thee... O my God, I dare no longer offer to Thee my diseased petitions in the words by which wise and holy men have shaped their intercourse between earth and heaven. Suffer me, with whose vileness they can have had no fellowship, to frame for myself my isolated supplication... Thou hast cast me away from Thy presence, giving me over to vile affect-
ious and a reprobate mind. Yet praised be Thy holy name, Thou hast not even thus utterly left me destitute; but with hideous dreams Thou hast affrighted me...; and with the recollection of bright things fascinated me; and with a holy friend Thou hast visited me... Thou hast shown me the horrible pit, the mire and the clay in which I am wallowing; O mayest Thou... set my feet upon a rock, and order my goings."(36) On the twelfth of January he wrote: "O may the recollection of these dreadful things so fill my soul with deep humility, that, when the secrets of all shall be revealed, my house may not appear without foundations, nor its breaking come on suddenly at an instant."(37) On the fifteenth he followed this with: "...The hideous filthiness of those ways, in which, for the sins that with open eyes I have acted, Thou hast permitted me blindly to stray."(38) And on the twenty-first: "My soul is a restless and troubled thing, haunted by the recollection of past wickedness."(39)

All these prayers are from the Occasional Thoughts. On February 8, 1827 he reopened his once-closed Journal to show that all these storms of the past two months were not unconnected with the entry on December 9, 1826. "Since I left off," he wrote, "I have been punished for the feeling that dictated the last line [i.e. about guiding his pupil's ways]. I hope God may not permit me to relapse, but experience has taught me that I cannot myself prevent it." (40) On the tenth he prayed, "Save me, O Lord, from the
snares of a double mind, and make my way stable before Thee."
(41) But the struggle was nearly over. Keble, the 'holy friend', had conquered the dark angel for him. On the twenty-second he could cry gratefully, "I am no longer in the company of those who scorn the appearance of piety, nor dazzled with examples of fascinating vice. I live among those who profess Thy fear, and I lean on one to whose friendship I have no access but through Thee."
(42) Keble held himself entirely aloof from the sort of friendships which Froude had been accustomed to enjoy, and it was this holiness which exalted and comforted the younger man.

There is additional evidence scattered through the Remains. "There is another thing which I must put down, if I don't get rid of it before long; it is a thing which proves to me the imbecility of my mind more than anything; and I can hardly confess it to myself; but it is too true."(43) There is a wonderful body of supposition which could be connected with this. Upon another occasion he decided that "it would be a good thing for me to set apart some days in the year for the commemoration of my worst acts of sin."(44) He felt ashamed that his trousers were dirty while he was sitting next a boy, but resolved not to hide them.(45) The young lady who will not be seen by her admirer while she has oil on her face or her hair is mussed, is close kin to Froude at this point. Again, on November 19, 1826, he wrote, "I pray God I may be protected from strange thoughts, and moral coils, while endeavoring to persevere. Today I felt an inclination to take (-----) into
favor, for having told S. he thought me the cleverest man in Oxford. So evil thoughts keep me in on every side; do what I will I cannot get away from them."(46) There are fragments of poems:

Have ye on the bosom rested
Of some friend that seemed a god? (47)

and a stanza from one composed in 1833, under the motto 'Be strong, and He shall comfort thy heart':

Lord, I have fasted, I have prayed,
And sackcloth has my girdle been,
To purge my soul I have essayed
With hunger blank and vigil keen.
O Father of mercies! why am I
Still haunted by the self I fly? (48)

More than this about the frailty of Freude it is impossible to determine, especially since his excellent friends Newman and Keble carefully edited the Remains, and undoubtedly pruned away the particularly purple spots. No one can read the first volume of the Remains without being impressed by the rigours of his stark and scrupulous conscience, which made mountains of molehills, and considered the slightest defection as a monstrous blot against God's perfection towards which he must strive. Thus his language is strong, and considered from this angle, Dawson's whitewashing has some value. The 'days of recollection' for his great sins may have been anniversaries merely of those unhappy occasions when he exchanged a furtive kiss with a docile undergraduate; it is easy, after reading the Journal, to conceive this. But there are certain things which it seems impossible could ever be connected with roast duck or
the pleasure of yachting: 'fascinating vice, moral coils, strange thoughts, the double mind, still haunted by the self I fly,' his attempts at romance, 'the fascination of (---)'s society, naked filthiness, secret sins, and Corydon', which leave not much room or reason to doubt the nature of the affliction which made life so bitter-sweet for Hurrell Froude.

II

In more conventional channels, too, Hurrell Froude followed the course of romanticism. The conservative tendencies which he inherited were recast into sharp weapons by the advance of the antagonist forces of Liberalism. It is so often true that there is nothing so valuable as the unremitting persecution of one's cause, for it not only brings adherents to its support, but makes weak convictions strong. The opposition which Liberalism brought suddenly made Hurrell Froude assured that he hated all aspects of the modern spirit. "I am becoming a more and more determined admirer of the Non-Jurers," he wrote to Newman from Barbadoses. (49) And again, in December 1835: "When I get your letter, I expect a rowing for my Roman Catholic sentiments. Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the φασσονομοφυλογια of the Revelations. I have a theory about the beast and woman, too, which conflicts with yours." (50) In conversation he remarked, "The Reformation was a limb badly set—-it must be bre-
ken again in order to be righted" (51), and he wondered why "a thoughtful fellow like H--- does not get to hate the Reformers faster." (52) He bewailed the neglect of the practice of excommunication, affirming that the failure to discipline its members showed a weakening and decaying Church, pointed out the necessity of shunning heretics and evil-livers and the neglect of invoking Church penalties for contrary action, and berated Knox for saying that the want of discipline in the Church was one of the happy features caused by the Reformation. (53) He spoke of "that odious Protestantism which sticks in the gizzard" of the stray sheep from the true fold. (54) His sympathies went back to the Middle Ages, the idealized Middle Ages which breathed their spirit through Gothic and church architecture, and through the Latin liturgy, to which he was introduced chiefly by the society of Blanco White. Antiquity fascinated him, and he despised all that could not trace ancient connections or that savored of the new. He may in a measure, remarks Brilioth (55), claim the doubtful honor of having prepared the way for the Gothic revival of the XIX century by his papers on Church Architecture in the Remains. But Hurrell Freude contributed only a slight impulse to this stream which was strong as far back as 1750 when Walpole built Strawberry Hill and wrote the Castle of Otranto, and when Beckford built Fonthill Abbey, around 1800. Mozley says that Freude, though he wrote an article on the rise of church architecture and spent three days with a companion in measuring and sketching
St. Giles's at Oxford *, was clearly more "penetrated and in-

* Undoubtedly it is this task which Newman satirically com-
mented upon in The Gospel Palaces, when he said "count
their stones and measure their spaces." Vide supra, page
13, note.

spired by St. Peter's than even by Cologne Cathedral."(56)
Yet it is the spirit of romance which lives in Freude's dis-
cussion of Church Architecture, and his recounting of how it
grew after the spell of servile imitation to the Greek was
broken, from Grimbald in the IX century onwards. Even in the
technicalities of the two papers it is possible to sense the
vivifying air of romance. In the first one he pointed out that
in the Roman buildings the arch was used only for convenience,
and instead of claiming admiration, shrunk from notice. The
architects of the middle age, he said, diâ not imitate the
Romans only because they could not. They introduced the rib
and pointed arch not as ornaments, but as needful deformities,
and it was the unavoidable preeminence of these features which,
by giving taste a compulsory direction, as it were, drove men
into the peculiarities of the Gothic style and led them to ex-
ploit the idea which they invented and incorporated in their
work. In the second paper he dealt with the modifications of
the Roman architecture as it passed into the most approved
Gothic moulding and discussed columns, the origins of window
tracery, characteristic forms of windows, mullions, etc. (57)

One receives a similar impression from Freude's paper on
the Antiquity of Existing Liturgies, containing a detailed com-
parison of the consecrations of the Hosts as they were per-
formed in six arrangements in the Primitive Church: The Clemen-
tine Liturgy, those of St. James, St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, and
two of St. Basil, at Constantinople and at Alexandria. (58) Be-
hind the dry technical comparison it is possible to feel the
adoring impulse which took this time and trouble and found more
than sufficient reward in merely being permitted to handle, for
a time, the sacred words which make flesh of bread. The ap-
peal to him is again through antiquity.

Abbott sees in Froude the real instigator of 'the whole
wonderful tragedy' of the Oxford Movement, the medievalist who
even in death, by the legacy of his Roman Catholic Breviary
led Newman away from the Established Church. (59) Here Joseph
Blanco White enters the scene and gives indication that though
his influence on the movement was slight, it was usually di-
rected against the trigger-centers of action. "October 31, 18-
27," he wrote in his Journal; "Pusey, Wilberforce, and Froude
came in the evening to learn the order of the Roman Catholic
Service of the Breviary." (60) The ex-priest, willing or not,
starts a few backwards over the path which he had come. (61)

The same air of romance which is hidden in the papers on
the liturgy and on church architecture becomes vocal in Froude's
study of Thomas à Becket. (62) The air is surcharged with elec-
tric feeling, with intrigues, passionate descriptions of the
court and life. The whole volume is filled with a tenor iden-
tical with the chivalric temper of Sir Walter Scott, restrained
and careful as only Froude could make it. The death of à Becket
is described with the same high economy that Suetonius used in relating the death of Julius Caesar; there is no ranting, no false theatrics, no apostrophes to the reader or the emotions. Froude climbs to the summit of pure art in the closing chapter. Had he lived he might have done great things.

Froude, like Newman, always admired Scott. "No one," he wrote, "can allow himself to suppose that he ever took that violent and feverish interest in the Iliad and Odyssey, which has carried each successive reader through the Mysteries of Udolpho; that he felt the same thrill of anxiety for the escape of Hector...as when the old covenantter, in the act of putting on the clock, was interrupted by the clatter of Claverhouse's horses; or that he looked with the same intensity of interest on the untimely end of Rhedes, as on Sir Kenneth's return to his broken standard. And where shall we look in the whole compass of ancient fiction for a parallel to the discovery scene in the Lady of the Lake?" (63) Not only Scott, but Radcliffe, and though there is no direct evidence it may be supposed that if he liked these, he liked the rest of the chivalric and graveyard school as well. If this is a sincere reaction, and it quite obviously is, it presents additional evidence towards the case for his romantic temper. "If a man must fall in love," he added, "it should be in the reverential way of Sir Kenneth in The Talisman." (64) Later, however, in the face of the oncoming tide of liberalism, stimulated by the dangers of its assaults to pounce on everything smacking of it, he wrote: "Lately I have been amusing myself in reading
Walter Scott's novels over again, and have got a different impression about them from what I had. In Meg Merrilies I can see nothing to admire, nor in Edie Ochiltrie, and in their stead I have taken into high favor Mr. Pleydell and Julia Mannering. If I did not think...[sic] I would write some letters for the British Magazine on the 90's of these novels, good and bad. The liberalism is certainly intolerable, yet one can see it is affected, and to point this out might be amusing enough."

(65)

This is the curious blend of character which composed Hurrell Froude: the gentle and the fierce, the "bright and beautiful" young man clinging to his dreams of dark impossible romances, and the bitter scornful opponent of the Reformation. Like Newman, he thirsted for affection while he carried a swift rapier by his side, but unlike the cardinal, he died before his limitations could be seen. And he is hailed with genius in his grave, because surmise can never now determine the degree of his greatness.
Notes to Chapter II

1--R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 32

2--Ibid., pp. 52-3


4--Church, op. cit., p. 39

5--Remains, Editors' preface, I, i, p. xvi. But see below, p. 358, for what the 'end' was, and the question of the reality of its 'elevation'.

6--Remains, II, i, pp. 300-1. Portions of Sermons.

7--Ibid., II, i, 302

8--Ibid., I, i, 30. Extracts from Journal.

9--Ibid., I, i, 11

10--Ibid., I, i, 25

11--vide infra, p. 37

12--Remains, I, i, 86

13--Ibid., I, i, 53

14--Ibid., I, i, 56

15--Ibid., I, i, 41

16--Ibid., I, i, 15-16. October 1, 1826

17--Ibid., I, i, 17. October 2.

18--Ibid., I, i, 23-4

19--If we can depend upon the word of Terence Greenidge, Degenerate Oxford?, London 1930, pp. 89 et seq.

20--Certain of these quotations, differently arranged to suit the author's purpose, and additional ones, may be found in the ensuing discussion. For Faber's complete argument, vide his book, Oxford Apostles, Chapter VI, Secret Forces, pp. 192-232. Newman, Froude, and Isaac Williams are therein
discussed in their similarities of obliquity.

21--Remains, I, i, 316-17

22--op. cit., p. 222


24--ibid, preface, vii

25--Remains, Extracts from Journal, I, i, 13. September 26, 1826

26--ibid, I, i, 17. October 2.

27--ibid, I, i, October 10, p. 21.

28--ibid, I, i, 23. October 21.

29--ibid, I, i, 14. September 27.

30--"My great bane at Harrow was the very warm and strong attachments I formed with boys not in every case of the best principles. [Note: this was while he was teaching at Harrow.] But my one great friend latterly was a boy (now Sir Robert C. Dallas) who came to Harrow with very singular promise, having published a volume of poems at the age of eleven, and another at fourteen, and the Percy Anecdotes on the subject of 'Youth' were at that time dedicated to him, with his picture in the frontispiece...." p. 5

31--Remains, I, i, 137. September 1826

32--ibid, I, i, 16-17

33--ibid, I, i, 62

34--op. cit., preface, p. vii

35--op. cit., p. 219


37--ibid, I, i, 93

38--ibid, I, i, 94

39--ibid, I, i, 96

40--ibid, I, i, 62

41--ibid, I, i, 62
42--ibid, I, i, 68-9
43--ibid, I, i, 7. *Extracts from Journal*
44--ibid, I, i, 14
45--ibid, I, i, 44
46--ibid, I, i, 51
47--ibid, I, i, 208
48--ibid, I, i, 430
49--ibid, I, i, 363. April 8, 1834
50--ibid, I, i, 389. *Letter to Newman. The last sentence is curious; does he mean to draw a comparison between woman and the Beast of the Revelations?*
51--ibid, I, i, 434. *Sayings in Conversation.*
52--ibid.
53--ibid, II, ii, 270-314
54--ibid, I, i, 322. *Letter to Newman, August 31, 1833.*
55--op. cit., p. 120, note.
56--Mozley, *Reminiscences*, I, 216-18
57--Wilde *Remains*, II, i, 335-374. *These papers were written in 1831, and appeared in the British Magazine of 1832-33.*
58--ibid, II, i, 383-423
61--For additional information about Blance White, see the section below on Coleridge.
62--*Remains*, II, ii, entire volume.
63--ibid, I, i, 150. *Essay on the Age Favorable to Works of Fiction.*
64--ibid, I, i, 437. *Sayings in Conversation.*
65--ibid, I, i, p. 379
Chapter III

Keble and Romanticism

"John Keble," remarked Hurrell Froude when the author of the *Christian Year* had gone from Oxford to his charge in the lonely and obscure Hampshire parish assigned to him, "is a light too spiritual and subtle to be seen, unless it is put upon a candlestick."(1) It was a keen and true observation. In the country, contact with the living heart of Oxford broken, John Keble's talents flowered unseen and forgotten. The extent of his influence and ascendancy at Oxford was dependent almost wholly upon his personality, and once he was removed the illusion of his importance quickly faded. Outside of his scholastic achievements he was a rather stupid man, but in them, although limited, he was one of the most brilliant scholars of his day, holder of a double first in classics and mathematics, and winner of both the English and Latin Essays. He was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1811, eleven years before Newman, whose senior he was by nine years.

Keble was charming and boyish and unaffected, Faber declares(2), pure and sweet and good, humble and devout, learned and elegant, and capably of indignation for the truth; he must have seemed to those who shared his vision a living proof of the rightness of their cause. His personal appearance supported the impression; he was not handsome nor distinguished, pelfen shy and a trifle awkward. He was passionately happy in the
past, strongly a Tory in his principles, a devoted admirer—like Hurrell Fréde—of King Charles the Martyr, to whom he inscribed a poem in the Christian Year, and by his convictions and religious temperament an old-fashioned pious High Churchman in all things. Seberly, he saw that the less ostentatious excellences of devotion to duty and conscience were much to be preferred to mere intellect, which he scorned; he had an inner hatred of everything that savored of display. Of stentorian and discursive religion he was highly suspicious. Piety was enthroned in him where reason sat in Newman, and asceticism in Fréde.

Keble had read widely: Spenser, whose allegorical form seemed to him to suit the true reserve a poet ought to feel; Wordsworth, with his religious sympathy with nature; Southey, whose influence of form and thought is perceptible in the earlier poems; Ockley and Byron—even brushing Blackstone’s Commentaries—but his sympathies turned more and more towards theology. He studied Hebrew, and Butler’s Analogy had a great influence on him. His lectures on poetry reveal that many of his estimates were colored by the Poetics of Aristotle, who was indeed a guiding authority for Keble in many other directions. It was largely by the Aristotelian canons that he pronounced judgment upon the masters of classical and modern literature. Homer asked and received his unstinted praise, and certainly the language of Homer inspired some of the best poems of the Christian Year(3); he contrasted the Greek with Byron and Burns, declaring that it was Byron’s want of self-restraint which marked the flaw of his great artistic power.
"Popular favor," he said, "has placed easily first among all poets of our own time a man whom I too should rank high, had he not sullied his splendid powers by many serious vices, inexcusable in any one, to say nothing of a great poet... His lavish profusion and impetuous style in utter disregard whether what he writes be fit and becoming or not, [is] a want of true modesty, a recklessness of speech, [which] succeeds with merely indolent readers, and such as seek a passing relaxation in trifling over a volume of verse."(4) He referred to the Prisoner of Chillon as being the only more exceptional example of a clinging affection [i.e. the prisoner's affection for the castle of Chillon, the chains and so forth] than that in Sophocles' portrayal of Ajax and Philoctetes(5), while in yet another place he criticized Byron for giving only a picture of his own mind and personality, "excited now by an almost savage bitterness, now by voluptuous exaltation." He complained that Byron's mind was ill-balanced, although he praised his profound poetic gift.(6) It was Keble's belief, just as Milton's, that poets were chosen to be the earthily singers of God's glory (7), and the forsaking of this ideal, in the case of Byron and Shelley, saddened him: "Lips that might half Heaven reveal" indulging in "idol hymns profane", lingering over passion and vice, and sealed in thankless silence towards God. In his Praelectiones he found Shelley more outrageous and unbridled in his morbid philosophy than Byron, but an even greater master in command of language and of rhythm, and declared that both of them were now considered rather as unhappy
than impious. (8)

All this makes it seem that there can not be much case
drawn for Keble's attraction to romanticism, but if his temper-
ament is thoughtfully studied it becomes evident that the pal-
lid melancholy of Byron's doomed heroes and the wild rebellion
of Shelley could never appeal to him as could the quiet Words-
worth, the chivalric Scott, or the half-talented Southey. A
different aspect of romanticism attracted him, and appealed
to his pious middle-class spirit, establishing such assurance
of conviction that he could even remonstrate with Charlotte
Yonge, whom he greatly influenced, for thinking of insanity—
one of the romantic leit-motives, as a topic of fiction, be-
cause it might do harm to excitable natures. (9)

It was J. T. Coleridge, life-long friend of Keble and
nephew to the famous STC, who made Keble and Southey acquain-
ted. Keble thanked him for the favor: "Many thanks to you for
this new and great kindness of making me acquainted with South-
ey: for I owe it entirely to you. He is indeed a noble and
delightful character, and I hope to be the better all my life
for what I have seen of him and heard from him." (10) In Ke-
ble's earlier poems, as has been pointed out, both form and
thought owed much to Southey, and in his Praelectiones he a-
gain paid a tribute to him as the author of "that noble poem
which sets forth the story of the Indian Rajah Kehama", call-
ing Southey "that great poet who in all of our own time has
best set forth the character and quality of Eastern religion." (11)
It has been suggested that Keble formed a direct link between the Tractarians and the romantics of the Caroline succession. After a visit of Keble's to Sidmouth, the sister of his friend George Cornish wrote: "He seems to me a union of Hooker and George Herbert—the humility of one with the feeling and love of the other. In short, altogether he is a man whom the more you see and know, the less you must think of yourself." (12) Perhaps this is in a measure true; Herbert was one of Keble's much read and admired poets, and certainly the deep penitence and chastened love for his Master, which is evidenced in the poetry of the XVII century convert, strikes a chord which is echoed sympathetically by Keble's saccharine lute.

But these influences were all minor in comparison with those exercised by Wordsworth and Scott. J. T. Coleridge again takes credit for introducing Keble to Wordsworth. "It is among the pleasant recollections of my life," he wrote importantly, "that I first made the great poet known to Keble. As might have been expected, he read him with avidity; the admiration for his poetry, which he conceived in youth, never waned in after life; indeed, when he came to know the man it was augmented...and completed...by the respect and regard which his character inspired. It was hardly possible for Keble to be a very enthusiastic admirer of any poetry unless he had conceived a good opinion of the writer. I may say...that Wordsworth's admiration of the author of the Christian Year and the volume itself, was in after life very warm; there were few tributes which he received, which he set a greater
value on than the mention made of him by Keble in the theatre at Oxford, when he received his honorary degree; and the dedication to him of the Praelectiones." (13) The degree was conferred upon Wordsworth in 1839 and Keble delivered, as Poetry Professor, the Crewian oration at the Commemoration, the concluding portion of which is here translated: "On this also I insist, that the University, and so Letters in themselves, cannot well be without that austere and solid sweetness, with which youth well and wisely spent in poverty is wont to flavour those who are submitted to its training. But I judged, gentlemen of the University, that I should satisfy, and more than satisfy, what this topic demands, if only I should recall to your recollection him (specially now as in this honorable circle which surrounds me he is himself present), who of all poets, and above all has exhibited the manners, the pursuits, and the feelings, religious and traditional, of the poor——I will not say in a favorable light merely, but in a light which glows with the rays of heaven. To his poetry, therefore, they should, I think, be now referred, who sincerely desire to understand and feel that secret harmonious intimacy which exists between honorable Poverty, and the severer Muses, sublime Philosophy, yea, even our most holy Religion." (14)

When the Praelectiones were concluded and published in 1844, Keble sealed his testimony by dedicating the volume to Wordsworth with an inscription quite sincere in itself, and gratifying to the poet himself who perceived in it a state-
ment of what had been his object as a poet to accomplish by his writings: "To William Wordsworth, true philosopher and inspired poet who, by the special gift and calling of almighty God, whether he sang of man or nature, failed not to lift up men's hearts to holy things nor ever ceased to champion the cause of the poor and simple, and so in perilous times was raised up to be a chief minister not only of sweetest poetry but also of high and sacred truth, this tribute, slight though it be, is offered by one of the multitude who feel ever indebted for the immortal treasure of his splendid poems, in testimony of respect, affection, and gratitude."(15) The tribute expressed not only his homage to a master of song, but revealed the spiritual friendship which Keble felt towards Wordsworth. Elsewhere in the volumes was another eulogy of the poet, a panegyric on the Ode on the Intimations of Immortality: "The finest poem of the greatest poet within our own time is mainly based on this belief: namely, that our recollections of childhood are touched with their peculiarly exquisite and far-reaching charm, simply because of its dim feeling of a former existence and of a life closer to divine influence."(16)

It is true, as J. T. Coleridge said, and Keble himself admitted in the letter about Southey, that it was hardly possible for Keble to be enthusiastic about any poetry unless he had conceived a good opinion of the writer. And it is evident that Keble had been more than pleasantly impressed with 'good old Wordsworth'. In a letter to R. F. Wilson dated July 29,
1842, two years before his *Praelectiones* appeared, he said, "...in short, we seem to meet him [i.e. Walter Scott] everywhere, as we did Wordsworth in the Lake Country... It was comfortable to hear old Wordsworth, how he kept falling back on Church Matters, whatever other subject was started." (17) Not only pleasant, but most gratifying to the pious soul of John Keble who felt that the Church of England gained much from the continued support and favor of a man as great as Wordsworth. Although Wordsworth did not become Laureate until the next year, his fame and reputation were long established, and Keble found comfort in his preoccupation with religion and the warm sympathy between them which grew out of it.

Keble's admiration and friendship for Wordsworth were reciprocated. The *Christian Year* was a group of poems in which the metre was oft times uneven and the awkwardness of construction in some parts so marked that the rhythmic sense of Wordsworth was disturbed. Dr. Pusey is authority for the tale of Wordsworth's proposal to John Keble that they "should go over the work [i.e. the *Christian Year*] with a view to correcting the English." (18)

It was Walter Bagehot who remarked that Keble was Wordsworth translated for women. (19) His poetry was after the mind of Wordsworth in several ways. It was "imagination high on questions deep" (20) that Keble searched to attain in the *Christian Year*, and his belief that "wisdom's nearer when we steep than sear" (21) was similarly expressed throughout. Knowledge
considered as shades of the prison house (22) finds immediate
and exact echo in Keble's apostrophe to the mountain boy (23):

O blessed restraint! more blessed range!
Too soon the happy child
His nook of homely thought will change
For life's seducing wild:...

While of his narrowing heart each year
Heaven less and less will fill,
Less keenly, through his grosser ear,
The tones of mercy thrill.

In another place (24) he hailed the 'bliss of childlike inno-
cence':

Bright are their dreams, because their thoughts
are clear,
Their memory cheering....

while the 'earth-stain'd spright' must hover nearer earth, "and
less in light", and spoke of the lisp of little children which
told of Heaven (25), all of which were lines that might have
come from Wordsworth in a lesser mood, lines whose counterpart
existed in Wordsworth's salute to the child (26), on whom
'those truths do rest which we are toiling all our lives to
find.' Keble's collection addressed wholly to children, the
Lyra Innocentium, on every page: reads like a talented, but
not inspired, obligate to Wordsworth.

Thus Wordsworth was an influence in Keble's life, but one
secondary to Scott whom Keble considered a master. In his lec-
tures he referred to him as "that Scotch Pindar"(27), and said
"...the noblest of all poets in our own day, Walter Scott---
Scott by name and Scot by country---one whom I can never men-
tion without reverence... this illustrious light of Poetry was
first kindled by a love of sports.(28) ...The main thing which woke up in his mind the shadow and image of that bygone time was the country sports and pastimes, and the chase in its varied forms. [He referred at this point to Pinder and the Pythian and Olympic assemblies, to Spenser and the martial and knightly tourneys] This same thing was in Scott's life played by country life, by dogs and horses—and the hunter's cry 'repeated by the assenting groves'. All had this common characteristic, that they fastened on the circumstances in which they were placed as images and suggestions of bygone times and departed heroes."(29) This quality, which Keble had in common with all the romantics, that of seeing the past in the accidents of the present, was of great importance in his life, and the difficulty which he himself encountered in the re-creation of the long dead from the dry seeds of the present surrounding him, made him appreciate the greatness of Scott's task in the evocation of the middle-age. "Homer," he said, "saw before his eyes what he described; his only task was to raise the whole to a higher beauty. Scott had the harder task, to reclaim from oblivion and obscurity, as best he could, a type and order of men long since departed."(30) It was doubly delightful to him then to visit the Scott country, because he not only saw the places connected with the poet's life—Dryburgh, Sandyknow, Abbotsford, Kelso and Ashiestiel (31), but looked back through these magic spots to the mystery of the medieval age. Not only was he attracted by the Scott nov-
els, but by the Border Minstrelsy which helped him similarly to make the glamorous return. "I am inclined," he wrote, "to think that nowhere in ancient poetry will you find such graceful playing with the theme, or anything that so closely approaches the style of those ballads which were such favorites with our own ancestors, especially with such as led lives in the open air, amid hazardous circumstances, threatened by neighboring foes." (32)

When Leckhart's Life of Scott appeared in 1837-8, Keble reviewed it for the British Critic (33), in an essay which was not only an analysis of the essence of Scott's writing and its romantic anti-classic character, but a document embodying Keble's own attitudes, revelatory of the characteristic traits of his mind and belief. It ended with an elegiac contemplation of Scott's religious attitude: "What if this gifted writer had become the Poet of the Church in as eminent a sense as he was the Poet of Border and Highland chivalry? Such a speculation we trust will be found neither irrelevant nor invidious. It is not forced, nor irrelevant, for it comes spontaneously, we will venture to say, into the minds of most readers at all imbued with Catholic principles. While such contemplate Scott's character, whether as recorded in his life or displayed in his writings, the feeling which continually suggests itself is: 'Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses'." (34) The explanation, Keble believes, was supplied by his religious development, particularly in the severely Calvinistic atmosphere
which prevailed in his parents' home.* He turned away from

* Vide Lockhart, vol. I, 222. Scott in 1794 is quoted as say-
ing: "...I did not choose to intrude upon the little lady, this being sermon week; for the same reason we are looking very religious and very sour at home."

the Presbyterian Establishment; its cold and colorless services disgusted him. Only his deeply pious disposition kept him from turning his back altogether on positive Christianity. He joined the Episcopal Church, "and certainly," said Keble, "and not least, his joining the Church, although bred up in the Kirk, (for it is not in human nature that he should not have been more or less influenced by the association of Church principles with the scenes and parties to which he was so deeply attached)...may be considered...as an extension, or moderation, of his darling chivalrous taste, to subjects beyond its proper sphere, yet bearing an analogy more or less direct to some part of those with which it was originally conversant." (35)

But his adhesion had not the character of devotion: during the greater part of his manhood he held private family worship in his dining room (36), and Keble noted that he entertained a most unfavorable notion of the clergy, for in none of his novels was to be found a single attractive Anglican priest. (37) Nonetheless, Keble found a proof that Scott was well-prepared (38) for "the complete system of the Old Catholic Church", in his love for the supernatural. (39) "The tenets of the presence of good and evil angels," he continued, "of the power of sacramentals, of communion of the faithful de-
parted, in short, the whole of the high doctrine concerning the Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints, had it been fully presented to him unimpeached of Romanism, would have found ready entrance into a willing mind."(40)

Thus there were many things about Scott which Keble could approve and love: his sense of the supernatural, his medievalism, and his high conception of the Catholic spirit. In fact there was, he said, but one grievous blot in a delightful style, and that was Scott's Protestant habit of dispensing with all reserve, such as was religiously practiced in the ancient Church, about the Scriptures.(41) Rather pathetically he remarked that this defect was not the result of deficiency of the Catholic faith, but instead depended on the dour cast and tone of religious opinion which prevailed in the environment where Scott lived; he mourned because Scott's eye did never rest on the true form of the *civitas Dei*. Warming to his thesis, he defended the Church against the accusation that her severe calmness in sentiment took away the charm from romantic poetry by restricting the free play of the author's sympathy and imagination, by saying that since the Church included all races, nations and tempers, the true poet of the Church when he arose would find nothing in human or divine works lacking to his hand. Scott "would not have been cramped by such a guiding spirit, but his touch in many cases would have been steadier, and his expression more decided, as being sure that he was striking the right note. Manzoni, though deficient in the resource and brilliance of Scott, has shown
what interest may be infused into a romance on true Church principles. (42) A Catholic Homer or Shakespeare may never arise, and it has seemed ordained that the masterminds of poetry never fall upon the lustrous eras of the Church, as though it were intended she should work her way with mean unworthy instruments, and never be tempted to transfer her own glory to any of even her most favored children. (43) This statement reveals how much romanticism was in Keble, but also how it was subordinated to obedience to Christ. (44)

"One of the chief objects of their poetry," wrote Clutton-Brock of the metaphysical poets of the XVII century, "was to justify the instincts which made them poets, to show that their love for beautiful things was not inconsistent with a concern for righteousness as deep as that of the Puritans, though more kindly. In all their work there is an implied protest against the vileness of man, and the perpetual anger of God... Poetry, they are eager to prove, comes not from Parnassus but from Heaven (45); they are always tracing connexions between celestial and earthly things. In their restlessness to analyse everything it was natural to them to think of everything in terms of something else." (46) There is not a line of this critique not equally applicable to the Tractarian poets, especially to Keble, who traced connections between celestial and earthly things throughout the whole of the Christian Year, and who was praised by Newman for doing that very thing, establishing the 'sacramental system' as the Cardinal called it,
the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and in-
struments of real things unseen. (47) It was a part of Keble’s
theory of poetry to see all nature through a stained glass win-
dow, just as it was his belief that poets were chosen by God
for a divine mission, not to waste their substance in profane
song. (48) In keeping with the ideals of the time, he stated
his belief that all true poets naturally inclined to that par-
ty or group which held it a sacrilege to disturb what was
peaceful, and which did not reduce anything to the mere stan-
dard and test of gain and utility. (49) Like those theories
originated by the Lake School, and particularly Wordsworth,
Keble’s theory of poetry was that it was the natural relief
of minds burdened by some engrossing idea (50), ruling passion
or imaginative regret, which from some cause or other they
were kept from directly indulging. Rhythm and metrical form
served to regulate and restrain... They were at once "vent
for eager feelings and a veil to draw over them. For the ut-
terance of high or tender feeling controlled and modified by
a certain reserve is the very soul of poetry." (51) "Through
its rhythmic strain, its recalling power, it exhibits wonder-
ful efficacy in soothing men’s emotions and steadying the bal-
ance of their mind." (52) "Poetry is the indirect expression
in words, most appropriately in metrical words, of some over-
powering emotion..., the direct indulgence whereof is somehow
repressed." (53) The parallels with the Wordsworthian theories
are too obvious to be emphasized.
Had Keble not been under the stress of a great religious idea, he might be known today as one of the copious minor poets of the Lake School. Judged by the ordinary canons of criticism, the Christian Year may be praised for its delicacy and refined style, its correct taste, its gentle mysticism, and its 'sacramentalism' which Newman loved. But there is no taste of the fine frenzy, nor the keenness of vision, intensity of feeling, or passion of appeal by which the souls of men are kindled. Its calm piety, its air of certitude in celestial things, made it a household book for many years, and worn by reverent fingers, its disintegration was as rapid as that of the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible; the three stood side by side upon the shelf in countless English homes.

It is not too much to say that the Christian Year prepared the ground for the spread of Tractarian teaching, just as did Scott's novels, by emphasising sacramentalism and the doctrine of certitude according to Butler. It is the link between romanticism and the Oxford Movement; it presents the nuptials of Lucy Gray and Thomas Hooker in Tintern Abbey. Newman jocosely called it fons et origo mali. As early as 1827, when it appeared, it contained a statement of the implicit principle of the Oxford Movement:

We too, O Lord, would fain command,
As then, Thy wonder-working hand,
And backward force the waves of Time...

The attempt to force the waves of Time backward seems to be a motive of the movement which was initiated early, and which re-
mained unchanged and active throughout the long twelve years. Similarly, the **Christian Year** also registered the progress made by Tractarian ideals. In **Gunpowder Treason** Keble had addressed himself to the Romanists:

> O come to our Communion Feast,  
> There present in the heart,  
> Not in the hands, th' Eternal Priest  
> Will his true self impart.

On his deathbed in 1866 he authorized the change of 'not' to 'as', showing that the transubstantiation currents of Tractarian birth had been steadily at work upon the surface of the English Church.

Keble, although mediocre, stood a little in front of the rank of the Movement poets. He rejoiced the hearts of the devout and found a ready audience at Oxford, then the intellectual center, the world of the English aristocracy. His appeal was curiously strong with both the humble and high. He regarded poetry as sacramental, as he did religion, so precious and sacred that he dared not profane it by exposing it as wholly the product of his unaided genius; hence it is that he published the **Christian Year** only after the repeated urging of his father.

Beyond the two examples cited above, the **Christian Year** is but slightly hallmarked with Tractarianism. It has little or no ascetic withdrawal from the world. The poet has brought a rich and motley gallery under obedience to Christ, as he brought everything else(56), history speaking as well as nature. The snowdrop, the rosebud, mountains, sea, the repose
of home, the little things of everyday life—all are here, as they are in Wordsworth. His kinship with Wordsworth lay in this: that all nature was a sermon on God's love. The *Christian Year* is rich in the doctrine of the mystic communion, the similitudes between the message of nature and the precepts of religion, and this feeling, again, was deepened by Butler's *Analogy*. Creation everywhere proclaimed the love and mercy of God. The poet heard

> In the low chant of wakeful birds,  
> In the deep weltering flood,  
> In whispering leaves, these solemn words—  
> "God made us for all good."

And in this praise-chorus of nature for its creator, there was but one false note:

> Man only mars the sweet accord... (57)

That mysticism of nature, however, which was the center-point of Wordsworth, existed but marginally in Keble. He presented with great tenderness, it is true, many views of the gentle English landscape; the country atmosphere permeated his verse, as it did that of the entire Lake School, and a main object of his seemed to be the exposition of lessons written in the book of earth and sea and sky. To all appearances he shared largely in that feeling about the visible world so identified with Wordsworth. But there was a difference. The outside world with its doubts, perplexities and despair, was beyond Keble's range. He saw only one side of nature, that which could be read figuratively as symbolic of the spiritual world. He missed her infinite and inhuman side, that of the
great movements. For Keble, Nature smiled when one was happy, rained when one was sad.* There was in him none, because of

* Vide Shairp, Studies in Poetry and Philosophy, pp. 311-12. Vide also the Christian Year, Twenty Fourth Sunday after Trinity, where these lines occur:

Our eyes see all around in gloom or glow,
Hues of their own, fresh borrow'd from the heart...

his lack of depth, of that mysterious silence and human indifference which lay so heavily on Wordsworth, Shelley and Lucretius. The hills were not, as for Shelley, a laboratory of faith, nor did he feel in them, as did Wordsworth, that secret brooding presence.

There is a book, who runs may read,
Which heavenly truth imparts,
And all the lore its scholars need---
Pure eyes and Christian hearts.

The works of God above, below,
Within us and around,
Are pages of that book, to show
How God himself is found...

Thou, who hast given me eyes to see
And love this sight so fair,
Give me a heart to find out Thee,
And read Thee everywhere. (58)

Here, in a christianised form, is the great doctrine of natural religion which was expressed with less reserve in Wordsworth; here is Keble's perception, shallow and superficially worded as it is, that God and mind live and love throughout the visible universe. But Keble never could go the whole way with Wordsworth, never could see nature as God, but only God in nature's works. There are abundant evidences of this watered pantheism in the Christian Year (59), just as there are scores...
of passages which read like the minor nature Lakist (60), and many lines showing what Newman termed 'sacramentalism', or the view of nature through religious coloring (61), as well as certain instances wherein Keble seemed to reveal himself as the typical romanticist, glooming out of his window on a grey world:

In life's long sickness evermore
Our thoughts are tossing to and fro;
We change our posture o'er and o'er,
But cannot rest, nor cheat our woe. (62)

or, 'wandering by the willows, wishful of death':

Yet as along this violet bank I rove,
The languid sweetness seems to choke my breath,
I sit me down beside a hazel grove,
And sigh, and half could wish my weariness were death. (63)

The timid "half could wish" was as near as Keble ever came to a direct expression of the romantic longing for annihilation in death. Other poems in the Christian Year attempt at times a Wordsworthian symbolism which occasionally rings true, and occasionally is capricious and strained. Some of the happier examples are found in Monday in Easter Week, where prayer is likened to a small stream flowing, which is joined by streams from other sympathetic hearts; in the Second Sunday after Trinity, where autumn clouds mantle around the sun for love; in the Twenty First Sunday after Trinity, where the robin in bleak November symbolizes the cause of the Church in the future. Such symbolism was quite in keeping with the modest Keble, who always loved best the subdued virtues and characters which were least obtrusive, who liked Spenser because his allegory seemed to fulfill the reserve every poet should feel,
and whose theory of poetry prohibited the direct indulgence of feeling. The case he drew for allegory was very convincing. (64)

There is to be found in Keble the most piercing glimpses of the interior life, reminding the reader of the ecstasy or meditation of a saint, dreaming among his cloistered flowerpots, or rapt before the cross hung in his bare cell. Certain influences at the University were added to his native fund of religious fervor: the idea of chivalry reawakened by Scott's poetry, the meditative depth of Wordsworth—and all these joined to carry his spirit back to the older ages where his imagination found ampler range, and his devotion severer virtues. (65) Like Fraude, but not to such an inspired extent, he was a medievalist.

These three men, Newman, Fraude and Keble, have thus been shown to possess unexpected romantic depths in their personalities. Since they were the leaders of the movement, and since it is impossible to believe that their romantic selves were at will separable from their minds, it begins to appear that the Oxford Movement was in truth founded upon a genuine fund of the romantic temper, a more or less sober variant of romanticism which they used as means to the end of religion. With Newman it was Scott, with Fraude the middle age, and with Keble—Wordsworth. Thus three aspects of romanticism were reflected in the three men: the chivalric, the medieval and Gothic, and the Wordsworthian. The Oxford Movement could not possibly keep
its lineaments clear of the influence produced by the deep-set and certain romanticism of Newman, Froude and Keble.
Notes to Chapter III

1--quoted by Ingram, John Keble, pp. 51-2
2--op. cit., p. 90
3--e.g. The Holy Innocents, Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, Monday before Easter.
4--Lectures, I, p. 258-59
5--ibid, II, 212-13
6--ibid, II, 338-39
7--cf. Palm Sunday in the Christian Year, pp. 96-7
8--Lectures, II, 339
9--Look, John Keble, p. 227
10--J.T. Coleridge, A Memoir of John Keble, p. 93
11--Lectures, I, 376
13--J.T. Coleridge, op.cit., p. 363
14--ibid, p. 260
15--De Poeticæ Vi Medicae. Praelectiones Academicae Oxonii habitæ...a Joanne Keble, Oxonii, MDCCLXIV. Dedication, Englished edition.
16--ibid, II, 453
17--J.T. Coleridge, op.cit., p 365
18--DNB, article on Keble.
19--quoted by H. L. Stewart, A Century of Anglo-Catholicism, p. 66
20--Wordsworth, The Excursion, iii
21--ibid, iii
22--Intimations, v

23--Twenty Second Sunday after Trinity, in the Christian Year, p. 231-2

24--Twenty Fourth Sunday after Trinity, ibid, p. 239

25--Third Sunday in Lent, ibid, p. 88

26--Intimations, viii

27--Lectures, II, 168

28--Cf. Horace, Satires, II, i, 33

29--Lectures, II, 148-49

30--Ibid, I, 149. Note Keble's romanticization of the past, the age of the Greek heroes.

31--Vide letter to R.F. Wilson, July 29, 1842, quoted in J.T. Coleridge, op.cit., p. 149

32--Lectures, II, 187

33--In the British Critic, 1838; reprinted in Keble's Occasional Papers and Reviews, pp. 1-80. Subsequent references are to this reprint.

34--Ibid, p. 68

35--Ibid, 57

36--Ibid, 77

37--Ibid, 77

38--As was Keble. Vide Gunpowder Treason in the Christian Year: "Speak gently of our sister's fall," etc.


40--Ibid, 76

41--Ibid, 78

42--Stewart, op.cit., p. 60: "Even Macaulay was so moved by Mansen's picture of the Ancient Church as to record in his diary that he had read the book with tears, and that if he could believe it to be a true representation of what Romanism had been, he should be tempted to follow Newman's example." Quoted from Trevelyan, Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, p. 636
43.—Keble, *Life of Scott*, pp. 79-80


45.—Vide supra, p. 59

46.—*Cambridge Modern History*, IV, 766

47.—*Apologia*, Newman, p. 120; Old Edition, p. 18

48.—Vide supra, p. 59

49.—*Lectures*, I, 256-7

50.—Cp. this with Wordsworth's "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings." Cp. also the following points with the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*.

51.—*Lectures*, I, 290

52.—*Ibid.*, I, 21

53.—*Life of Scott*, Keble, p. 6

54.—H. P. Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, I, 271

55.—*First Sunday after Christmas*.

56.—Vide supra, p. 69-70

57.—*Fourth Sunday after Trinity*

58.—*Septuagesima Sunday*

59.—Vide *Twentieth Sunday after Trinity*, i-iv; *Evening*, iv; *Fourth Sunday in Advent*, passim.

60.—*First Sunday after Epiphany*, ii and iv; *Tuesday in Easter Week*, passim; *Fifth Sunday after Easter*, ii; *Twenty Third Sunday after Trinity*, i-iii; *All Saints' Day*, i-ii; *Burial of the Dead*, ii-iii; *Third Sunday in Lent*, iv; *Forms of a Prayer to be used at Sea*, i, etc.

61.—*Palm Sunday*, iv; *Trinity Sunday*, passim; especially *Ascension Day*, passim.

62.—*Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity*, iv.

63.—*Third Sunday after Easter*, i.

64.—"For when once the minds of readers begin to be drawn to
and reflect upon something deeper... I think, indeed, it makes little difference whether the result is produced by an allegorical symbolism or by the transference of the poet's own passion and disposition to actual characters... Allegory itself offers no obstacle to many of our country-men... for not only are the direct themes of the poem themselves expressed with lucidity and beauty, but the whole work is tinted with the character and leanings of the poet as by some mysterious aroma; and in such wise, indeed, that all recognize that he bursts forth into such expression naturally, and not for artistic effect."

_Lectures_, II, 36-7

65--Shafrp, _op. cit._, p. 295-98
Chapter IV

A Note on Scott

To some extent Scott's influence has already been pointed out, especially as it affected the three leaders of the movement. Newman spoke (1), it will be remembered, of his devotion to Walter Scott which dated from boyhood when in the mornings, before it was time to get up, he lay in bed reading the Waverley novels; in one of his lectures he attempted to show that Scott had been ashamed of his Catholic tendencies; and upon reading Lockhart's Life of Scott he wept real tears, for he felt that there was "an instrument in the hands of Providence for the revival of Catholicity." Freud, likewise (2), admired Scott a great deal, affirming that no one ever felt the same feverish interest over the Iliad and Odyssey as one did in the Waverley novels, and asking if there were any event in the whole compass of ancient fiction which could parallel the discovery scene in the Lady of the Lake. He found Scott's liberalism intolerable but felt that it was affected. Keble, even more than these, fell under the wizardry of the 'Scotch Pindar' (3), and was particularly drawn to him by that quality which was in both of them similar---"that they fastened on the circumstances in which they were placed as images and suggestions of bygone times and departed heroes." The feeling for places was in him quite as strong as in Scott. He loved to imagine what would have been the consequences if Scott had
been the poet of the Church rather than of Border minstrelsy, found Scott well-prepared for the entire system of the old Catholic Church, deplored the Calvinistic background of his early home, and finally pointed out how Scott’s work would have been bettered had his Catholic spirit been stronger.(4)

What, exactly, were those things in the work of Scott which so lured the imaginations of the Tractarians ?(5) Of prime importance was the fact that upon every page one could catch abundant evidence that Scott possessed the historic imagination, and that all of the popularization of romance may be credited to him. Scott romanticised history, just as Shakespeare dramatized it. Newman, Froude and Keble, with their authoritarian cast of mind, their passionate belief in the apostolic foundation of the English Church, were strongly dependent upon history; in fact, it was their sole excuse for believing what they did, the often bitter, sometimes sublime proof and power behind their creed. Naturally then, when in the work of Scott they came upon a revivification of the past’s dry bones, when they saw the skeletons arise and live in his magic pages, they fell at his feet. Scott, like all romanticists, was a resurrectionist, and his art was an elaborate pretense. He could not create the verum, but only the versimile, and with this the Tractarians had to be content. Even with his limitations, they thought, here was a man who could turn, if anyone could, the mind of the present back into the channels of faith!

Scott apprehended the Middle Ages on their spectacular,
and more particularly, their military side. He exhibited their large showy aspects: battles, processions, hunts, feasts in great hall, toursneys, sieges and the like. The motley medieval world swarmed in his pages, from the king on the throne to the capped fool. It was only the external that he saw: the noise, bustle, color and stirring action. He did not penetrate into the spiritualities, the scholasticisms, strange casuistries, arguments over the color of Satan's hooves, the splendid and devouring faith, or the gargoyles of the soul; he left untouched all of the medieval mysticisms, agenies and asceticism, the ecstatic reveries of the cloister, the terrors of hell, and the visions of Paradise. It was the literature of the knight, not the monk, that appealed to him. True, ecclesiastical figures did abound in his pages, but they were all limned conventionally, and viewed from the outside. This made no difference, however, to Froude nor to Keble—nay, even to Newman! It was enough for them that they could there read of the middle age; if logic and casuistry were needed, the Tracts could supply that want. All of them were so in the thrall of this reawakened vision of medieval times, all of them were so secretly romantic in their hearts, that their capitulation to Scott could be nothing if not complete.

The key to Scott's romanticism, remarks Beers(6), is his intense local feeling; that attachment to place which in most men is a sort of animal instinct was a passion with him. His absorption in the past and reverence for everything that was old, his conservative prejudices and aristocratic ambitions,
all had their source in this feeling. The only deep passion in
his poetry is patriotism, the passion of place. There was per-
haps no other tract in the world which could have united him
more closely to the Tractarians, whose love for the past grew
out of this same local feeling. These men stood for the church
of their homeland, the Church of England as opposed to the in-
truding stranger Rome; they believed in the Establishment’s
unshaken claim, and for the religion of their own soil fought
with a fierce, blind zeal, carrying patriotism so close to
their eyes that they could not see the greater light behind
it. Newman returned continually throughout his life to the
memories of his childhood home, Ham, and to all the other pla-
 ces where he had lived. Keble saw in the accidents of the pres-
ent the events of the past, and tied his environs closely to
their former significance. Only Hurrell Froude cast patriott-
ism aside and subordinated love of country to love of truth,
and he alone did not feel for Scott the same heyday of the
blood which moved his companions. Scott fed the flame of this
patriotism by anchoring the floating legends he discovered to
certain spots in the country, having not so much concern for
exactitude or truth as for effect; he saw that by particular-
izing his settings he could greatly increase his dominance. He
succeeded admirably, and intensified all the more the national
feeling which he awoke. For who of that romantic age would not
love his land the more if he thought that only two miles away,
in the Vale of Saint John, was the place where once lived the
lords of Triermain? The truth could not, need never be determined. When it is realized that the Oxford Movement partially grew out of a patriotic emotion which was determined to keep the English Church intact, then Scott's influence in this regard will be admitted.

'An hereditary High Churchman' emphasized the impressions received in youth from Scott. In the novels of that author he found how the Church of Rome had more than its appointed share of vestments, music and other apparatus of cult, and this gave him a longing for a richer ritual in the English Church. The Establishment's opportunities for confession, also, were a poor equivalent to that spiritual relation of priest and penitent which he found in the picture of Ronald Graeme, kneeling to Father Ambrose in The Abbott. Scott introduced his contemporaries and the future to the medieval world, in novels like Ivanhoe and Quentin Durward, and by all his creations taught men to cast sheep's eyes at the world of the idealized past, although as has been shown he did not enter the soul of the Middle Ages, which in his interpretation became a counterpart of the XIX century Gothic revival. Both Pugin and Scott may have helped unsteady souls to find their way to Rome, but those converts whose destiny was settled by medieval pageantry and pointed windows were not epoch-forming in church history. The Oxford Movement in itself preferred the early Church to that of the Middle Ages; therefore Scott's devotion could be only partly appropriated. But it, like him, breathed the air of idealized beauty. His moral earnestness
made him the Church's ally, and the Oxford men were deeply conscious of this.(8)

The publication of Lockhart's *Life of Scott* in 1830 revealed other reasons of Scott's attraction for the people of the times. In his novels one found, it was true, the long processions of bright improbable monks, ladies with their long veils trailing from the peaks of their steeple hats, knights with vizard lowered and greaves clanking against silver stirrups, war, love and worship—but what of the man who wrote all this? How had he lived, what were his thoughts, whence came his inspirations? They knew that he lived in a modern Gothic villa, Abbotsford (9), but what were his other tastes? In Lockhart they found everything revealed.

"From this time," Scott wrote in the *Autobiographical Memoir* which prefaces the *Life*, "the love of natural beauty, more especially when combined with ancient ruins, or remains of our fathers' piety or splendour, became with me an insatiable passion, which, if circumstances had permitted, I would willingly have gratified by travelling over half the globe."(10) In him all classicism had been rooted out. At school he soon forgot the little Greek he knew, and earned for himself the title of 'Greek blockhead'. Tasso and Ariosto meant much more to him than Homer. He sought for trophies of death and took a melancholy pleasure in a skull and crossed bones which adorned his bookcase. He liked the monkish Latin of medieval chroniclers, especially that of Matthew Paris. He enjoyed Ossian, though more in his youth than when he grew older, "for," said
he, "the external repetition of the same ideas and imagery, however beautiful in themselves, is apt to pall upon a reader whose taste has become somewhat fastidious."(11) Ossian was at that time very popular on the continent (12), and had an important effect on Goethe; the Ossianic poetry also impressed Chateaubriand and through him may claim a vague influence on the Gothic revival. Through Goethe it had a more definite influence on Scott; it was not Goethe's maturer work which he translated, but the juvenile, romantic and Ossianic Götz von Berlichingen.(13) Ossian, despite this indirect influence through Goethe, nevertheless belongs less to Scott's side of romanticism than to the wild baroque romanticism of Byron and Napoleon.

One of the things which made him particularly dear to the heart of Newman, and to all the Tractarians who abased their reason before supernaturalism, was Scott's reaction towards the marvellous, shown everywhere throughout Lockhart, and summarized most excellently in a Lockhart transcription of certain memoranda furnished by J. L. Adolphus: "On the subjects commonly designated as the 'marvellous', his mind was susceptible, and it was delicate. He loved to handle them in his own manner ... not to be pressed in them, or brought to anything like a test of belief or disbelief respecting them... Sir Walter... never cared to ascertain very precisely where this point [at which incredulity is found to waver] lay in his own mental constitution; still less...did he wish the investigation to be seriously pursued by others. In no instance...was his cel-
equally eloquent more striking than when he was launched in some 'tale of wonder'. The story came from him with an equally good grace, whether it was to receive a natural solution, to be smiled at as merely fantastical, or to take its chance of a serious reception."(14) During his entire life Scott always took a definite pleasure in listening to tales of witches, of the Grey Brother, and of a thousand local legends.

All of his life, too, he loved the psalmody of the Catholic Church. In a letter to George Crabbe he once wrote: "I think those hymns which do not immediately recall the warm and exalted language of the Bible are apt to be, however elegant, rather cold and flat for the purposes of devotion. You will readily believe that I do not approve of the vague and indiscriminate Scripture language which the fanatics of old and modern Methodism have adopted... To my Gothic ear, indeed, the Stabat Mater, the Dies Irae, and some of the other hymns of the Catholic Church, are more solemn and affecting than the fine classical poetry of Buchanan; the one has the gloomy dignity of a Gothic church, and reminds us incessantly of the worship to which it is dedicated; the other is more like a Pagan temple, recalling to our memory the classical and fabulous deities."(15) Towards the end of his life, during his last illness, when Lockhart asked which book he should read to him, Scott said, "Need you ask? There is but one," and Lockhart chose the fourteenth chapter of St. John. "...That evening he heard the Church service, and when I was about to close the book, said, "Why do you omit the visitation of the
sick?"—which I added accordingly." (16) Another instance, observed John Keble, of his sober love for the liturgy. (17) The Lay of the Last Minstrel closed with a few lines translated from the Dies Irae, chanted by the monks of Melrose Abbey. Of his death Lockhart writes quietly and beautifully: "A few times also, I am sorry to say, we could perceive that his fancy was at Jedburgh—and Burk Sir Walter escaped him in melancholy tone. But commonly whatever we could follow him in was a fragment of the Bible (especially the Prophecies of Isaiah, and the Book of Job)——or some petition in the litany——or a verse of some psalm (in the old Scotch metrical version)——or of some of the magnificent hymns of the Romish ritual, in which he had always delighted, but which probably hung on his memory now in connection with the church services he had attended while in Italy. We very often heard distinctly the cadence of the Dies Irae; and I think the very last stanza that we could make out, was the first of a still greater favorite—

Stabat Mater dolosa,
Juxta crucem lachrymosa,
Dum pendebat Filius. (18)

All these things, then, delighted the Tractarians, who saw in Scott the popular apologist for Catholic Christianity, and who excused his superficiality, his too facile devices, his artifices and conventions, in view of the sober and wonderful function he performed in reawakening the consciousness of mediæval life. He made romanticism so wholesome, brought it so close to ordinary living, gave it such integrity, calm, and
freedom from fever, that he bestowed an average and normal value upon it. For accomplishing this almost impossible feat of making the far ages of faith seem casually at hand, and as possible to attain as a breath of air, the Tractarians loved him, thrilled to his sensitivity, and rejoiced that he had broken the brush for their highway.
Notes to Chapter IV

1.--Vide supra, p. 24-25

2.--Vide supra, p. 52-53

3.--Vide supra, p. 65-70

4.--For a summary definition of Scott's influence, see Gun-
ning's John Henry Kardinaal Newman, pp. 108-09, where
this occurs: "Alle denkende menschen stonden in deze da-
gen min of meer onder den invloed der romantiek. Men was
moe van al de ontkenningen der "verlichting," der "Auf-
klärung", van al het spotten met die "domme roemsehem"
met hun dwaze bijgelovigheden." Uit de onbevredigheid
met het hedon werd een zeker enthousiasme voer het ver-
leden geboren, ja een bepaalde vóórdeel voor die"den-
kere" middeleeuwen, die men vroeger zoo hartgrondig had
verworpen zonder er veel van te kennen. Nu vernaam men er
get een en ander van uit de romans van Walter Scott en
vele anderen, men kreeg zeker heimwee maar een gezag,
naar een kerk, naar heid van leven, en dat vond men dan
toch maar in het roemseh-Katholicisme, zoodat het in die
veelgelezen boeken werd afgeschilderd, on eindig meer dan
in het "koze harteloze protestantisme." Nu werd het
Katholicisme verheerlijkt, gelijk het vroeger vermiend
was geworden, maar even eens zonder grondige kennis er
van. In elk geval, de geestelijke atmosfeer dier dagen
was met allerlei mystieke, onbestede-religieus verlang-
gens en verwachtingen gedrenkt. Men moet deze dingen wet-
en om Newmans psychologische ontwikkeling te kunnen ver-
staan. Een man als hij kan daar geen blijvend geestes-
voedsel vinden...."

5.--Vide the excellent discussion in Beers, op.cit., p. l-47,
Scott, from which many of the following points are taken.

6.--op.cit., pp. 8-9

7--Recollections of Forty Years, by an Hereditary High Church-
man, quoted from Brillot, op.cit., pp. 55-56

8--Liddon, op.cit., I, 254. "That relation [i.e. to the Ox-
ford Movement, often discussed by Pusey] consisted not on-
ly of the high moral tone which characterised Scott's wri-
tings...but also...in the interest which he aroused on be-
half of ages and persons which had been buried...."

9--Vide supra, p. 24

10--Lockhart, Life of Scott, I, 39-40
11—ibid, II, 53-58. Vide also I, 36


13—Beers, op.cit., p. 5. For Scott's influence on the Gothic Revival, vide infra, p. 120-1


15—ibid, III, 24-25

16—ibid, VII, pp. 387, 389

17—Keble, Occasional Papers and Reviews, p. 79

Chapter V

Asceticism, Monasticism, Mysticism and Pantheism

i. Asceticism

The difficulty of establishing a connection between romanticism and asceticism has already been surmounted and explained (1) by the realisation that certain spirits are so constituted as to be able to make a ruling passion of denial instead of indulgence. The romantic au Byron parades the submission he makes before his lady and draws from his exhibitionism a sweet consoling melancholy; the romantic aux Tractarians is generally a trifle more reticent, except on paper, about his submission to God. As the lover tries to win his lady by outrivalling other suitors with the abundance of his gifts, so the Tractarians strove to win the favor of God by the poverty of their lives and principles and the diversity of their denials, although any rivalry, if it did exist, was kept secret or confided, as Froude's, to the pages of a journal. All Christian asceticism must be nourished and justified in the contemplation of the suffering Savior, and this applies to the ascetic preaching of the Oxford Movement; it is necessary to understand the deprival motif in the preaching of the Movement in order to comprehend its peculiar type of piety.

Pusey on St. Thomas's Day, 1833, composed a Tract—number eighteen in the series of ninety—on fasting, his object being merely to revive the rules of the Prayer Book on the observance of certain fast-days, especially Fridays, since the
abstinences of that day recalled week by week the memory of the Savior's sufferings. Fasting, Pusey found from his own experience, was a protection against the slothful and worldly habits so agreeable to man's natural selfishness. (2) He compared the moral advantage of regularity in fasting with that of regularity in church attendance, and in reading the daily lessons ordered by the Church. Fasting, again, was closely connected with retirement and prayer, which were so necessary for "real insight into the recesses of our nature, or for deep aspirations after God." It enabled one to resist the dissipating effect of an age of activity, while it suggested and made easy the practice of a more self-denying extensive charity than was usual with modern Christians. Fasting was a witness to the reality of spiritual things: "he who suffers hardship for an unseen reward at least gives evidence to the world of his own conviction." (3) This truth, naively and innocently stated by Pusey, became for Proude the nightmare stumbling-block (4), and was a source of his greatest torture.

Pusey's tract, number eighteen, differed from its predecessors in the degree of emphasis which it laid on personal and experimental considerations. It pointed out that the Church's rules were a help to timorous spirits. "Fasting, retirement and prayer, as they severally and unitedly tend to wean us from ourselves and cast us upon God, will tend to promote singleness of purpose, to refine our busy and overheated restlessness into a calm and subdued confidence in Him, in whose strength we go forth." (5) The Tract caused quite a
stir because it assumed, as not requiring proof, the duty of fasting on the part of Christians, and too many people at that time questioned such a premise.

Hurrell Froude wanted to chasten himself before the Lord, and Newman formulated the same thought even more clearly and decisively in his sermon on _The Yoke of Christ_ which gives a summary of his ascetic preaching: "This is the especial object which is set before us, to become holy as He Who has called us is holy, and to discipline and chasten ourselves in order that we may become so; and we may be quite sure, that unless we chasten ourselves God will chasten us."(6) He called renunciations the "weapons of saints", and said, "As health and exercise and regular diet are necessary to the strength of the body, so an enfeebling and afflicting of the natural man, a chastening and afflicting of soul and body are necessary to the exaltation of the soul."(7) Prayer and fasting were the wings of the soul, without which it could not take its heavenward road.(8) This, however, did not connote that the aim of the Tractarians was a realization of the ecstatic state, for such an aim was indeed alien to the sober Oxford school.

"A smooth and easy life," Newman elsewhere wrote, "an uninterrupted enjoyment of the goods of Providence, full meals, soft raiment, well furnished homes, the pleasures of sense, the feeling of security, the consciousness of wealth—these, and the like, if we are not careful, choke up all the avenues of the soul, through which the light and breath of heaven might come to us. A hard life is, alas, no certain method of becom-
ing spiritually minded, but it is one out of the means by which Almighty God makes us so. We must, at least at seasons, defraud ourselves of nature, if we would not be defrauded of grace."(9)

Thus there is nothing strange about the ascetic temper of the Oxford Movement, or in regarding it as an altered aspect of the romantic attitude; it is essentially the same impulse which prompts the love-torn prince to send his witch-woman violets and causes an Oxonian to offer the rigours of an ascetic life to his God.

ii. Monasticism

There was something fascinating to the Tractarians about the idea of a group of men living together in chastity for the purpose of serving their Creator. Monasteries were romantic things to the times; there were few Gothic tales not plentifully interlarded with them, or few romantic stories in which they did not appear, from Otranto to Melrose Abbey.(10) The ideal of chastity had intrigued both Newman and Froude, and Keble even found opportunity to introduce its praise into his course of lectures on poetry, saying that The Suppliants of Aeschylus should be placed first among his works if for no other reason than that the most religious poet of ancient Greece there maintained and defended the cause of chastity.(11) Froude, in a letter to Newman dated August 31, 1833, from one reason or another made this suggestion: "It has lately come into my head that the present state of things in England
makes an opening for reviving the monastic system. I think of putting the view forward under the title of 'Project for reviving Religion in great Towns'. Certainly colleges of unmarried priests (who might, of course, retire to a living, when they could and liked) would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the spiritual wants of a large population."

It was the same motive, the religious needs of big towns, which impelled Pusey to found the first Neo-Anglican sisterhood in Regents' Park, 1845. The Tractarians had before their eyes the deep and moving account in the Apocalypse of the hosts of celestial virgins, and the exaltation of virginity in the early Fathers was also not without its influence, especially as it was echoed in some of the High Church writers of the seventeenth century. Hooker, though married, yet held that a single life was a thing"more angelical and divine."(13) Bishop Andrewes, in his Devotions (14) gave thanks for "the Virgins, flowers of purity, celestial gems, brides of the Immaculate Lamb", and it is recorded of him on his tomb in St. Saviour's, Southwark, that "oelebs migravit ad aureolam coelestem'.

Laud declared that, in disposing of ecclesiastical promotions, he should prefer the single man to the married; Jeremy Taylor said that virginity of the chosen and voluntary kind was "a life of angels, the enamel of the soul, the huge advantage of religion, the great opportunity for the retirements of devotion."(15) Thorndike maintained that "in the profession of monastic life there is ground for presuming that those who live in it come nearer what our baptism professeth, by the means
thereof, than others can do." (16) This same conviction led Nicholas Ferrar to establish Little Gidding under Charles I, and in the next century, the deepest motive is found in Law's _Serious Call_: "If the religion of Christians is founded upon the infinite humiliations, the cruel mockings and scourgings, the prodigious sufferings, the poor persecuted life and painful death of a crucified Son of God; what wonder is it if many humble adorers of this profound mystery—many affectionate lovers of a crucified Lord—should renounce their share of worldly pleasures and give themselves up to a continual course of mortification and self-denial; that thus suffering with Christ here, they may reign with Him hereafter?" and that "the purity and perfection of the virgin state hath been the praise and glory of the Church in its first and purest ages." (17) With such a tradition behind them, it is small wonder that the members of the Oxford Movement turned towards monasticism, and its engendered chastity.

It was significant but fateful, remarks Brilioth (18), that the reintroduction of monasticism should become a direct means of strengthening the influence of modern Roman Catholicism on the Church of England. Newman's house at Littlemore, which an Italian priest said would make a Capuchin monastery look like a palace, had a highly conventual stamp, although it is amusing to see him vehemently and rudely deny to callers that he and his sympathetic coterie were living monastically. Besides his practical venture into community life, Newman had
already approved of it in the abstract, observing that "Men want an outlet for their devotional and penitential feelings, and if we do not grant it, it is a dead certainty they will go where they can find it." (19) It would seem that these men did not wish a Pharisaic professional holiness, or to parade their self discipline.

In another quarter a different form of monasticism appeared, initiated, however, under grave suspicion and with semi-questionable motives behind it. A number of parishioners, chiefly young men (20), began to go to confession to Father Faber, and to receive communion frequently. There was nothing culpable in this, indeed, except that Faber, one of the converts to Rome, has in the evidence of recent investigation been cast under much the same yellow light as Froude. (21) His poetry was criticised because of his extravagant tone of language to his friends. He answered in defense that "strong expressions towards male friends were matters of taste. I feel what they express to me; I never did to a born woman."

* Vide also the very tender account of Faber's parting from his Greek servant, which reads like a page from a Gothic novel. (22)

Out of these young penitents who gathered around him, however, he chose the most promising, and formed a sort of community. They were accustomed to meet in the rectory every night at twelve o'clock and to spend about an hour in prayer. The use of the discipline, whether whip or rod is not revealed, was introduced on Fridays, the eves of festivals, and every night in Lent, each taking his turn to receive it from the others.
There is no way of learning if Newman's young men also disport-
ed themselves in this sadistic fashion, taking turns at beating
their comrades. It becomes very easy for such intensified and
hysterical emotion to waver on the brink and fall from the
high peak of devotion into the chasm of sensuality, and all in
a second's time. Faber's dangerous pastimes masking as religious
throw a shadow on the purity of the monastic ideals of the
movement.

iii Mysticism, Pantheism

It is scarcely to be expected, in view of the logical,
cold and sober aims of the Oxford school, that one should find
it much concerned with mysticism or the state of ecstasy, things
which had too much of a flavor of individualism, almost of
Protestantism. The mystic, rapt in his self-experienced con-
templation of God had but small need to depend upon the au-
thority and interpretations of an earthly church. The Estab-
lishment, could give nothing to him who saw the deity with his
own eyes. The aim of individual communion without the medium
of the church, the idea of tapping for oneself those ineffa-
ble channels of grace, was foreign to the spirit of the move-
ment, which had been initiated essentially to revive a corpor-
eal church. Despite this, however, in the leaders of the move-
ment there appear, now faint, now strong, the yearnings of the
soul for the mystical experience, expressed sometimes timidly,
and sometimes in the most impassioned language.
"And I must regulate my practice by faith," wrote the youngest of them, the ascetic Froude, "and a steady imitation of great examples, in hopes that by degrees, what I now have only faint and occasional glimpses of, may be the settled objects on which my imagination reposes, and that I may be literally hid in the presence of the Lord."(23) In those 'faint and occasional glimpses' which came to him while his mental faculties lay dormant in the vacancy caused by his fasting, Froude found sufficient recompense for all the pangs his abstinences caused him. John Keble, in entitling one of his tracts Mysticism meant little more than the kind of symbolism so usual for him to indulge in: merely an adaptation of nature's symbolic or sacramental character, which was best expressed in the Christian Year. It must not be imagined, however, that simply because the Oxford aims were not primarily ecstatic, the members of the movement did not love to dwell upon the thought of the infinite and mysterious depth of spiritual reality. Newman realized that the biblical concept of the world, like the physical, was a figure, a mystery, a 'sacramental truth', under whose external appearance the invisible gift of grace was concealed rather than expressed.(24) Much like Froude, Newman expressed the blessedness of communion with God: "We have been brought into that mysterious Presence of God which encompasses us, which is in us, and around us, which enwraps us, as though in a robe of light, hiding our scarred and discolored souls from the sight of the Divine Purity, and making them shining as the Angels; and which flows in upon us by means of
all forms of beauty which this visible world contains."(25)

But this was not mysticism in the deeper sense. The most genuine enumeration of mystic communion with God exists in the work of Edward Bouverie Pusey, the doctor mysticus of Neo-Anglican theology. At times this instinct led him back to the chief source of mysticism in the early Church, remarks Brilioth (26), and made Plato himself speak.(27) Saint Bernard attracted him more than any other medieval writer; he knew also Ruysbroek and Tauler; the modern Roman mystics, such as Blasius, St. John of the Cross, St. Theresa of Avila, Mouet, Scopoli, but he preferred the medieval ones: Catherine of Siena, Thomas à Kempis, and Bonaventura. Pusey was never content with the reproduction of their thought, but lived in their world independently, and in awkward expressions worthy of the classical mystic framed his rapturous contemplation of God. "Bliss of Heaven!" he cried, "we shall be like him!" "Oh deep Ocean of joy and bliss and love, wherein we shall ever freely range, ever longing yet ever satisfied; ever filled yet never sated; ever loving yet never weary; ever receiving fresh streams of love and glory and bliss from the exhaustless Fountain of all Good, which is God."(28)

Pusey, however, so undeniably mystic, was conscious of the danger of this piety*, through which the Divine easily

* As were so many other theologians of mystic tendencies, including Newman and Keble.

gets something of the character of infinite substance, and ends in pantheism. In the Preface (1848) to the Sermons during the
Season from Advent to Whitsuntide, which aimed at inculcating the divine indwelling in man, Brilich points out (29) that Pusey was specially concerned with meeting the view that the doctrine of 'the participation of the Divine nature (II St. Petar, 1, 4) leads to pantheism'. He saw in pantheism one of the most dangerous enemies to Christianity, and traced its rise to Lutheran Germany, but he did not venture to say how far the Eutychianism of Luther in his theory as to the Holy Eucharist might have contributed to it, for Eutychianism, by which is meant the doctrine of *ubiquitas carnis Christi*, was pantheistic in its characteristic heresy. Only such a union with God was pantheistic, in which the soul lost itself, its own existence, when absorbed into the Divine Being. "Yet so doth the soul of man long for union with God, that if the truth is withheld from it, it will seek, by way of imagination or of heresy, Him, Whom ignorantly (Saint Paul tells us) and blindly human nature 'feels after', 'though He be not far from everyone of us'."(30) Here, as elsewhere in Pusey, the chief aim of mystic piety was to lose itself in God, to let itself be carried away by the strong flood, to sink into its sea. He established the peak of the mystic ideal when, in speaking of the blessed, he said that "He, the Fountain of all good, shall overstream them with the Torrent of His Pleasure, and enfold them and fill them with His Love, and irradiate them with His Light. Their Being shall be His Being, and they shall be themselves, only to be not themselves, only that there may be beings, to be forever filled with the Thrilling,
Pure, Holy, Estatic Love of God. They shall be out of themselves in the Absorbing Love of God, and God, in His boundless Love, shall dwell in them.”(31)

It would be difficult to find anywhere in nineteenth century religious expression a more intense or passionately stated ideal of mystic union with the divine current.
Notes to Chapter V

1--Vide supra, p. 33
2--Liddon, op.cit., I, 280-1
3--Tract XVIII
4--Vide supra, pp. 36-7
5--Quotation from the Homily on Fasting, in the book of Homilies, in Pusey's Tract XVIII, p. 7
6--Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons, VII, 110. Vide also Briliesth, op.cit., pp. 245-7
7--ibid, VI, 322
8--ibid, VI, 208, Rising with Christ
9--ibid, V, 337, Love the One Thing Needful
10--Cf. Hino Raile, The Haunted Castle, passim
11--Keble, Lectures on Poetry, II, 91
12--Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude, I, 1, 322
13--Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, v. 73, I
14--Oxford, 1846, Part II, 53
16--Epilogue III, Works, IV, 818
17--Chapter IX. Vide Liddon, op.cit., III, 3-4 for the above four references.
18--op.cit., p. 247
19--Newman's Correspondence with Keble and others, p. 172
20--Life and Letters of F. W. Faber, by J. E. Bowden, pp. 214-15
21--Vide Faber, Oxford Apostles, especially p. 231
22--Life and Letters of F. W. Faber, by J. E. Bowden, p. 341; "This afternoon I parted with Demetri---a sorrowful business
for both of us, as he was much attracted to me and I to him. He kissed my hand and rubbed it with his forehead for the last time. He begged me not to forget him...and went away with tears in his eyes. I felt quite lonely this evening... I hope I have combated successfully some of his loose Greek notions... It is a painful privilege to sow flower seeds whose blooming you may never see... I felt his going so much more than I expected that I was fain to take a lonely walk. I went to the large cemetery behind Galata, and roamed about in the interminable cypress gloom; now skirting the trees so as to see the Bosphorus, with its bright palaces and ships beneath me; now, as the wayward humour impelled, plunging into the thickest golden green darkness, vocal with a hundred nightingales and misty as the aisles of a Gothic cathedral."

23.—Remains, I, i, 39

24.—Vide the sermon in Parochial and Plain Sermons, II, 211, number 18, where he speaks of the two worlds as two languages.

25.—ibid, IV, 228

26.—op.cit., p. 296-7

27.—"The soul of one who greatly loveth is much more in the heart it loveth than in itself." From the Sermons during the Season from Advent to Whitsun tide, Oxford 1848, p.226, reprinted as the first part of the Parochial Sermons and quoted by Brilioth, ibid.


29.—op.cit., pp. 299-300

30.—Pusey, op.cit., Preface, p. xxi. It has already been shown how Newman consciously drew away from pantheism in his Mediterranean voyage, and how Kehle could never quite approach it, although he enjoyed flirting with it through the bars.

31.—Pusey, op.cit., p. 119
Chapter VI

Pusey and Byron

Although it was Pusey's name which was used by their enemies to designate the adherents of the Oxford Movement, the 'mystical doctor' had not a great connection with the heart of the group. Recognizing the initials E. B. P. which were signed to the tract on fasting, the Low Church party coined the term 'Puseyites'. It was a stroke of genius, for the word contained immeasurable potentialities of inflection which could convey the whole range of scorn and hatred. Pusey, however, almost tricked into being "one of them", never flung himself into the fray as lustily as did Newman; he stands as the restraining overseer of the younger men. There was something austere about him, his manner, speech and air. How the unsympathetic ever dared make an epithet out of the name of such a forbidding man remains a mystery. He never wanted to go as far as Newman in doctrine, and followed him because he loved the man rather than approved the matter. His suspension from the University on grounds of Tractarian heresy was effected upon dubious charges, never entirely disclosed, and not because he made clear-cut declarations of anti-Anglican treason. He was not one of the great fighters of the movement.

As a younger man, from the age of perhaps seventeen to twenty-four, Pusey fell under the spell of Byron. A chain of
circumstances initiated by his meeting, at Buckden where he had gone for a year's special tuition, the charming and impetuous Maria Barker, daughter of a neighboring landowner, led him into it. The affair progressed more or less fortunately until his third year at Oxford, when his father with a violent exhibition of authority, forbade further intercourse between his son and Miss Barker. There seems to have been no particular reason for the prohibition, and the result of his interference was that Edward's natural depression of spirits deepened into a form of melancholia. He had been reading Byron all this while, and for a time had made Byronism his system of life. He spoke later of "the excessive Byronism" of his early manhood, and in October 1827 he observed: "My friend Luxmoore reminded me yesterday, in discussing Lord Byron, of an expression I had used when nineteen, that I never arose from reading Lord Byron a better man."(1) His father's injunction accentuated Edward's Weltschmerz and for a time he felt that his reason was giving way. His health broke down, but despite this he gained a first class in his degree. His father presented him with a set of the Fathers, when all the lad wanted was Maria Barker, and Edward spent the early summer of 1822 in a shady corner of the garden of his home, his folios around him and a tub of water close by, so that he could plunge his head into the cold water "whenever study made it ache."

In July, 1822, his father permitted him to go on a three months' tour of the continent with Sheffield Neave, a college friend. Together the two explored Switzerland, and it is from
the journal which Edward kept on the trip that one obtains the information about his Byronism. He described Mont Blanc, a sight more unusual than than now, in impassioned words and colors, and ended: "After an hour or more the sun rested on Mont Jura, and the scene gradually changed; the contrast was striking, as the shadow gradually invaded the villas and the plain; but when it had devoured the nearer mountains, when those which had just rivalled the monarch sunk as in death, and the mountain itself, with those of its suite, was kindled by the sun's full glory, and seemed to belong to another world, the soul was excited almost to tears."

(2) At the last sight of Mont Blanc he wrote: "Though the vivid scene which had feasted our eyes so long left for some little time the illusion that the tints we had so much prized were still there, yet it was but like the recoiling of the heart from unpleasing intelligence; the truth was too soon marked in characters too intelligible that I had witnessed, perhaps for the last time, the most soul filling scene in nature. The chill scene struck cold to my heart; lovely as was the decay, and slow and gentle, there was too much to remind me of my own lot not to inspire the deepest melancholy." (3)

One discovers in nature all that one brings to it, and Pusey saw the gloom and shadows of his own heart reflected from the Swiss mountain: "The sun, which kindled Mont Blanc, will revisit it again with its glowing light, but when the warmth of feeling which has illumined and cheered the heart is once quenched there may remain some smouldering embers to
indicate that a flame once lighted it, but the snows of the mountain are not more old or comfortless than that heart must be. Yet would I not exchange the heart, which could be ennobled by such feelings, even in its decay, for the dullness of insensibility.... It may yet be blended, it is blended with religion and with the fire which came down from heaven. Yet then as ever it is necessary to subdue [my secret melancholy] and bear it alone. Naive, ignorant of its cause, must not share its effect, yet he occasionally excites it; and when he bade me this evening take leave of the Aiguille peak forever, the words found a gloomy correspondence with feelings of my own."

(4)

While retiring to Geneva, Pusey was much interested in a grotto near Balme. He described a heavy thunder-storm which overtook them between Geneva and Lausanne. The castle of Chillon interested him as, at that time, a warm admirer of Byron. Storms prevented his visit to Rousseau's home on the island of St. Pierre. He and Naive spent four hours looking steadily at the mighty falls of Schaffhausen, to see which they had travelled two heavy days' journey. On the way to Zurich Pusey described the scenery at length. The scene seemed "...like the wreck of some mighty mind, which, amid decay and convulsion, preserves the majesty of its earlier state...It was like him in whom was——

All changed that ever charmed before,
Save the heart that beat for Ellinore. (5)

Pusey enjoyed, when he was describing a scene, to think
less of it that of its application to his own mental conditions:
"The depth immediately below us was indicated by the torrent, which wound round where the ravine took its last turn, as another [Torrent], whitening, trembled to meet it. On each side trees yet flourishing were bending as to meet over its division, or waving their arms as if they bowed towards it, while others, leafless and decaying, as they hung by the one yet remaining root, which yet upheld them with firmness almost incredible, while it seemed so far beyond its power to aid against storm and tempest, formed an emblem appropriate to the remainder of the scene. Buffeted and sore stricken by the tempest before which it had sunken, reft of the support in which it had trusted, and by which amid dangers it would have stood glorying and unmoved, deserted by the gradual withdrawing of all other aid, it was yet restrained, though nodding to its fall, from final destruction by one single support. When that support should cease, it was destined to plunge headlong from the mountain's height deep in the roaring tide below to endless night."(6) On viewing the results of a landslide at Rossberg, he was moved to exclaim, and so reveal the connection in his mind between romanticism and religion, "Could you for a moment forget the cause of the wild confusion around you, the bare and fearful nakedness of the mountain still remains to recall it, and, should the valley ever regain any portion of its former cheerfulness, would be to their children's children an ever-present record of His power, by Whom the mountains tremble."(7) The sunrise on the Righi was an-
other instance of the proof of God's power, and the opportunity for a far-fetched analogy: "It was singular how soon the objects from their structure or from their shadow most engrossing sunk into insignificance before the rising majesty of others, or how, when the loftiest had veiled themselves in clouds, the village spire received the full rays of the sun. It seemed the triumph of revealed over natural religion, when the objects most suited to the exercise of each had been placed in the balance and the latter even thus found wanting." (8)

Pusey's Swiss journal is thus revealed to be burdened with more than traces of a temper of mind which he was not able to discard for some years. (9) The young man was of course too much of a scholar not to be sensible of the wealth of Byron's language and the dashing music of his verse. Byron's secret attraction for Pusey lay in his exposition of a new and attractive philosophy of life. The element of sensuality in his work was repulsive to Pusey, but Byron was also the prophet of the disappointed and as such could throw a strange spell over Edward whose dreams of Miss Barker had been so rudely shattered. The young man came to regard life in that sad, nerveless, dreamy way which imperceptibly tended towards a listless survey of evil as something more interesting than deadly.

Later in life Pusey wrote of Byron that the extreme force and beauty of his poetry, "combined with a habit of deep and, in some degree, morbid feeling, which had always, more or less, a shade of gloom, induced us to give our assent to, and
even in some measure exult in feelings of whose full extent we were either at that time not aware, or at least against which we half, and but half, shut our eyes." (10) All of his Byron-
ism, however, remarked Liddon, did not lead him to give up his habits of regular prayer, or to renounce his faith in God's providence, or lead him into moral mischief. It was af-
ter all a very safe dilution, and when the time came for a choice, Pusey 'frankly abandoned' his Byronism. The question, however, is whether an eight year habit of thought, indulged during the impressionable years, could be cast off at will, or if it might not tinge his later actions, and color his thoughts and decisions. Psychology as it is known today will not allow the possibility of the slate swept clean, and reason declares that certainly vestiges of the discarded Byronism were at work in all the years of Pusey's life.

As Byron to a certain extent altered Pusey's view of the Swiss mountains, so he also tinted the young man's first read-
ing of Scott, who ministered to the feelings Byron had aroused and gratified. Edward's brother, Phillip, induced him to read Rokeby by telling him there was much of Wilfrid in his char-
acter. "I read the book," Edward said long afterwards, "most carefully, and found it so; it became from that time my great-
est favourite. Maria, of course, occupied the place of Matil-
da. My destiny was...identified with Wilfrid's. You may, or rather cannot, conceive the effect of the beautiful "cypress
wreath" or the few last words which Wilfrid addresses to Matil-
da. These were my principal treasures, though indeed any pass-
age which I could torture into a means of distracting was wel-
come, and the book was complete poison."[12]

Curiously enough, it is possible to point out for Pusey
a source of influence which through another channel had alread-
y acted upon the movement.[13] Coleridge's spiritual homeland
was Germany, the land of Kant, and from the German philosoph-
ers and theologians he gained the greater part of the chiasmal
systems which he promulgated in England. Very little philosop-
ical or transcendental mysticism, remarks Beers (14), existed
in the English romanticists except Coleridge, who became the
mediator between German and English thought. But Coleridge's
poetry was written mainly before he visited Germany and made
acquaintance with the systems of Kant and Schelling, and in
proportion as his speculative activity increased, his creative
force declined. There is indeed enough of the marvellous and
unexplained in his early poetry, but the mystic ruby and the
blue flower of the Teutonic symbolists, the throne-and-altar
school, are not there. It was in his prose alone that German
mysticism was reflected.

Like Coleridge, Pusey visited Germany. He found that his
theological powers were insufficiently developed to enable him
to engage in convincing argument with an unbelieving friend
without the help of Gottfried Less's writing, and Pusey knew
no German. He resolved, therefore, to study theology in Ger-
many, where faith and rationalism were less hypocritically
friends than in England. He wanted also to become familiar
with the German language and literature in German itself. "My object in going," he wrote to Parker in May, 1825, "is neither a particular book, nor a particular part of theology; so that I can only state generally that I hope to derive great assistance from the German literature in all the critical and scientific parts of Divinity." (15) He went first to Gottingen (16) and attended the lectures of the venerable and learned Eichhorn, but was shocked beyond measure by certain purposely irreverent and rationalistic, handlings which the Books of Moses received. "This," he exclaimed in sudden panic, "will all come upon us in England; and how utterly unprepared for it we are!" Terrified, he fled from Gottingen and went to Berlin, where he came under Schleiermacher, another rationalist, who had reconciled reason and belief and created a new theological system. (17) Schleiermacher felt towards the person of Christ a certain mystical devotion, and knew the desire to dwell in imagination upon the sufferings of the Lord. It was an exaltation of feeling above thought, and it fulfilled Pusey's need for emotional sadism which had already appeared in his submission to 'morbid feelings' about Maria Barker, and his enslavement with Byronism.

It is not the present concern to do more than suggest a connection between Pusey, Germany and Coleridge, and it is sufficient for the nonce to stop with this: that Germany's theology, through Coleridge and Pusey, affected the Oxford School with its systems, and its enthronement of reason in religion, though the latter probably reacted negatively on the Tractarians.
Notes to Chapter VI

1--Liddon, op.cit., I, 42
2--ibid, I, 35
3--ibid, I, 36
4--ibid, I, 37
5--ibid, I, 37
6--ibid, I, 38
7--ibid, I, 39
8--ibid, I, 39
9--ibid, I, 41
10--ibid, I, 42. Vide also the other passage on this page.
11--ibid, I, 43
12--ibid, I, 43
13--Vide infra, Part II, Chapter I, p.
14--op.cit., p. 138
15--Liddon, op.cit., p. 71
16--for all this, vide Liddon, op.cit., I, passim.

17--Vide Liddon on Schleiermacher, op.cit., I, 82 et seq. Cp. also this paragraph from Knox, op.cit., pp. 351-2: "The limitations to immediate acceptance of Schleiermacher's teaching in Germany rose largely from his want of definiteness. A government eager to use religion to exploit political obedience /an occurrence repeated in Germany, 1933-34/ needed a teaching more systematic and...less liberal in its tendencies. Hence arose the preference for orthodox dogmatism and pietism over the awakening influence of the thought of Schleiermacher."
Chapter VII

A Note on the Gothic

The Gothic Movement may properly be said to have begun with Walpole's building of Strawberry Hill in the middle of the XVIII century. Its secular character was continued by William Beckford who fifty years later built Fonthill Abbey; Furell Froude began to emphasize its sacred quality, Pugin and the Camden Society developed this aspect fully, and finally, Ruskin and Gilbert Scott re-secularized it.

William Beckford's feeling for the Gothic showed a decided advance over Walpole's. Walpole has an Augustan core, while Beckford was a romantic through and through, and no longer considered it rococo. Instead of Walpole's old-maidish pedantry, his pinchbeck architecture, pasteboard battlements and plaster-of-paris 'scutcheons—which were hideously copied and continued in Scott's Abbotsford—Beckford had a fearless imagination and a wonderful sense of taste in such matters. He despised Walpole and called Strawberry Hill a "Gothic mouse-trap"; his importance to the movement was great because by investing Fonthill with mystery, he created a brilliant advertisement for the Gothic style. Scott, returning to the Walpolean tradition with Abbotsford in 1812, was the last for a time to emphasize only the worldly character of Gothic. Froude, with his essays upon Church Architecture which were published in 1832-33, supplied perhaps the initial impulse to its eccle-
siastical shaping. Other than this there was very little connection between the Gothic revival and the chief figures of the Oxford Movement, although through other channels the influence was strong. Newman had spoken (2) of the Gothic as a type of architecture which the Church would probably not see surpassed this side of the celestial city, but Mozley, himself a keen Gothic revivalist, remarked that Newman never went in for architecture much. (3) Keble in his review of the Life of Scott said that "the Grecian arch is more poetical than the Roman, and the Gothic more so, perhaps, than either." (4) Mozley said of him, however, that he was inclined to be a "latitudinarian, if not a utilitarian in architecture." (5) Yet the two movements, Oxford and Gothic, were very similar in aim and temper, and there was of course the definite connection through ritual. (6)

Walpole and Walter Scott gave the Gothic revival a false start, remarks Shane Leslie (7), and Eastlake (8) devoted four pages to Scott, saying, "It would be difficult to overrate the influence which Scott's poetry has had...in encouraging a national taste for medieval architecture." Eastlake did, nevertheless, accomplish the difficult. Marmion appealed to a public already devouring every collection of old poetry, including Scott's own Border Minstrelsy, published in 1802. The Waverly novels, since Scott must be considered, may be pointed to as being far more important than the poems because they were more popular and reached every class and order, supplying a gratifyingly solid nourishment to the imagination. Scott, combining
literature with archaeology, was a more reliable guide to the middle age than preceding novelists; his wealth of detail made his pictures more satisfying and influential than the mere melancholy of other poets could make theirs. But in spite of this, care must be taken not to overestimate the novels' influence. Ivanhoe appeared in 1819, The Abbot and The Monastery in 1820, Woodstock in 1826, and long before 1819 Gothic archaeology was popular. A perfect flood of pamphlets from 1800-1820 shows that the Gothic was a craze, like relativity. Literary by-products of the times, they were most important to the revival, and littérateurs with no particular architectural bent had stated a demand for the Gothic which was largely satisfied by amateurs. Other contemporary evidence exists: "We are," wrote the Reverend John Strawbridge, Vicar of Stretton on Dunsmore to Joshua Watson as early as 1813, "at length proceeding ... to put in effect your kind intentions to the chancel. The old ceiling is pulled down; the new beam for a covered ceiling put up. This allows us to add a foot and a half to the windows which gives the Gothic arch more point, and improves the appearance very much... The middle compartment of the window is made to fit the painted glass which Norris gives us; to which a Gothic head is added."(9) The British Critic and the British Magazine were full of articles on the Gothic and Church architecture. The Tractarians really had arrived at Gothic architecture by reversing the position of A.W.N. Pugin, famous Roman Catholic architect.(10) He had said: to revive Gothic architecture you must also revive old forms of worship.
They said: to revive old forms of worship you must revive Gothic architecture. Since religion was a wider and more exciting topic than architecture, their theories eventually became more influential than his.

In 1827 Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, son of Augustus Charles Pugin, a French émigré and a defendant of the Gothic himself, was discovered copying Dürer engravings by the head of a firm of goldsmiths, and employed by them to make designs for plate. Pugin was already a wild fanatic on Gothic architecture. He early became a convert to the Roman Church because of his love for the pointed arch, and when invited to dinner stipulated for Gothic puddings for which he enclosed designs. When he went to Oxford in 1840 to superintend some building at Balliol he saw folios of Bonaventura and the Summa Theologiae lying on William Ward's table, and exclaimed, "What an extraordinary thing that so glorious a man as Ward should be living in a room without mullions to the windows!" This being reported to Ward, he asked, "What are mullions? I never heard of them." The Act for Catholic Emancipation had led to a demand for new Catholic churches, and for a time the most important of these were entrusted to Pugin. Shane Leslie hails him and Newman as the two points in the Oxford Movement where it touched genius. By Pugin's time, of course, the romantic movement had known triumph for many years, and established its own standards of criticism. But in architecture it was still assumed that Gothic was a style which
might be adopted like any other. "It is considered suitable for some purpose," wrote Pugin scornfully, "MELANCHOLY, and therefore fit for religious buildings!! a style that an architect of the day should be acquainted with in order to please those who admire old things."(15) It was in opposition to this view that Pugin wrote, "The history of architecture is the history of the world." Pugin had worked and longed all his life for a corporate reunion between English and Roman Catholicism. (16) Catholic art was to aid in the accomplishment, and from it were to spring further glories of religious artistry. It was with the greatest sorrow and disappointment, therefore, that his hopes dwindled when after Tract X0 he saw individual converts all going over to the Italian side.

When the spirit of romance began to be pushed aside in Oxford as other and more important questions came to the fore of the movement, when arguments over the eucharist superseded those over chancel-screens, this spirit found a new home in Cambridge, where the Camden Society and its leading humanist J. M. Neale combined historical studies with interest in Church affairs. Neale translated the best of the Latin hymns from the treasury of the past into versions used by Anglican and Roman alike; he aided in publishing a translation of Durandus, the chief expounder of medieval symbolism, to which was added an introduction on the place of ecclesiology in architecture. He and Benjamin Webb were moved in 1839 to reform all church architecture and to revive ritual arrangements. "The object of this society," they wrote, "shall be to promote the study
of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains."(17) Thus the Camden Society was founded to investigate and restore old churches, and its members rode out in squadrons to find broken-down spires, a pious form, Leslie calls it, of steeple-chasing. But they were not, unfortunately, a body of innocent antiquarians. A Few Words to Church Builders, published by them in 1841, said in effect that if one were to follow the instructions therein, one would get a building in which service could be decently and ruhrickally celebrated, in which every part proclaimed the House of God.(18) Among the harmless ecclesiastical flock suggested by this, however, some esthetic goats lifted their horns, and insinuated visual standards into the ecclesiastical. In the first number of the Ecclesiologist, the Society's periodical, appeared this: "There are...many arrangements and details in the church which...are quite indefensible... Such are the enormous windows in the aisles; the mullions made to stand on the same plane as the wall; the startling contrast of red brick and the white quoins of the ashlar." Continuing in the same line of thought the author wrote,"Now herein lies the fault of modern church-builders. They will have the ornamental part of the church, at whatever cost to the church itself. But that day is nearly gone by; and we may hope that the sun of Ecclesiastical Architecture...is again beginning to shine; that a generation more pious, if not more rich, than ourselves may rival our ancestors in their glorious minsters, their long-drawn vistas of stone vaultings, pier be-
hind pier, and bay behind bay, their carved rood-screens, glittering with gold and eloquent with figures, their capitals of flowers, wanting only life to be equal to nature's. . . . But if ornamental appendages are bad when anything real is given up for their sake, much more are they so when they are imitations of that which they are really not. Stucco, and paint, and composition, and graining are not out of place in the theatre or the ball-room; but in GOD'S House everything should be real. Plainness need not be inconsistent with reverence; pretence is, and must be."

The preachments that piety was more necessary than riches, that nature's flowers were the highest form of beauty, that all shams were iniquitous—may be at once recognized as the weapons of Ruskin. The current of the Gothic revival began to swing away from the ecclesiastical and the Catholic. It was upheld in its sacred character by the Oxford Movement, Froude and Pugin, until it shuffled off to Cambridge and the Camden Society. There appeared the first signs of its changing character, nine years before Ruskin crystallized the secular Gothic with a Protestant jaundice in the Seven Lamps and the Stones of Venice.

For a long time, Clark points out (20), this small group of the Camden Society furnished the Englishman's imagination in all that concerned religious architecture. The Camdenians insisted on certain forms and the average man accepted them. In a world full of doubt their intolerance was their strength and they used it mercilessly, the cruel, ruthless and infalli-
ble dictators of architecture. Clergymen from all England wrote to them, begging advice on ecclesiastical arrangements and Laymen wrote, too.

questions. When the inconvenience of applying correct ecclesiastical detail to domestic architecture, as well as sacred, is considered, one cannot but admire such a triumph of idealism in a utilitarian age. Like the Tractarians, the Camdenians tried to base their position on the early XVII century tradition. The tradition of ritual, they said, was only interrupted by the vile reformers, who abolished old ecclesiastical arrangements, and its regular movement impeded by the binding hash of the Thirty Nine Articles. What was needed was a thorough and efficient purgation. The Camden Society was of course bound to be in trouble as soon as the dumb and dazzled orthodox could perceive its true motives. In righteous indignation the clergy rose on its hind legs and snapped. Among them, no one used more dashes, exclamation points, capitals and underlinings than the Reverend Doctor Close in an apocalyptic denunciation: "It will be my object to show that as Romanism is taught Analytically at Oxford, it is taught Artistically at Cambridge—-that it is inculcated theoretically at one University, and it is sculptured, painted and graven at the other. In a word—the Ecclesiologist of Cambridge is identical in doctrine with the Oxford Tracts for the Times! It is not a question of brick and stone---of taste or of science---the points at issue are purely doctrinal---it is whether Romanism or Protestantism shall prevail. But enough of such sickening details; enough to establish beyond controversy that such
Restoration of churches not only tends to, but actually IS POPERY!" (21)

This was in 1844. Five years later Ruskin published his Seven Lamps of Architecture, and aided in diverting the current of Gothic from its ecclesiastical preoccupation. His Stones of Venice, continuing and strengthening the alteration, appeared in 1850-53, practically completing his one-man secularization of the Gothic and totally obscuring the labors of Pugin. It remained for Gilbert Scott to cement the transformation with his Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future which appeared in 1857. (22) Substantially the book was no more than a working out of Pugin's principles, but Scott, being neither a Catholic nor a medievalist, was able to subdue some of Pugin's more furious prejudices. His argument was that the living style of good architecture had been lost and that ideally something wholly new should be created. This was impossible, however, with the historical sense as strong as it was. The best course was therefore to choose that one of the old ways of building which was nearest to facts of construction and so most acceptable, closest to nature in decorative detail, and most in keeping with native traditions. Gothic fitted perfectly.

Thus the curious welter of the past stirred by Walpole and Beckford, and popularized by Walter Scott, came to be associated for a while with the Oxford Movement, a source of strife and excitement, finally passing from Oxford to Cambridge, and from thence through Ruskin becoming the property
of all England. It was not without its effect upon the medie-
val souls linked with the Oxford renascence of faith, but its
appeal was only to the esthetic and the sensitive. The ration-
al were rarely touched, save where they could read into the
heaven-pointing spires a deeper significance than that of their
mere pointing.

This far all concern has been placed in the question of
the influence of literary romanticism, and its allied lineage,
upon the Oxford Movement. But there was more on the fields
than this honeyed dew. There was a strange quality in the air,
vague at some spots, clear in others. Perhaps romanticism lay
closest to the Tractarian heart; perhaps it did not. It may
have been the most potent because it was the most evident, but
there were other currents which taken together represent a
force in their combining almost equal to that exerted by ro-
manticism.
Notes to Chapter VII

2. Ibid supra, p. 23
3. *Reminiscences*, I, 217
5. Mozley, op.cit., ibid
6. Clark, op.cit., p. 197
8. Quoted in Clark, op.cit., pp. 82-3
10. Clark, op.cit., p. 199
11. Ibid, p. 155
12. Beers, op.cit., p. 360-1
15. Clark, op.cit., p. 176-77. From Pugin's *Apology*, p. 2-4
16. Trappes-Lomax, op.cit., p. 279
17. Quoted by Clark, op.cit., pp. 200-203
18. Ibid, ibid
21. Excerpt from a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Close preached on November 5, 1844, entitled *The "Restoration of Churches" is the Restoration of Popery: proved and illustrated from the Authentic Publications of the "Cambridge Camden Society".*
22. Clark, op.cit., p. 240
Part II

Contributory Causes of the Oxford Movement
Chapter I

Coleridge and the Oxford Movement

1 Linkage

The picture, however, is still incomplete. If progress were arrested at this point, the resultant impression of the Oxford movement would be gravely suspect and distorted. The Movement was not wholly a product of English literary romanticism; there existed other causes quite as forceful and important, and prime among them was the impetus supplied by Coleridge. But although of paramount importance, the work he did remains dull to the present age, and subsequent commentators have been faced with the impossible task of endeavoring to reanimate that which was never alive. The present effort can be no more successful than the others.

In 1851, Carlyle with his customary extravagance, wrote in the Life of John Sterling that Coleridge from his 'Cloud-Juno' procreated "strange Centaurs, spectral Puseyisms, monstrous illusory Hybrids, and ecclesiastical Chimeras—which now roam the earth in a very lamentable manner."(1) It was a good idea, worth restating; he returned to it to make it stronger: "This clerical aberration—for such it undoubtedly was in Sterling—we have ascribed to Coleridge; and do clearly think that had there been no Coleridge, neither had this been—nor had English Puseyism or some other strange enough universal portents been."(2)
Dogmatic and unsubstantiated, the opinion was more or less modified by succeeding writers. H.D. Traill concluded that Coleridge's influence during the years following the decline of his poetic faculty was not wide and has been exaggerated. (3) Liddon said that his influence was distinctly contributory to the Oxford Movement, calling him a great force in making men dissatisfied with the superficiality so common then in religious as in other matters. (4) J. Dykes Campbell in his biography of Coleridge (1894) stated that the poet's teaching helped, if not to originate, at least to develop both the High and Broad Church revivals, and added that the movements had since coalesced but that students found no difficulty in tracing historically the influence which Coleridge exerted, an influence not the less powerful because strictly indirect. (5) W. R. Castle, Jr. compared the philosophical similarities in the thought of Newman and Coleridge. (6) Wilfrid Ward said that "the claim made by the British Critic on the a priori philosophy, in support of the Oxford Movement, had its parallel in Germany. Kant's Ethics, in England through the medium of Coleridge, were invoked in defense of Catholicism." (7) "Traditionalism," he declared, "stood to the French Ultramontane movement in much the same relation as the philosophy of Butler and Coleridge stood, in a much smaller field, to the Oxford Movement. It was the philosophic foundation of an energetic and practical agitation." (8)

It has been admitted (9) that the extent to which Coleridge's dispersive and pervasive genius actually affected the thought of his contemporaries during his poetic decline is dif-
difficult to ascertain, and that the books which he produced during that period—Aids to Reflection, Lay Sermons, Constitution of Church and State—ranked equally in influence with the effect of his conversation upon the young disciples who sat reverently at his feet. (10) Bertram Newman attacked Traill's conclusion that Coleridge's influence during these years was not extensive, citing the contemporary testimony of Carlyle (11) and the importance of it, and quoting from the Memoirs of Mark Pattison (12) to the effect that Coleridge's prose works were hard to procure in 1837 which, he said, must have meant that they had sold, though not sufficiently to demand a reprint. (13) A limited circulation of his prose, however, does not indicate in the least that he did not have great influence upon the Oxford Movement, for that religious trend was in itself wholly undemocratic, and addressed solely to the educated classes, primarily the clergy, which in part did read these prose volumes.

In an article written when the Oxford Movement was at its peak, Cardinal Newman himself referred to the literary influence of Scott, Southey and Wordsworth, and the philosophical influence of Coleridge as embodying a reaction from the dry and superficial character of the religious teaching and literature of the preceding age. (14) In the 1830s Coleridge's influence, and largely through him that of Wordsworth, was perhaps more powerful at Cambridge than at Oxford; this was due, probably, to the influence of Julius Hare (15), who together with Frederick Denison Maurice, John Sterling (whose tutor he was), and other undergraduates at Cambridge, formed the "Apostles' Club".
and read and discussed Coleridge among other subjects. Sterling may times visited at Highgate Hill to listen to the seer held forth on the Idea of a National Church, or upon related ecclesiastical and quasi-mystical topics. To Julius Hare, the Aids to Reflection appeared to crown its author as the true sovereign of modern English thought, while Maurice and Sterling felt that to this book of Coleridge's they "owed even their own selves."(16)

Recently, Charpentier connects Coleridge with the Oxford Movement again, placing him at the well-head of all the manifestations of the XIX century's idealistic reaction. "The crisis England was going through," he writes, "which its leaders refused to take seriously, in the optimism in which they had enveloped themselves since Waterloo, was, as Coleridge felt certain, to be imputed to the withering of men's minds, wholly bent as they were on utilitarian projects, and with material gains in view. This is the main point of his plea, and it was this, as J.S. Mill noted, which made so deep an impression on the rising generation, especially on Carlyle and Ruskin. The intuitive philosophy of the author of Sartor Resartus, which set idealist metaphysics over against rationalism, the preaching on art of the apostle of Pre-Raphaelitism, as well as the Oxford Movement...all alike originated in Coleridge's pressing appeal to the initiative and "social interventionism" of the upper classes, fifteen years or so before the first democratic reforms were carried out in England."(17) Gunning speaks of Coleridge as the 'English Lessing' and emphasizes his influence on Maurice,
Emerson, Kingsley and Sterling.(18)

These are all very good opinions, but they have been made without much substantiation, glittering generalizations, with the factual basis left unprobed. Before an actual comparison of the intangible and spiritual similarities between the thought of Coleridge and Newman can be undertaken, it will be necessary to survey the more material linkage which bound the two, and to determine the extent of the connection which has been predicated by so many estimable critics.

There exist three hinges upon the door which leads from Coleridge to Newman; in two cases, those of John Sterling and Blanco White, it can be established that one who sat at the shrine of Coleridge later entered and influenced the Newman circle. T.D.Acland, the third, had corresponded, and read thoroughly the works of Coleridge, and so carried the grapes of Canaan from him to Newman.

Strangest of these three figures was the Reverend Joseph Blanco White, a Spaniard by birth but of Irish descent on his father's side. He left an account of his extraordinary life in his memoirs. Ordained priest in Spain, he left the Roman Catholic Church because of a presumably sincere conviction, mixed in the national disturbances attending the French invasion of Spain, and at last escaped to England, where in the course of an unsettled life of writing and teaching he made friends and corresponded with some of the chief literary men of the day; Southey knew him before 1817, and later letters reveal a warm regard; Coleridge was another friendly correspondent, and all
in all White's "sweetness of character" is revealed in the unusual endurance and warmth of his friendships.(19) He settled for a time at Oxford where he was in 1826 awarded an M.A. in recognition of his services to the Establishment; he became a member of the Oriel common-room, and was welcomed by the men who were soon after to be the leaders of the Oxford Movement, Newman (who played the violin with him), Pusey, Froude, and his closest friend, Whately. He is said by his intellectual influence on the prominent men of the University to have been the chief founder of the latitudinarian move in the Church of England.(20) His explanation of the service of the Roman Breviary helped several of them along the way to Rome. The influence of his mordant and restless intellect on Newman was chiefly by way of reaction, but not therefore negligible. Coleridge's works profoundly affected him; the seer, writing to Daniel Stuart on July 9, 1825, remarked that "Blanco White was sufficiently struck with [Aids to Reflection] as immediately to purchase all of my works that are in print..."(21) A little later in the same month Coleridge wrote to the Reverend Edward Coleridge, "The Bishop of London has been pleased to express a most favorable Opinion of my Work---in consequence of which the celebrated Mr. Blanco White procured the Volume, and a few days after The Friend. He then procured an introduction to me from Sir George and Lady Beaumont---and yesterday he came from Chelsea in a Glass Coach (for he is in very infirm health) and spent the whole day from 1 o'clock till ½ past 9 with me. It was highly gratifying to me to find that he had the "Aids to
Reflection" at his fingers' ends: and it would scarcely become me to repeat the strong expressions, he used, respecting the effect produced on his mind and views of Christianity by the [certain] paragraphs... Blanco White is by general admission a man of strong mind: and it is impossible to be with him and not feel that he is a very good man."(22) Blanco White was thus welcomed into the Coleridgean circle as well as the Oriel one, and had the privilege of calling upon Coleridge at any time. In reciprocation, the Highgate seer pronounced White's sonnet, Night and Death, the most grandly conceived in the language.(23) White made a curious and exotic figure as he swept across the background of the sober English clergy.

T.D.Acland, the second link, was according to the DNB the son of Sir Thomas Dyke Acland. He attended Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his B.A. in 1831, M.A. in 1835, and was Fellow in All Souls' College from 1831-9. His undergraduate term thus coincided with the first term (1829-30) which F.D. Maurice spent at Oxford after leaving Cambridge. Acland was much interested in affairs of education and religion; in 1831 he acted as a sponsor to Maurice when the latter was baptized as a member of the Church of England, having previously been the son of a Unitarian minister.(24) At Oxford Acland became acquainted with Newman, and wrote to him from Bologna in 1834, while he was making a visit to Italy: "My original intention in writing was to thank you for your book [i.e. The Ariana] of which, I believe, I was the only diligent peruser in Rome... Wilson had given me such an awe (you know I used to be afraid
of you) of your severely practical philosophy, that I would not have dared broach to you the result of my Coleridge reveries, as I look back on them now; but if I could have mastered the clearness of thought and expression, and summoned courage to sport the 'view' before you, it should have been in the words you have used, beginning: 'What, e.g. is the revelation of general moral laws' to the end of the correcting principle on the next page... I cannot say how rejoiced I felt to discover that this great and comprehensive key to all philosophy had obtained the sanction of a calm mind like yours. I thought, after all, that poor Coleridge was not so bad a fellow, if well used; and determined to speculate no more, but to practice the caution which you subjoin by a diligent application to the practical duties of life.' (25) This letter reveals the extent to which Coleridge influenced Acland, who with Maurice and Sterling used to talk much about him. After returning to the continent in 1834, Acland visited Maurice, and went back to Oxford in December, where the leaders of the Oxford party were at that moment intent upon resisting modification of the terms of subscription. (26)

His letter on The Arians startled Newman a little, and was made the occasion of a reference to another person. (27) It is evident that Acland was close to the Criel circle from then on. In May, 1835 Newman wrote to Froude that he had been present at a discussion gathering (28); in the next month Newman again wrote to Froude, presenting a religious problem with reference to the power of the laity in the Church system, which Acland had
asked him about (29); in July, 1835 Newman confessed himself somewhat anxious about his monastic doctrines, because on the strength of them Aoland sent a fifth man to him, a Mr. Sterling.(30)

Sterling was one of the Oriel Circle for some time, if the following quotations may be accepted as evidence. In August F. Rogers wrote to Newman that Sterling was the man who had told "W. at Bonn that a new Arminian party was springing up at Oxford"(31), and Newman, answering, said, "Mr Sterling had a tête-à-tête of three hours with Keble and me. We got on most famously. He hoped to see us at his house, etc; confessed he has heard my opinions exaggerated."(32) This was the beginning of an intimacy between Newman and Sterling which lasted until August 1, 1836, when Sterling went to Bordeaux for his health. During the summer and autumn of 1837 he paid two visits to England(33), the second being in June (34), and in the autumn of 1837 left for Madeira.(35) Thus for some months over a year's time, but not consecutively, Sterling was familiar with Newman and his crowd, undoubtedly impregnating the atmosphere with the wisdom he had brought from Highgate.

Carlyle in his Life of John Sterling portrayed the severe, victorious spirit of a man who beautifully but pathetically adjusted himself to his illness, courageous, simple, impatient and devotional. Sterling had many times visited Coleridge at Highgate and listened to the seer expound the Kantian ethos, the Idea of a National Church and the constitution of the State, with related metaphysical and mystical topics. Sterling very
early made the acquaintance of Coleridge, beginning his attendance in the winter of 1827-28. (36) Like his college tutor, Julius Hare, and his chief undergraduate friend Maurice, Sterling had steeped himself in the philosophy of the Biographia, the Friend, and Aids to Reflection, and until Coleridge's death, remarked his biographer Campbell, he was one of the most assiduous Highgate disciples.

What was the fascination of Coleridge for these young men? Perhaps its was his voice, perhaps they saw the keys of heaven in his hand. At any rate, there exists no better picture of what the disciples listened to, as they crouched at the feet of the 'Dodona-Oracle', than the one in Carlyle's Life of Sterling: "But indeed, to the young and ardent mind, Coleridge's speculations had a charm much more than literary, a charm almost religious and prophetic. The constant gist of his discourse was lamentation over the sunk condition of the world, which he recognized to be given up to atheism and materialism, full of mere sordid misbeliefs, mispurposes and misresults. All Science had become mechanical, the science not of men but of a kind of human beavers. Churches themselves had died away into a godless, mechanical condition; and stood there as mere Cases of Articles, mere forms of Churches; like the dried carcasses of once-swift camels, which you find left withering in the thirst of the universal desert... Men's souls were blinded, hebetated; and sunk under the influence of atheism and materialism, and Hume and Voltaire; the world for the present was as an extinct
world, deserted of God, and incapable of well-doing until it changed its heart and spirit... The remedy...: On the whole those dead Churches, this dead English Church especially, must be brought to life again. Why not? It was not dead...was tragically asleep only. Atheistic philosophy was true on its side, and Hume and Voltaire could on their own ground speak irrefigrably of themselves against any Church: but lift the Church and them to a higher sphere of argument, they died into inanition, the Church revivified itself into pristine florid vigour...
But how, but how! By attending to the 'reason' of man, said Coleridge, and duly chaining up the 'understanding' of man:
the Vernunft and Verstand of the Germans... For the rest, Mr. Coleridge was about to write one grand book on the Logos, which would help bridge the chasm for us. So much appeared, however: Churches, though proved false (as you had imagined) were still true (as you were to imagine): here was an atheist who could burn up an old Church for you, root and branch; and then as the Alchymist professed to do with organic substances in general, distil you an 'Astral Spirit' from the ashes, which was the very image of the old burnt article, its airdrawn counterpart---this you still had, or might get, and draw uses from, if you could..."(37)

Hour after hour he talked, and the wonderful words fell upon the young and impressionable mind of John Sterling; the seeds of Coleridgean philosophy were deeply sown, and they had flowered by the time he entered the Oxford circle.

Yet it would be folly to suppose that to these few alone
fell the task of propagating those ideas which were the Coleridgean hallmark. Coleridge was in the air. He wrote his prose for an intellectual audience, to "the higher classes of society," he said, in addressing his Lay Sermons, and it was the higher classes which read them, whether at Oxford or Cambridge or in London. Occasionally it happened that one man was unacquainted with either group and yet contributed to the spreading of the Kantian ideas, the cross-fertilization of the two plants. Such a one was F.D. Maurice, who although alienated from the Oxford leaders, defended their vital doctrine in his Letters to a Quaker in the thirties. The Friend of Sterling, he edited while still at Cambridge, the Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine, and therein wrote several letters, expressing his unqualified admiration for Coleridge (36), who was at that time (1825) his chief guide in philosophy. "Himself I never saw," wrote Maurice in an Explanatory Letter in retrospect, dated 1871 (39), although Sterling informed him that Coleridge praised his novel Eustace Conway very highly. (40) Neither did Maurice personally know Newman or Pusey when he was at Oxford from 1829 to 1831 (41); later, in 1863, he had some correspondence with Father Newman about Tract XC. (42) At Oxford Maurice joined an "Essay Society" similar to the "Apostles' Club" at Cambridge, and was much interested by the religious excitement attending the alleged miracles that took place in Irving's congregation. Maurice was almost supported once by the leaders of the Oxford Movement in his candidacy for the chair of political economy at Oxford, on the strength of a letter on subscription
which he had written. This support, however, was withdrawn when he clarified certain aspects of his position by the publication of a second letter, on Baptism. (43)

It may have been that Maurice interested Charles Marriott in Coleridge. They were good friends at Oxford, and their 'affectionate intercourse' did not cease when Maurice left the University. (44) In 1843 they renewed their friendship. (45) It cannot be definitely proved that Maurice introduced Marriott to Coleridge; it is not even needful to try. Dean Church is sufficient authority, and he stated that Marriott had been a student of STC, whom the Oriel men considered a misty thinker. "He used to discuss Coleridge with a man little known then... Charles Badham... He was naturally a man of metaphysical mind, given almost from a child to abstract and indeed abstruse thoughts. (46) He had pre-eminently above all men around him the spirit of a disciple (47), and he vexed and provoked Newman in the last agonies of the struggle, by the optimism with which he clung to useless theories and impossible hopes." (48)

Thus Coleridge returns, even at the last, to haunt Newman through Marriott, and an interaction was established which was not the less powerful because oblique. Relations might be piled up, links added until the chain seem almost unending, and currents and cross-currents contrived until one is dazzled with the pattern. Charles Badham, mentioned above, appears to have become early in life the constant companion and voluntary disciple of Maurice, later to have attended Oxford, meeting the leaders of the Movement, and been recommended for a chair in
Australia by Newman himself, who called him "the first Greek scholar of the day in this country."(49)

It is uncertain to whom falls the honor of introducing Newman to Coleridge; Anne Mozley in the Letters did not say, but as a note to Acland's letter to Newman (vide supra, p. 136-37), she quoted the following extract from Newman's Chronological Notes: "During this spring /1835/ I for the first time read parts of Coleridge's works; and I am surprised how much I thought mine, is to be found there."(50)

Although it may seem that Newman's reading of Coleridge came a trifle too late to affect the current of the movement greatly, it must be remembered that the thought of Coleridge, like an English fog, was in the air. The evidence cited above should show to what extent the Germanic philosophy, through Coleridge, entered men's minds.

At least one critic missed the quotation in the Chronological Notes about Coleridge.(51) Castle said that had not Newman said 'I never read Coleridge' one would be tempted to think him a student of his. Castle was completely misled by a letter from Cardinal Newman at eighty-three to W.S.Lilly, concerning the latter's book, Ancient Religion and Modern Thought, and did not look beyond: "As a personal matter I must quite negative having been indebted to Kant or Coleridge. I never read a word of Kant. I never read a word of Coleridge. I was not even in possession of a single work of Coleridge's. I could say the same of Hurrell Froude, and also of Pusey and Keble, as far as I have a right to speak of others."(52) This letter
allows one of two conclusions. Either the whole fabric of Coleridgean influence must dissolve under Newman's blunt controversy, or it must be borne in mind that fifty years of preaching, reading and writing had so coalesced his memory of sources that he may have considered all his thoughts strictly of his own origination. It may be said that Coleridge's influence was indeed negligible if it made no more impression on Newman than this, but Newman was eighty three and not far from death, ill and a trifle testy. When Lilly instanced Coleridge as the well-head of the Oxford Movement (53), the imputation was evidently a little too much for Newman; it took almost all of the credit from him; it inferred that his ideas were plagiarized from a none too orthodox source. Besides, even in 1834 he was surprised to find in Coleridge so much he thought his own, and there was no reason for him to keep in mind the fact that Coleridge had arrived at some of these conclusions before he himself had, because they had each taken differing paths through the woods. Newman therefore did not consider himself a carbon copy, or himself in any way a disciple of Coleridge. The truth was that these things were part of the intellectual atmosphere of the times, and were dependent upon a host of causes.

ii The Minds of Coleridge and Newman

Between the minds of the seer of Highgate and the Oxford prophet there existed many curious bonds and similarities, and a tracing out of them may reveal interesting data, although it
will not prove influence or suggest who was the elder. The reasons for Coleridge's power over the minds of the best and most promising young men of the day appear in the examination of the similarities between him and Newman, for the mind of Newman may be taken as typical of the day.

Their youth had followed somewhat the same lines, growing alike, to a certain point, under the pressure of identical influences. Each of them early possessed a vivid, striking sense of the intangible. Newman used to wish the Arabian Tales were true; his imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers and talismans. He thought life a dream, or he an angel, and the world about him a deception, with his fellow-angels concealing themselves from him and deceiving him with the semblance of a material world. At fifteen he was very superstitious and crossed himself before going into the dark.(54) Like him, Coleridge had, even as a boy, been accustomed to sense shadows moving on the other side of the veil, and had believed in the reality of the imponderable; he said, "I found the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, one tale of which...made so deep an impression on me...that I was haunted by spectres whenever I was in the dark: and I distinctly remember the anxious and fearful eagerness with which I used to watch the window in which the books lay, and whenever the sun lay upon them, I would seize it, carry it to the wall, and bask and read."

Elsewhere he wrote, "For from my early reading of fairy tales and genii, etc., etc., my
mind had been habituated to the Vast, and I never regarded my senses in any way as the criteria of my belief. I regulat- ed all my creeds by my conceptions, not by my sight, even at that age. Should children be permitted to read romances, and relations of giants and magicians and genii? I know all that has been said against it, and I have formed my faith in the affirmative... It is true, that the mind may become cred- ulous and prone to superstition by...this...method; but are not the experimentalists credulous to madness in believing any absurdity, rather than believe the grandest truths, if they have not the testimony of their own senses in their fa- vor....?"(56) Coleridge's continued interest in ghosts and the supernatural is too well-known to deserve more than cur- sory comment; it is evidenced by his Ancient Mariner, Kubla Khan, Christabel, the fragment of an Essay on the Supernatur- al, many passages in Table Talk (57), and the admiration he held for Percy's Reliques with their eerie furniture and witches' lore.

But in their progress from youth to age, both Newman and Coleridge (as well as most other young men, for Newman was curiously a microcosm reflecting the age) were unable to a- void the disguised pit of atheism, and tumbled headlong in. When Newman was fourteen he read Paine's tracts against the Old Testament, read some of Hume's essays, and Voltaire's verses in denial of the immortality of the soul, and said to himself something like "How dreadful, but how plausible!" (58) During his undergraduate days he carefully imbibed
the poison of Gibbon and Locke, which did not in the least contribute to the bulwark of his faith. When fifteen, Coleridge read Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary*, and "sported infidel". (59) He was familiar with Tom Paine's attempts to spread infidelity (60), and planned to write with bitterness and contempt against Hume in his projected *History of Metaphysics*. (61)

The minds of these two men, however, had aurae which were wholly dissimilar. Newman's was geometric and concrete, an Euclidean halo, and Coleridge's was like live fox-fire in a bog on a misty night. Still, both men revelled in certain aspects of the concrete, as did the entire romantic movement in its protest against the abstractions of the XVIII century. Wordsworth felt the concrete phenomena of nature as the visible expression of great spiritual truths:

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Then all the sages can. (62)

Newman saw "in every breath of air and ray of light and heat, every beautiful prospect, the waving of the robes of those whose faces see God." (63) Coleridge, disliking Wordsworth's indeterminate and vague confusion of God with the world and the accompanying nature-worship (64), wrote only of the concretely supernatural in his poetry. The misty cast of his mind, however, drew him where Newman never could have trod, to the field of the romantic wire-drawings of the German metaphysicians. Newman, guided and motivated by his reason, scorned all actions rising from the cry of the emotions; Coleridge,
in his long slow flights into the azure, sought the real through the subtle impressions of his senses. Both of them thought in metaphors which were realities to them, and their proofs rarely omitted the concrete instance. Although they were under divergent influences, their methods of thought were quite similar, showing that they were in spiritual harmony with the intellectual vibrations of the times, which represented branchings of the romantic and idealistic reaction. But where Newman thought through to ultimate conclusions generally, Coleridge let his ideas drift half-born in the chaotic moonlight of his mind.

It is logical to include a brief survey of some of the points upon which Newman thought as had Coleridge, or where his mind, working on identical premises, formed differing deductions. Newman rested in the belief of two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, himself and his Creator (65), and felt that there existed a personal God who beheld each man individually, whoever he was, seeing, understanding, knowing him, and interesting himself in his acts. (66) Thus Newman definitely expressed himself, while Coleridge before him had hedged a trifle; after stating that man's excellence lay in his capability of communion with his Maker (67), Coleridge said, "I also hold, that this truth, the hardest to demonstrate, is the one which of all others least needs to be demonstrated; that though there may be no conclusive demonstrations of a good, wise, living, and personal God, there are so many convincing reasons for it, within and without---
a grain of sand sufficing, and a whole universe at hand to echo the decision!—that for every mind not devoid of all reason, and desperately conscience-proof, the Truth which it is least possible to prove, it is little less than impossible not to believe!" (68)

On the point of baptismal regeneration, Newman departs from the twilight of Evangelicalism as shadowed out in Coleridge, and his defection from the Low Church is marked by his acceptance of the doctrine. Coleridge did not, or could not, or only half, or with qualifications believed in the idea; his views upon the subject were set forth in three pages of muddy, contradictory prose in which a stated denial is qualified time and again, affirmed, denied, and expressed until the mind whirls (69); Newman lucidly stated that he believed in the doctrine. Hawkins chiefly influenced him in the matter, but J. B. Sumner's Apostolical Preaching, a work of evangelistic character, was curiously enough cited by Newman as the main impulse (70).

It is difficult to extract definite statements from the prose of Coleridge, or to find those which are not controverted, however slightly, in other places by opposite opinions, but in the matter of a visible Church he said quite definitely that his fixed principle was: "A Christianity without a Church exercising spiritual authority is vanity and dissolution," (71) a curious statement to come from Coleridge. Newman, from Bishop Butler's Analogy gained the idea of a visible Church (72), and came to consider Holy Church in her sacraments and her
hierarchical appointments as after all but a symbol of those heavenly facts which fill eternity. (73) By 1833 he had become firmly fixed in his belief that there was a tangible Church whose sacraments and rites formed the channels of invisible grace. (74) Curiously enough, in a letter to Froude (75) Newman wrote, "I could not in my first talk with Sir James Stephen make out to my satisfaction that he was not too much of a philosopher, looking (in Coleridge's way) at the Church, sacraments, doctrines, &c. rather as symbols of a philosophy than as truths---as the mere accidental types of principles." How Newman formed this conclusion is uncertain. Coleridge was, of course, admittedly Evangelical in some of his principles (76), but he never considered the eucharist a mere symbol. He spoke of "the freezing poison, the lethargizing hemlock, of the doctrine of the Sacramentaries, according to whom the eucharist is a mere practical metaphor" (77) and elsewhere referred to "the errors of the Sacramentaries who have volatilized the eucharist into a metaphor." (78) In but one place (79) did he speak of the sacrament of the eucharist as a symbol, but he called it "a symbol of all our religion, the life of man", which indeed differed from the idea that the eucharist was merely commemorative---like, as he said, Protestants drinking a glass of wine to the glorious memory of William III! (80) Coleridge could not go as far as transubstantiation; he believed the sacrament of divine origin, and that it was to be understood in a mystical sense, not as a real presence. (81)

This was indeed removed from the faulty conception that Newman
obtained of his considered the sacraments as figures of a reality.

In the early years of the movement, Newman believed in the guidance furnished by the gospel; he quoted, agreeing with him, from Hurrell Froude's Tract VIII, that the "Gospel is a law of liberty. We are treated as sons, not as servants; not subjected to a code of formal commandments, but addressed as those who love God and wish to please Him."(82) This view was essentially the same as that set forth in the pages of Coleridge's Lay Sermons: The Statesman's Manual, or, The Bible the Best Guide to Political Skill and Foresight, a title which in itself explained the point of the essay. In the course of that sermon he spoke of "scripture as the word of Divine Wisdom... the only certain knowledge, and the actions which flow from it the only ones on which a secure reliance can be placed... The knowledge taught in the Scriptures produces the motives, involves the consequences; and its highest formula is still: "As sure as God liveth, so will it be unto thee!"(83) This is indeed the evangelical twilight, and the fact that it still lurked in the forests of Newman's mind may be explained by the fact that the Movement was young, and Newman yet under the influence of his 'evangelical' conversion.

The views taken on miracles by the two men had certain similarities. Coleridge believed religion had no speculative dogmas, that it was practical, all-appealing to the will, and therefore all imperative, and that consequently miracles were
not the proofs but the necessary results of revelation. (84) He believed also that it was only to overthrow the usurpation exercised in and through the senses that the senses were miraculously appealed to, for reason and religion were their own evidence. (85) He readily and fervently contended that miracles worked by Christ plainly revealed and unquestionably proved His divine character and authority. (86) Newman, singularly enough, attempted to account for the miracles by logic, and though it were more logical to expect it of Newman, his arguments did not savor so much of the 'act of faith' as did Coleridge's in this regard. He had remarked to Bowden, prior to August 1826, that the sceptical accountings for Christianity were much more difficult of belief than its explanation from the miraculous. (87) In the Apologia (88) he passed boldly to the conclusion that if, as Milner said, miracles accompanied the first effusion of grace, so they might well accompany the later. Elsewhere he expanded this idea into the statement that "Miracles are not only not unlikely, they are positively likely; and for this simple reason, because, for the most part, when God begins He goes on. We conceive that when He first did a miracle, He began a series; what He commenced, He continued: what has been, will be... Suppose you yourselves were once to see a miracle... would it not...predispose you to listen to a new report?... You believe the Apostolic miracles, therefore be inclined beforehand to believe later ones... Miracles to the Catholic are facts of history and biography, nothing else...; and as natural facts, under circumstances, do not
startle Protestants, so supernatural, under circumstances, do not startle the Catholic."(89)

Upon other points in the philosophies of the two men there were some occasions when the patterns of their thought, like two laces from a set, coincide when superimposed; upon other occasions there was enough variance to suggest a different loom at work upon the same design. (a) Coleridge held that the least which could be demanded of the least favored of his audiences was an earnest endeavor to walk in the light of his own knowledge, not—as the mass of mankind—by laying hold of the skirts of custom, or Tradition (90), while Newman considered antiquity as the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity, and the basis of the Church of England.(a) (b) Coleridge saw God everywhere, and all creatures conforming to His decress (92), His transmitted power, love and wisdom over all filling and shining through Nature (93), and Christ personally and substantially dwelling in every regenerate man (94); Newman could see the presence of some powerful being hidden behind the visible things he was inspecting—a flower, or a herb, or a pebble, or ray of light—who, though concealing his wise hand, was imparting to them their beauty, grace and perfection.(95) "How much," he cried, "has every herb and flower in it to surprise and overwhelm us!"(96) and "Those events which we ascribe to chance, as the weather, or to nature, as the seasons, are duties done to that God Who maketh His angels to be winds and His ministers a flame of fire."(97) (c) With characteristic inconsistency and con-
fusion, Coleridge in one place stated that religion has no speculative dogmas(98), and in another that speculative reason has a definite place in theology, and that it is its right-ful privilege and office to determine on the **negative** truth of whatever one is required to believe.(99) If it were possible to find a median between these two statements, a comparison with Newman's account of the dangers which lay in the biblical and theological speculations of Germany(100), should prove of value; since, however, the solution of Coleridge's meaning is beyond mortal reach, this is impossible. (d) Coleridge's view of the Church of Rome may have been somewhat tempered by a kindness allegedly performed by Pope Pius VII, who warned him in 1806 to depart from Rome in order to avoid Napoleon's wrath which had been aroused by certain articles in the **Morning Post**.(101) At any rate, the introduction to the second of the *Lay Sermons*, "Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters", embodied a long and poisonous allegory about the Church of Rome and superstition, revealing that ten years' time was sufficient to erase the memory of the favor, if had really been performed. This allegory was followed later (102) by his complaint that men of sunk and irretrievable character, to whom no man would entrust his wife, sister or purse, had the effrontery to propose that the English should entrust to them their religion and their country. He spoke harshly of the chains of Papal darkness (103), of idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, Janus-head, and of the harlot of Rome, in a fury of
 evangelical zeal. The condoning of Rome as a "dear though erring sister" distressed him, and in the Church and State he defined the Antichrist not as any nondescript monster from without, but "a power within the Christian Church, which in the name of Christ, and at once pretending and usurping his authority, is systematically subversive of the essential and distinguishing characters and purposes of the Christian Church: then, if the Papcy and the Romish hierarchy as far as it is Papal, be not Antichrist, the guilt of schism in its most aggravated form lies on the authors of the Reformation." Like him, Newman until 1843 was disposed to hold the same view. When only fifteen he read Bishop Newton on the prophecies, and in consequence became firmly convinced that the Pope was the Antichrist predicted by Daniel, Saint Paul and Saint John. (104) In 1833 he believed the Church of Rome to be bound up with "the cause of Antichrist", but from the time he knew Froude he became less and less bitter on the subject, considering it, out of simple conscience, to be his duty to protest against the Roman Church, and finally renouncing the Establishment altogether. (105) (e) Coleridge also assigned a negative validity to reason in relation to all that he considered the true doctrines of Christian revelation, but allowed its power to judge faith and religion when it was fully informed concerning all the evidence around a creed or doctrine, and when it was recognized as being different from the understanding (106); he admitted the impotence of man in commanding the
growth and life of nature (107); condemned the sects because they were uncatholic and ill-founded (108); he passed sentence of death on the pretended right of every individual to interpret Scripture in a sense of his own, in opposition to the Church, without sufficient basic knowledge to insure right decision (109), and believed that religion not revealed was a contradiction in terms and an historical non-entity (110). Newman's ideas upon all of these points were fundamentally similar, with slight divergencies marking those elements in his philosophy which more closely approached the ideas of the Roman Catholic Church and its love for tradition than was permitted to Coleridge by reason of his background of German metaphysics.

Although the average Tractarian could not comprehend—nay, even at times distrusted and feared—the basis Coleridge had supplied for their movement, there was at least one Coleridgean doctrine that was after their own hearts, Newman's and every other's, and that constituted no small part of their inspiration: the question of the Church's spiritual independence. In this lay his greatest gift to the Oxford Movement. Erastianism, or the creation of the Church by the State and its subsequent enslavement to it, was opposed most violently by all the Tractarians, who made their quarrel over the union of Church and State one of the most prominent features of the Movement. An essay, one among many, *Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian*, ascribed to Dr. Whately, did much to affect Newman's mind; it held that the Church and State should be in-
dependent of each other, and that the Church might justly and by right retain its property though separated from the State. (111) But the State was moving, in 1832, to encroach upon the Church. It suppressed the 'candlesticks in Ireland', ten of the twenty Irish bishoprics, because it saw that the Church of England's position in Ireland was untenable with three-fourths of the population composed of Roman Catholic subjects. The Tractarians saw the Whigs descending like vultures upon their mother. They must arrest her decay. To them it was no matter that the Irish Catholics did not believe in the English Church, or that she was there considered an old woman of the sea around their necks—the Church was legal and constitutional, a part of the country's government. Humanly, she was the Established; divinely, she was the only true apostolic remnant in England and Ireland, the mother of souls and the spouse of Christ. So, with spear and vizard lowered, the Tractarians charged, and the Oxford Movement began.

Three years before, in 1830, Coleridge had published his Constitution of Church and State According to the Idea of Each, and most of the anti-Frastian principles for which the Tractarians battled were there set down, veiled in Highgate moon-dust, it is true, but there none the less. Coleridge conceived first of the State in a broad inclusive sense, which comprised within itself a State in the narrow sense of simple antithesis to a national Church. Thus conceived, Church and State were like the ends of a pole; their equipose and interdependence making for the unity of the State in the larger
sense. The unity of the State, in the narrower sense, thus resulted from the balancing of the great opposing interests in every such State, its permanence and its progression: permanence connected with the land (and the Church) and represented by the Major and Minor Barons composing the first legislative house and half of the second, progression represented by the manufacturing, distributive and professional classes who with the Minor Barons constituted an effectual majority in the second house. The heritable portion of newly acquired wealth was called by Coleridge the 'Propriety', and the portion for the nation's use, the 'Nationalty'. The Nationalty was reserved for the maintenance of a permanent learned class, the Clerisy, which included those in nexus with all the arts and sciences as well as theology. Gradually, as a result of the expansion of the mercantile and commercial order, the professors of certain sorts of learning detached themselves from the national Clerisy and passed into that order which could pay their talents better. But, said Coleridge, that circumstance cannot alter the tenure or annul the rights of those who remained, the permanent learned class, who—fulfilling the purposes for which the Nationalty was reserved, were entitled to remain its usufructuary trustees. The proceeds might be rightfully transferred to other functionaries than ministers of the Church of Christ, but the Nationalty could not be alienated from its original purposes, and the Clerisy had an inalienable, divine—as well as civil—right thereto. (112) Thus followed the conclusion that the legitimate objects of the power of the
King and the two Houses of Parliament, as constituting the State in its special and antithetic sense, comprised, according to the Idea, all the interests and concerns of the propriety [i.e. the heritable portion] and rightfully those alone. The King was likewise the head of the National Clerisy and the supreme trustee of the Nationalty, the power of which in relation to its proper objects was rightfully exercised, said the Idea, by the King and the two houses of convocation, and by them alone.(113)

This, then, was the touch-her-not policy outlined by Coleridge, with which the Tractarians found themselves in whole-hearted agreement. The Church and State of Coleridge was quite popular, reaching three editions by 1839. Since the Tractarian movement was at its inception, as Geoffrey Faber says(114), a vindication of the privileges of the Church of England under threat of spoliation by a Whig government, it is scarcely too much to say that---in this aspect at least---the movement began, three years earlier, with the publication of Coleridge's defense of the Church's right to its revenues, the Constitution of Church and State.(115)

The general ideas of the two men upon science and religion were greatly similar, too, with Coleridge again anticipating, but with more liberalism, the later conclusions of Newman. Conscience, Coleridge held, peremptorily demanded the belief which nature excites by her unending revelation.(116) The organs of sense were framed for a world of sense which was a-round man, of spirit for a world of spirit which man could nev-
er know entire, but saw as through a glass darkly. In his brief survey of the world and its thought and movements from 1700-1830 (117), he scorned the growing philosophy of a state of nature, or the "Oorang-Outang theology of the origin of the human race which has been substituted for the first ten chapters of the Book of Genesis", and would not touch those idealess facts which were misnamed proofs of history, or grounds of experience. If the proofs of religion, he continued, were intellectually more evident they would be morally less effective, and counteract their own ends by sacrificing the warm life of faith to the cold mechanism of a worthless, because compulsory, assent. Later before the students of the medical school at Dublin, Newman spoke of the unequivocal appeal which physical nature made to the senses, necessitating belief in it because it was as real as one's personal existence. But, he said, the phenomena which were the basis of morals and religion had not this luminous evidence; they were dictates either of conscience or faith. (118) To both men it was paramount to recognize will, and then to bring that will into accord with the divine will, in man proxied by conscience. Newman believed that religion, as embodied in the Church, must be upheld because it was true, but that science was truth also, and any conflict between these differing aspects of truth was apparent rather than real. Thus, remarked Castle, Newman was unlike the medieval ecclesiastics who would have burned Darwin, and thus he disproved, by his interest in science and contemporary thought, Gates's labelling of him as "a medieval
ecclesiastic astray in the nineteenth century."(119) New truths lay undiscovered amidst new errors, and time would be the touchstone for them. The shoals of science would prove the breakwaters of religion, and settled at last into a divine harmony, religion and science would work hand in hand pro bono publico. Religion, a giant asleep in the XVIII century, awakened in the XIX; it was no dead machine, but a vital and vitalizing organism, capable of absorbing, assimilating, using, crushing and giving out, certain that only the nutritious would remain and the poison be expelled; evil was its only enemy, at last to be subdued, and the giant of science was its long unsuspected friend. A correlation and a synthesis would be the final end of the warfare.(120) In its way, this idea represents a christianised Shelleyism, an enthusiastic idealism which carries Newman as far from the shore as it did the wild Shelley.

Likewise, Coleridge anticipated in a large measure Newman's dependence on personality in his belief that energetic minds, harboring truth, soon change it by domestication into power. Personality thus becomes the mainstay of religion. Man proceeds from the self in order to find all self in God. So Newman, beginning with the evident fact of his own being, deduced God and submerged his own will in the divine. Both, in recognizing will as the spiritual part of their nature, deduced will or conscience in others. To both, the great and good men of history, through their personalities, were the strongest evidence of faith(121), and this divine manifesta-
tion, taken collectively, exhibited through the ages the personality of Christ.

No critical judgment of today bearing on Coleridge's works and influence could possibly be more true and clairvoyant than an estimate made by one J.H.C., writing in the British Magazine for January 1835 on an article which de Quincey had written on Coleridge in Tait's Magazine, exposing the Highgate seer in the unflattering light of petty domestic anecdote, and scraping up the rubbish of trivia about Mrs. Coleridge. "The aim, however," wrote J.H.C., "which de Quincey has set himself in these articles, is not to delineate Coleridge's intellect, or his character, or to mark out the place he fills in the map of the human mind, or to determine the value of his labors in untwisting the Gordian knot of thought, or to lead us to those spots in the dark forest of nature on which he has shed the sunshine of truth, or even to ascertain the influence which his writings, full of seeds as they are, have exercised, and are likely to exercise, on his countrymen--an influence which, though in the first instance it may have been felt by few, is not therefore slight or powerless, inasmuch as among those few there is no small portion of such as are designed to be the teachers and enlighteners of their brethren... To those who knew Coleridge, to those--and there are not a few--whose hearts glow with gratitude and love toward him, as their teacher and their master, the establisher of their faith, and the emancipator of their spiritual life from
the bondage of the carnal understanding—to such persons a Vatican all libels against him would be of no moment, except in so far as it filled them with pain and sorrow, to see that great gift, which enables the wise and good to endow their thoughts with...life..., turned into a means of slander and a tool of malice.”(122) No more crystalline opinion nor precise expression could have been written from the perspective of a century.

So has been traced the greater points of likeness between the philosophies of Newman and Coleridge, how their early developments coincided: their reading of fairy lore, their tumble into atheism, the concrete aspects of their minds, and their varying degrees of emotionalism. Some of their doctrines and tenets have been considered more or less cursorily: the relation of man to his Maker, the idea of a visible Church and the gospel as a guide of life, the similarities in their conceptions of miracles and immanence, the differences about antiquity and speculation, their views of Rome as Antichrist, of revelation, Erastianism, science and personality. It may truly have been, as Newman declared octogenarian-wise, that Coleridge had no direct effect upon himself and the Oxford Movement, but if the work of the Highgate prophet is considered as indicative of the crackling air of the century’s second and third decades, remembering that if its popularity was confined to limited circles that in those it was eminently influential, then it may be stated, without fear of extravagance,
that Coleridge was at least as important to the background of the Movement as any other single figure connected with the setting.
Notes to Chapter I

1.--op.cit., pp. 61-2; see bibliography for editions.

2.--ibid, p. 104. See also below: W.S. Lilly, Ancient Religion and Modern Thought, note 53.

3.--H.D. Traill, Coleridge; in English Men of Letters series, p. 205

4.--op.cit., p. 269

5.--Liddon, Life of Pusey, I, 254

6.--Sewanee Review, vol. 17, 1909

7.--Wilfrid Ward, W.G. Ward and the Catholic Revival, p. 82

8.--ibid, p. 92

9.--Bertram Newman, Cardinal Newman, p. 16

10.--Carlyle, op.cit., pp. 52-3: "Coleridge sat on the brow of Highgate Hill in those years, looking down on London and its smoke and tumult like a sage escaped from the inanity of life's battle; attracting towards him the thoughts of innumerable brave souls still engaged there. His express contributions to poetry, philosophy, or any specific province of human literature or enlightenment had been small and sadly intermittent; but he had, especially among young inquiring men, a higher than literary, a kind of prophet-ic or magicism character. He was thought to hold, he alone in England, the key of German and other Transcendentalists, knew the sublime secret of believing by "the reason" what "the understanding" has been obliged to fling out as incredible... A sublime man, who alone in those dark days had saved his crown of spiritual manhood... The practical intellects... reckoned him a metaphysical dreamer, but to the rising spirits of the young generation he had this dusky, sublime character,---and sat there as a kind of Magus girt in mystery and enigma; his Dodona oak-grove (Mr. Gilman's house at Highgate) whispering strange things, uncertain whether oracles or jargon."

11.--Vide supra, note 10.

12.--Pattison, Memoirs, p. 164.

13.--In support of this conclusion it may be also mentioned that Coleridge himself in Church and State (Works, VI, 70)
spoke of the *Biographia Literaria* as being long out of print and of restricted circulation. One may infer that Coleridge realized his circulation was limited because his works did not appeal to "that vast company...whose heads and hearts are dieted at the two public ordinaries of literature, the circulating libraries and the periodical press." *(Lay Sermons: A Statesman's Manual, p. 42)* Moreover, it seems that Bertram Newman and even the Mark Pattison Memoirs were extreme in stating that the works in question were as limited as this, when the *Aids to Reflection* by 1836 had gone into three editions, the two *Lay Sermons* reaching a second edition by 1839, and *Church and State* hitting three by 1839. Cf. *A Bibliography of Coleridge*, by T. J. Wise.

14---Newman, *Essays Critical and Historical; Positions and Prospects of the Anglican Church*, pp. 268-9. Also quoted in the *Apologia*, new edition, pp. 195-6; old edition, p. 97. "A great poet [i.e. Scott] was raised up in the north, who has contributed by his works, in prose and verse, to prepare men for some closer and more practical approximation to Catholic truth. The general need of something deeper and more attractive than what had offered itself elsewhere, may be considered to have led to his popularity; and by means of his popularity he reacted on his readers, stimulating their mental thirst, feeding their hopes, setting before them visions, which, once seen, are not easily forgotten, and silently indoctrinating them with nobler ideas, which might afterwards be appealed to as first principles... And while history in prose and verse was thus made the instrument of Church feelings and opinions, a philosophical basis for the same was under formation in England by a very original thinker, who, while he indulged a liberty of speculation which no Christian can tolerate, and advocated conclusions which were more often heathen than Christian, yet after all instilled a higher philosophy into inquiring minds than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept. In this way he made trial of the age and found it to respond to him, and succeeded in interesting its genius in the cause of Catholic truth. It has indeed been only since the death of Coleridge that these results of his writings have fully shown themselves; but they were very evident when they were once seemd and discovered the tendencies which had been working in his mind from the first."

15---James Martineau, *Personal Influences in our Present Theology*, p. 224 in *Volume I of Essays, Reviews and Addresses*.

16---Vide the prefatory memoir of John Sterling in *Essays and Tales* by John Sterling, I, xiv; quoted by Campbell, *op. cit.* p. 256
17--John Charpentier, Coleridge the Sublime Somnambulist, pp. 297-98


20--Liddon, op. cit., I, 360.


22--E. L. Griggs, Unpublished Letters of STC, p. 358

23--B. Newman, op. cit., p. 53

24--Life of F. D. Maurice, edited from his letters by his son, I, 123

25--Newman, Letters, II, 35

26--Life of F. D. Maurice, I, 169

27--Letters, II, 48; July 3, 1834

28--ibid, II, 95

29--ibid, II, 98-99

30--ibid, II, 102

31--ibid, II, 114; August 27, 1835

32--ibid, II, 118; August 30, 1835

33--Carlyle, Life of Sterling, Works, vol. 11, p. 141

34--Life of F. D. Maurice, I, 227

35--Sir E. Strachey, adding some notes of his own to Maurice's biography, spoke of seeing Carlyle, Scott, Rose and Acland occasionally at Guy's Hospital. "Sterling," he said, "was of course often there till he left for Madeira, I think, that autumn [1837]." Strachey's memory was at fault here, for it was the autumn of 1837, according to Carlyle and the DNB; Sterling went to Bordeaux, before he went to Madeira in 1837.

36--op. cit., pp. 268-9; cf. also Carlyle, op. cit., p. 47
37--Carlyle, op. cit., p. 58-9
38--Life of F. D. Maurice, I, 65
39--ibid, I, 178; also DNB
40--ibid, I, 164, letter dated May 27, 1834. Campbell also said: "It is commonly assumed that Maurice, who, perhaps, did more than any other man to spread the influence of Coleridge's teaching, went much to Highgate, but I am assured he never even saw Coleridge." In Campbell, op. cit. p. 268, note 1.
41--ibid, 182, vol. I
42--ibid, II, 442
43--DNB, Maurice.
44--Life of F. D. Maurice, I, 179
45--ibid, I, 351
46--R. W. Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 79
47--ibid, 84
48--ibid, 89
49--DNB, Charles Badham
50--Newman, Letters, II, 35, note
51--W. R. Castle, Sewanee Review, vol. 17, 1909; article on Newman and Coleridge
52--Fortnightly Review, n.s. 48, 436. Letter to W. S. Lilly under date of August 17, 1834; also reprinted in Living Age, vol. 187, p. 14
53--Lilly, Ancient Religion and Modern Thought, pp. 59-62: "STC was the first among English readers to study and understand Kant, to assimilate his teaching, and to reproduce it in a new form... But the philosophy of Coleridge is too great a subject to be dealt with here. I can only observe that its influence upon the mind of the age was far more potent than is generally understood. In my judgment he is to English thought of the 19th century pretty much what Locke is to English thought of the 18th century. I am, however, immediately concerned with his effect upon that particular intellectual and spiritual phase represented by the Tractarian Movement. Cardinal
Newman, in a paper published in the British Critic in 1839, reckons him one of its precursors, as "providing a philosophical basis for it, as instilling a higher philosophy into inquiring minds than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept." The action of this great thinker's doctrine was, indeed, to a large extent, indirect. It is through the poetry of his friend and disciple Wordsworth that his metaphysics, stripped of its technicalities, and presented in a popular form, has won the widest acceptance and exercised the deepest influence ... and among those who were most deeply influenced by him [Wordsworth] was John Keble..."

55--Letters of STC, ed. by E. H. Coleridge, I, 12
56--ibid. I, 16
57--e.g. January 3, 1823; May 1, 1823, and Allsop's Recollections, in the London, 1917 edition of Table Talk and Omniana.
58--Apologia, new, 107; old, 3
59--quoted by Campbell, op.cit., p. 13, from Gilman's Life, p. 23.
60--Lay Sermons,"The Statesman's Manual," 89
62--The Tables Turned; cf. also Tintern Abbey: "And I have felt a presence...etc."
63--Allsop's Recollections, passage under date of August 8, 1820. The closest he comes to pantheism is in the Eolian Harp, four lines beginning "And what if all...etc."
64--Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons, II, 262
65--Apologia, new, 108; old, 4
66--Parochial and Plain Sermons, III, 124 et seq.
67--Aids to Reflection, hereinafter referred to as Aids; section on Moral and Religious Aphorisms, XLVII, Bohn p. 83
68--ibid., Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, Comment on Aphorism III; Bohn, 121.
69--Aids, Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, XIX, Comment; Vide Scholium to Answer III.

70--Apologia, new, 112; old 8-9; also Autobiographical Memoir in Letters, I, 105-6.

71--Aids, Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, note to XII, 200

72--Apologia, new, 113; old, 10

73--Ibid, new, 128-9; old, 27

74--Ibid, new, 151; old 49

75--Letters, II, 139; January 17, 1836

76--Vide especially the Aids, Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, VII, 130. Vide also the Letters of STC, edited by ENC, I, 69, where he says: "...my faith /at 21/, therefore, was made up of the Evangelists and the Deistic philosophy—a kind of religious twilight."

77--Ibid, Notes on the Book of Common Prayer, 351

78--Table Talk, May 20, 1830

79--Ibid

80--Aids, Notes on the Book of Common Prayer, 351

81--Allsop's Recollections, under Theology, p. 431 in Table Talk.

82--quoted in the Apologia, new, 122; old, 20.


84--Omniana, under head of Religion, in Table Talk, 396.

85--Statesman's Manual, p. 11

86--Aids, Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, Note Prefatory to XXIII, p. 231

87--Letters, I, 118-9

88--pp. 22-3

89--Present Position of Catholics, pp. 306 et seq.

90--Lay Sermons, "Blessed are ye," etc. Introduction, p. 130

91--Apologia, new, 127; old, 26
92.--The Statesman's Manual, p. 35
93.--Ibid, Appendix B, p. 76
94.--Aids, Notes on the Book of Common Prayer, p. 351
95.--Apologia, new, 129; old, 28
96.--Parochial and Plain Sermons, II, 365
97.--Ibid, II, 395
98.--Omniana, p. 396
99.--Aids, Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, II, p. 122
100.--Apologia, new, 140; old, 37
101.--Vide the Biographia Literaria; also a footnote to a title-page of a proposed reprint of newspaper articles, drawn up in 1817. Quoted in Letters of STC, II, 499, note.
102.--Ibid, II, 153
103.--Statesman's Manual, p. 5
104.--Apologia, new, 110; old, 7
105.--Ibid, new, 153; old, 52-5
106.--Aids, Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, XX, 223; op. Newman, Oxford University Sermons, 351, and Idea of a University, p. 401
107.--Statesman's Manual, Appendix B, p. 82
108.--Ibid, p. 109; vide also Table Talk, December 28, 1831
109.--Aids, Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion, XIII, note, p. 290
110.--Letters of STC, II, 675
111.--Apologia, new, 115-6; old, 12-13
112.--Incidentally, the two things mentioned by Coleridge as disqualifications to be usufructuary trustees of the Nationalty were allegiance to a foreign power, or acknowledgment of any other visible head of the Church except the King; and compulsory celibacy in connection with, and dependence on, a foreign and extranational head. He saw the act for admitting Roman Catholics into Parliament as a mere sedative, no true solution of the problem. Vide Church and State, passim.
113--Vide Church and State, passim.

114--Faber, Oxford Apostles, p. 335

115--Yet, as has been shown before, Newman dated the original impetus from 1827, the publication date of Keble's Christian Year. But this was a different kind of motivation.

116--The points in this paragraph and the next one are largely expanded from W. R. Castle's article on Newman and Coleridge, Sewanee Review, vol. 17, 1909.

117--Vide Chapter VII of Church and State, under D

118--Idea of a University, Discourses II-LV, passim.

120--Compare these conclusions with those implied in the works of the more notable metaphysical scientists of the present day: Einstein, Sir James Jeans, Whitehead et al.

119--Lewis R. Gates, Three Studies in Literature, p. 113

121--Apologia, new, 121; old, 19

122--British Magazine, pp. 18, 25; January 1835
Chapter II

France and the Oxford Movement (1)

Superficially it might at first appear that Newman's personal interest in France was the only connection between it and the course of the Oxford Movement. For fifteen years he had been in close correspondence with a French abbé, M. Jager, over the 1837 lectures, and had written about the career of Lamennais which he had followed closely. (2) He regretted that to this French movement of the Catholic intellect, in which the laity took so large a share (for it was led first by de Maistre and Chateaubriand, and represented later by Montalembert and Ozanam), neither England nor Ireland offered any parallel. The bond, however, lay deeper than the casual interest of one man. France fascinated all cultured Englishmen from 1800-1850. "I have said nothing about France," wrote Newman to his mother from Lyons, "which is truly la belle France in all externals. I am enchanted with it." (3) Wordsworth said, "France lured me." (4) The lure of England for France was no less, and had its inception around 1790, when the question burning France was which side England might take in her Revolution. From 1830 to 1848 a mistral of Anglophobia troubled the Gallic coasts. The reign of Louis-Phillippe coincided with the romantic movement in France and the Oxford Movement in England. It was, however, more than a coincidence; it was a wingling of thought and spirit.
The French Revolution, shattering the framework of society throughout Europe as well as France, was merely the index of great mental and spiritual changes in the public order. In France the Revolution drove the religious out of the country, and England opened her doors to hundreds of refugee monks, clergy and nuns, found work for them, supported them, and gave ear to their grievances. Anti-catholic prejudice, although still strong, became a trifle less bitter. The émigrés sometimes abused their privileges by active proselytizing; there are, for example, the cases cited by Knox of Ambrose de Lisle Phillips, later prominent in the Oxford Movement, who was sent to an Abbé Giraud from whom he received his inclinations towards the Roman Catholic Church; a Mrs. Sherwood in her Mémoires spoke of Roman propaganda at Reading School. Despite such alienating episodes it is certain that at this time a greater rapprochement between English Protestants and French Catholics existed than since the expulsion of the Stuarts. The thought and soul of the two nations were woven together.

The Anglomania of the French was doubtless very flattering to the English, but the lack of idealism in it did not create much English sympathy for France. The three day revolution of 1830 which was the result of Bourbon reactionary measures and consisted in confirming the rearrangement of new social conditions defeated the Bourbon desire for the ancien régime, upheld the re-distribution of property, and interpreted with French peculiarities the ideal of peace and prosperity borrowed from the English. Of the two kinds of idealism inaug-
urated by the brief but tempestuous revolution, the romantic overshadowed the religious. De Vigny, Delacroix, Saint Beuve, Hugo, Dumas and Lamartine outshone Lamennais, de Bonald and Lacordaire. Other influences as well came from England. The English painters Constable, Bonington and the Fieldings affected French painting. The Lakiets, especially Byron, had influence on French poetry. The early novels of Balzac, de Vigny, Hugo and Dumas were imitations of Scott. Sir Walter even married the daughter of a French refugee. Lamartine and de Vigny had English wives. Shakespeare forced down little by little the hostile barriers of the French goût and experienced a renascence upon the French stage.

There was little in this faddishness, however, which could make the spectacle of France moving to the Tractarians. It is necessary to probe deeper to find that circumstance which held an appeal for Albion. The peaked red cap was despised by the Oxford men because it stood for that greatest offense against good taste, the overthrow of religion. The fascination of France for them lay truly, as Newman said, only in the externals, and many of them were of the same opinion as he when he said that "The French Revolution and Empire seem to have generated a plague [i.e. of infidelity] which is slowly working its way everywhere." (5) But there was something else which had happened that made even the violence of the Revolution seem unimportant: France had been restored to her faith, rationalism had been overturned! Consequently, in the eyes of Keble, Newman, Pusey and the rest of the Tract-
arians, France, like the djinn from the unstoppered bottle, suddenly expanded in interest. Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* performed for the national religion of France a work which the Oxford Movement was attempting for the national religion in England. Both of them aided in producing an intelligent and sympathetic attitude towards the art and spiritual history of the past; both engendered a revival of external reverence in public worship, and both helped to create spiritualistic schools which contrasted strongly with the dull, dreary and depressing pietism which had provided the only outlet in the Establishment and in post-revolutionary France for devout aspirations and mystical affections. *Le Génie du Christianisme* appeared April 14, 1802.(6) Four days later Cardinal Capara intoned at Notre Dame, in the presence of the first Consul, the *Te Deum* which celebrated the conclusion of the Concordat. Bonaparte and Chateaubriand seemed to have united themselves to resurrect the French religion. The effect, from the distance across the Channel, was beautiful. Looking back upon it, the Tractarians felt that a common bond held them to France; in the history of her struggle they saw their own, and in her victory they hoped for a prefiguring of theirs. They did not realize, of course, that Catholic ceremonies had been publicly celebrated in France for seven years previously, twenty five thousand priests serving thirty six thousand parishes. Bonaparte was not the restorer of the cult, nor Chateaubriand the savior of the faith. The success of *Le Génie du Christianisme* was marked because public opinion had been
prepared for it. Keble, Newman, and Pusey, however, had no way of sensing this; they were not alive then nor in France, and they had only the cooling facts of history to regard. But those were enough to win their affections to France, since a rebirth of faith similar to that in France was their own ultimate goal.

As they followed the course in France, however, their interest intrigued by the similarity of the two cases, they saw trouble on the shore. It was not long until both France and England realized that the Concordat had made the French Church merely a department of the government. In 1819 appeared de Maistre's celebrated work, Du Pape, the signal for a great Ultramontane revival which formed a contributory stream to the Christian reaction from XVIII century infidelity which Chateaubriand had heralded. De Maistre advocated the union of Catholics under the Pope as the best means of securing liberty and new power for religion. With what bated breath must the Erastarians have read his work! Gallicanism, like Erastianism in England, meant servitude to the State; Ultramontanism meant the freedom of the Church from its oppressive rule. The passion of unity animated de Maistre, but he did not conceive it as a harmony of multiple elements; for him there was unity only when there existed one will, and such could be realized only in absolute despotism. Rome alone had the power and majesty to be able to insure unity of faith. The Pope was sovereign and infallible in the spiritual realm; the king in the temporal, and both were the Vicars of God, commissioned to the
government of men by the Providence which visibly directed the affairs of the world.

The Vicomte de Bonald, in his *Récherches Philosophiques*, had already provided a philosophical basis for de Maistre's more practical program. He had appealed to the consent of mankind in holding to traditional religion, as a witness against the scepticism to which individualism had led in the XVIII century.

It was by these two men, with Lamennais—even Catholic reactionaries—that the leaders of the Oxford Movement were most influenced intellectually. Where the rationalistic impulse had been strongest the reaction was sharpest. No two men exhibited more precisely the spirit which, in England, was soon after to emerge as the Oxford Movement. De Maistre's arguments in *Du Pape* and *Les Soirées du Saint Pétersbourg* were like many passages in the Tracts; he drew the familiar picture of that spiritual anarchy which demanded a supreme spiritual Head, even as a political anarchy. Ten years after the publication of de Bonald's studies, Newman—probably not very well acquainted with, or wholly ignorant of the books—was arguing similarly.

At this point a curious and startling paradox appears. The government of France recognized that force was not the way to rule, but that a man must obey the will of God; its mistake, however, lay in seeking that will in the slowly perfected wisdom of men acquired through the ages. De Bonald, de Maistre and Lamennais would not have it so. By their insistence that
the Pope alone embodied the true will of God, they did no less than place the Papacy at the head of the suppressed forces of revolution!

Hère Félicité de Lamennais entered the scene. In his Essai sur l'Indifférence he fused together the streams of de Bonald and de Maistre, philosophical and practical, traditional and Ultramontane. His thesis was that the root of errors contributing to the decline of the west was the treatment of religion as a political institution. He had conceived the hardy and fecund idea of a democratic Catholicism. But in 1826 he took offense at an act of Charles X which caused him to be prosecuted for some strong published statements regarding the power of the Papacy over kings. The prosecution was instituted in deference to public opinion, and the penalty only a nominal fine. But Lamennais deeply resented the King's action, and threw in his lot with the revolution of 1830. His Des progrès de la Révolution et de la guerre contre l'église marked the change. "Quand les catholiques aussi crieront 'liberté'," he wrote, "bien des choses changeront." He became a declared democrat. The cry of 'liberty for Catholics' passed now into a formal avowal of Liberal principles, still, however, under the banner of Ultramontanism. With Lacordaire and Montalembert he founded L'Avenir, and set up a militant program for Jesus Christ that was like revolution, red with anarchy and pale with schism. The new review advocated freedom of speech and conscience while still staunchly supporting the Papal supremacy. Never before had the papal gold and white taken on such
a rosy tinge. Even the French Liberals were frightened. L'Avenir was prosecuted by the government, but won and merely attracted additional public sympathy. Men saw a chasm widening between religion and the divine right of kings.

Alas, episcopal censure killed L'Avenir. Gregory XVI refused to sanction such far-reaching and unique principles, even though their advocates were foes of Gallicanism. The bull Mirari vos extinguished their hopes for freedom from bastard monarchies and sycophantic bishops. But the two tendencies, Ultramontane and Liberal, remained united against Gallicanism and gradually stifled it. Lacordaire submitted to the Pope's command, but Lamennais rebelled, saying that if obedience to Rome implied obedience in temporal, as much as spiritual matters, he had never been a Catholic. He died unreconciled.

Lamennais had an ardent desire for the conversion of England. In his Essai sur l'Indifférence he attacked the Established Church as the supreme instance of Reformation impiety, with religion made a state institution, and men believing in God upon the authority of the King. He pointed out that both Shaftesbury and Hobbes agreed that it was immoral to doubt an article of the Creed when the Creed was guaranteed by the State! Religion became a contract between the people and their overlord by which the people received freedom in return for religious servitude. This made all indifferent to truth, tolerant of error, and hence all kinds of religious variations---High, Low, Broad---were permitted in their faith. Only Catholics were persecuted because they cared for
truth. Lamennais ended with a prophecy that persecution of
Roman Catholics would shortly come to an end in England.

His challenge reached Oxford through Cardinal Wiseman,
whom he told, on meeting him in Rome, that the English must
create the implements with which to perform their liberating
work, if and/or since they did not already have them: "It is
what we are doing in France," he said.(7) His denunciation
stung the watchers by the Isis, and prepared the way there
for the hostile attitude to the Reformation, as shown by Hur-
rell Froude.(8) Lamennais got his belief from de Maistre that
"in spite of a religion that is as palpably false as that the
sun never shines, England is meant to lead the world into a
new epoch that will be forever sacred in the minds of mankind."
A similar thirst for England's conversion moved Lacroix
to his constant and impassioned denunciation of Protestantism;
he exhibited himself before his English audience, and Mont-
alembert, O'Connell's partner in the triumph of Catholic eman-
cipation, was by his side.

Thus France sang her Circe-song, gave England holy blood
to drink and drank hers too, and with her whip made lagging
souls upstart. The interest England felt in watching her
neighbor's conflict was more than augmented by the fact that
upon her shores a like one was raging. From the results of
France, England gained additional stimulus to fight her bat-
tles, and it is not surprising that the charges and retreats
and victories took similar directions.
Notes to Chapter II

1—Vide Knox, op. cit., Ch. III, pp. 55-52; Stewart; The Catholic Movement in the Church of England, pp. 60-63; Ward, Life of Newman, I, 460 et seq. This chapter represents a fusing of the material presented in these three sources.


3—Newman, Letters, I, 361. July 1, 1833

4—Prelude, Book IX.

5—Newman, Letters, I, 311

6—Lanson, Gustave and Tuffreau, Paul: Manuel d'Histoire de la Littérature Francaise, Paris and Boston, 1921, p. 522

7—Gibson, Lamennais, p. 158

8—Cf. Newman on Lamennais, op. cit., p. 142
Chapter III

Varia

1. The Political Spur

For a great many years the Church of England had had its own way. Shortly after the Reformation the principle that none but persons professing the established religion were eligible for public employment was adopted by legislation in England and Scotland. The restoration of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in the reign of Elizabeth proclaimed at once the solidarity and independence of the English Church, establishing a truly new national order in repudiating the power of the Papal see and making the church subject to the Queen and Parliament; these, together with the severe penalties for recusants, whether Roman Catholics or Nonconformists, constituted the narrow applications of the post-Reformation principle.

It was necessary, however, to tighten the net still more in order to offset the danger of Elizabeth's dethronement by Catholics, and a number of repressive measures were instituted. In 1571 Parliament passed an act declaring it high treason to call Elizabeth a heretic, schismatic or usurper, and making death the punishment for him who should bring a papal Bull into the country. In 1581 it was declared treasonable to reconcile anyone to Rome, and the convert himself stood in the shadow of the noose. In 1585 and 1593 even severer laws were enacted; there was a degree of banishment set against
Jesuits and seminary priests, and Catholics refusing to conform to the Church of England were required to keep within a five mile circle of their homes. The Church of England, haughty and supreme, rode the waves shining.

The danger of Catholicism was thus minimized, but more was to come. Under James I an act (7 Jac. I, c.2) was passed providing that all such as were naturalized or restored in blood should receive the Lord's Supper according to the Anglican communion, and under Charles II the actual reception of the sacrament was a necessary precedent to holding office. The earliest imposition of this 'test' rule was effected by the Corporation Act of 1661 (1), which made it compulsory for all members of corporations to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, to declare against the Solemn League and Covenant, and to receive the Lord's Supper within one year after election. This was followed by the Test Act of 1672 (2) which in part dispensed with inflicting disabilities on Nonconformists, but did not lessen the restrictions on Catholics. The illiberal requirements, however, gradually began to meet with defeat in exceptions, partial amendments, etc.—one of the most important of which was the Relief Act of 1791 which was passed "to relieve upon conditions and under restrictions, the persons therein described from certain penalties and disabilities to which papists or persons professing the popish religion, are by law subject." This time not affecting the Dissenters, it allowed the Roman Catholics, on taking the oath of allegiance to George III, to move from their five mile lim-
it, to live in London and Westminster; to stay away from the Protestant Church; to say and hear Mass, but not in a building with a steeple or a bell; to educate in the popish religion but not to teach in endowed colleges, or to receive a Protestant child in a school kept by a Roman Catholic, or to establish a Roman Catholic school; to join a religious order but not to wear its habit out of doors, or to found or endow an order; to be exempt if in holy orders from serving on juries, and to be protected from brawlers. The declaration on Transubstantiation which had been imposed by the Act of 1672 upon peers and civil and military officers was abolished.

The necessity of receiving the sacrament as a qualification for office was removed in 1828 by an act nullifying the Test and Corporation Acts (3), and in 1829 all acts requiring the taking of oaths and declarations against Transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the Mass were repealed by the Roman Catholic Relief Act (4) which, however, set up a new oath against any attempt to subvert the Protestant religion, an oath the signing of which was required of members of Parliament, naval, military and municipal officers and electors. Although many restrictions were abandoned by this act, there still remained some annoying regulations. Priests were not allowed to sit in the House of Commons. Most offices were thrown open to Roman Catholics, but judicial and municipal officers were not allowed to attend rites in their insignia unless the building were that of the Established Church; priests and monks could wear habits, and conduct ser-
vices only within the confines of their homes. Jesuits already in the country were compelled to register, and the entry of others was forbidden; to admit a person into a religious order was made a misdemeanor; the one who admitted him was to be banished for life, and transported for life if he was not gone within three months after sentence of exile.

For a generation prior to the passage of these two acts of 1828 and 1829, the church—and especially its clergy—had clasped the Tory hand, and the Tory party had become more and more stodgy, reactionary and opposed to change, and not change merely, but the real will of the people. Most churchmen had been bitter against these two measures, and Roman Catholic Emancipation was hostilely regarded, especially in Oxford, as an underhanded betrayal of the English Church.

Then, after three troubled years, says Ollard (5), during which the country was on the very edge of revolution, the great Reform Bill passed into law in 1832, the rotten boroughs were extinguished, and the whole diseased fabric of Parliamentary representation as England had known it for a hundred and fifty years, came crashing. The Bishops as a whole voted with the Tory Lords against the Reform Bill; in 1831 of the majority of forty one against it, twenty one were bishops; while the beneficed clergy, reflecting the opinions of the squires and country gentlemen, were of similar mind. The Act itself did not so much impose the new system of an ardent minority on an unprepared country as it
translated into the organization of self-government the appropriate machinery for achieving what a majority had already accepted as inevitable. In 1833 the Whigs were really in power at last; the Dissenters and the emancipated Roman Catholics were their allies, and the English Church expected small mercy from them. Probably the Establishment, at any rate in towns, was never more unpopular. Schemes of confiscation were in the air. The Whig premier, Earl Grey, warned the bishops to "set their house in order", and though he did not finish the quotation (II Kings, xx, 1) others did: "...for thou shalt die, and not live." Following Lord Grey's broad hint, a mob at Bristol burned the bishop's palace; another at Canterbury mobbed His Grace the Archbishop in the streets. The position of the church as a state establishment seemed doomed, and so impartial an observer as Dr. Thomas Arnold wrote in June, 1832, "The Church as it now stands, no human power can save."(6)

In the welter of confusion and turmoil around the Church of England another disturbing causal factor could be recognized: the Industrial Revolution of the mid-eighteenth century, a revolution which indeed changed the face of society, its consequences in large measure being responsible for the Reform Bill of 1832. Before this 'revolution' England outside of London was an agricultural country, and the external organization of religion was more or less adequate to the requirements of the population. By the XIX century however, huge industrial regions had grown up, for which no religious provision existed except the parish churches built to serve the needs
of the small populations of the villages and country towns of an earlier generation.(7) In the new towns enormous populations lived in unspeakable squalor, entirely cut off from the ministrations of a church which hardly cared to play the Samaritan either to their spiritual or bodily needs. The widespread collapse of trade after the Napoleonic wars aggravated the condition. The Industrial Revolution had intensified Protestantism. The structure of the church was still feudal, but the traditional order was beginning to break up, and the solvent was the new middle-class which took pride in its insurgence against the old regime. The industrial capitalist arose; antagonism flared between Saxon industry and Norman manners.(8) Feudalism began to wobble. Manufacturers and inventors were in the ranks of dissent, and a shrill, louder-growing Nonconformity in protest against the iron alliance of the confronting landlords and clergy made itself vocal. Mutterings became words; the middle-class began to realize what it wanted. Reform! Down with the old regime, with underwater boroughs still sending representatives to Parliament, with no representation from the manufacturing towns, down with the Church of England, an inflated and corrupt monster, discredited by the learned because of its opposition to all liberal ideas, and by the poor because of its utter lack of sympathy with their miseries!

The Church of England was indeed in a poor state, and its staunchest supporter, did he view the situation impartial-
ly, would have been bound to admit it. "We had a weak and divided Church," wrote Palmer in *A Narrative of Events connected with the Tracts for the Times.* (9) "Religion had fallen into the same state of decline, which it had often experienced in times past, when Satan had succeeded in corrupting the 'salt of the earth', and rendering the 'fine gold dim'. There was no means of offering an effectual resistance to the spreading evil of unsettlement and infidelity. The lines of religion needed to be restored and deepened. Principle had to be infused where there was none to fall back upon. It was in vain to appeal to principles which were not understood. There was no foundation, or an uncertain one, on which to build. The bishops wished well to the truth, but they were afraid of the government and the powers for good and evil which it possessed. They were cautious, and did not see their way to any action in opposition to the spirit of the times... Doubtless the bishops and dignified clergy...did their best, but they did not possess the attributes of boldness of speech and action which afterwards characterised some of their number." To illuminate these gloomy depths God called from the lower clergy in Oxford three men, the two Wesleys and Whitefield, to awaken a nation, being able to make the humblest instruments perform his work.(10) "And thus might those who were impelled to come forth on the Lord's side in 1833 know that...there was a remnant left, which had not shared the spirit of the age." Newman himself around 1827 wrote: "The talent of the
age 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."(11) "I wish every man in this House," cried Mr. Gladstone in 1874, "was as old as I am...for the purpose of knowing what was the condition of the Church of England forty to fifty years ago. At that time it was the scandal of Christendom. Its congregations were the most cold, dead and irreverent; its music was offensive to anyone with respect for the House of God, its clergy, with exceptions, somewhat numerous, chiefly, though not exclusively, belonging to what was then called the Evangelical school---its clergy with that exception were in numbers I should not like to mention worldly-minded men, not conforming by their practice to the standard of their high office, seeking to accumulate preferments with a reckless indifference, and careless of the cure of souls of the people committed to their charge, and upon the whole declining in moral influence. This is the state of things from which we have escaped."(12) No one knew exactly what the Church of England was.(13) Hooker had said it was 'the nation', and in entirely altered circumstances Dr. Arnold said practically the same. It was the 'Establishment', according to the lawyers and politicians, both Whig and Tory. It was a visible and mystical body, said the Evangelicals. It was the aggregate of separate congrega-
tions, said the Nonconformists. It was the Parliamentary crea-
tion of the Reformation, said the Erastians. The true church
was the communion of the Pope; the pretended church was a le-
gal schism, said the Roman Catholics. All of these ideas were
floating about, loose and vague, among people who talked much
about the church. Whately, clear sensed, had laid down that it
was a divine religious society, distinct in its origin, exist-
ence and attributes from any other. He had gone very far in
viewing the Church from without as a great and sacred corpor-
ate body. Casting aside the Erastian theory, he claimed its
right to exist, and if necessary govern itself, separate from
the State, but of its internal life he said nothing.

Sensing as they did the dangers of Erastianism, of State
command over the Church, the Tories, bishops, Tractarians and
others began to take alarm. As early as 1826 the appearance
of Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian had crystallized
the rumors and vague alarms into print, and taught those who
read it to regard the existence of the Church as a substan-
tive body or corporation, and to fix in them those anti-Eras-
tian views of Church polity which were one of the most promi-
nent features of the Oxford Movement.(14) In 1828 the Tory
Lord John Russell was arguing thus in the House of Commons
with regard to the Test Act repeal: "...the prevalence of a
system, or rather the abuse of a system, which has grown out
of a supposed alliance between Church and State." He pointed
out the abuses created by such a law, how men waited in tav-
erns before going into church to receive the 'qualifying' sac-
rament. "I cannot conceive two things," he cried, "the origin of which is more distinct, and the purpose of which ought to be more dissimilar, than religion and the civil government. And yet by this system we are taught to blend and confound them together. We are taught to clothe the State with the sacred mantle of religion, and to ascribe to it a character and attributes which cannot be said to belong to it; and we are taught to look upon religion as the mere handmaid of government, itself a constituent part and estate of the realm, and we end by worshipping it...as a stepping-stone to individual ambition." (15) In 1830 appeared Coleridge's picture of the universal Church; scarcely anywhere before had the ideal been limned so ecstatically. "One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic" rang with the mystery and magic that ensuing years were to orchestrate. Together with the Tractarians, he valued the heritage of the national Church, and bowed before the scepter of the supernatural religion. What had been a trickle of expressed opinion was becoming a torrent. Everyone was concerned. The advent to power of a Parliament which was eagerly undertaking the reform of the Church from purely utilitarian standpoints, and the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, seemed to the Oxford men to necessitate some definite action. Alarm and panic were everywhere. Newman and Froude were abroad, but Froude hurried back before Newman to plunge into the battle. Before July 1833 he wrote his Remarks on State Interference in Matters Spiritual, in which he discussed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Concessions to the Roman Catholics Act,
and the Act for Parliamentary Reform, belaboring the State for its interference. It would force the Church, he said, to unite with dissenters and latitudinarians. He commented upon Hooker and his disapproval of the identification of the Commonwealth with the Church of England, and used him to show that the Civil Legislature was incompetent to act as the ecclesiastical legislature, while he pointed out the numerous internal Church difficulties resulting from the union of Church and State. (16) Elsewhere, in a brief blasting history of Erastianism he had occasion to quote Dupin as saying: "Wherefore, though it is out of all doubt that kings are subject to the Spiritual, and Bishops to the Temporal power; yet we must not from hence assert, that the Ecclesiastical power is subject to the Civil, or the Civil to the Ecclesiastical; because both these powers are of a sundry different nature, and wholly dependent upon God, by whom they are so instituted that neither of them can do anything against the other, notwithstanding the Spiritual is more noble than the Temporal power." With this Froude agreed, adding that "the dependence of the officers of the Church on the State, in respect to that part of their ministry which is civil, in no way implies total dependence, nor interferes with their fullest liberty in matters spiritual." (17)

Newman recovered from his fever in time to return to England to hear Keble preach his sermon on National Apostasy, July 14, 1833. It was incited by a new and alarming crisis which had arisen for the Established Church. A bill to reduce the Irish bishoprics by one half, to amalgamate the ten 'can-
dilectics' so suppressed with the remainder, and to devote the income so saved to the payment of the Irish Church 'cess' was introduced by the government in 1833, and was before the House of Lords even as John Keble spoke. It was this bill, the Irish Church Temporalities Act, which was the occasion, in the sense of the last visible cause, of the Oxford Movement. It seemed to be a declaration of war; since the Irish Church was 'established', the turn of the English bishoprics might very well come next. From this one point of view the Movement may be considered (as it has been \(187\)) as an attempt to bolster the unpopular Tory party and rally the Church. But this one incident merely crystallized the influences which had been at work farther below the surface, and drew them all together into the visible and apparent phenomenon of the Oxford Movement.

ii. Liberalism and Related Currents

The romantic period was not uncomplicated in its tendencies, nor did it follow a single stream. It was cut across, and cut again, by strong and branching currents of XVIII century intellectualism, continuing the course of rational thought. Those who were its exponents, the utilitarians, the radicals, even the outmoded deists, hated the old feudal regime, particularly as it was typified in the Established Church. John Stuart Mill himself bore witness that after the aristocracy there was nothing his father abominated so heartily as the Anglican Establishment.(19) During the 1820s strong
anti-Christian forces were at work. The swell of the French Revolution reached England, and the most influential school of thought to result from it was utilitarian radicalism. Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill were the leaders; the Westminster Review was the chief organ. Popular education, the hallmark and passion of the age, diffused the widening circle of utilitarian ideas; its centers of radiation were the Mechanics' Institutes which sprang up in industrial cities, the Societies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, formed under the guidance of Lord Brougham, which aided in the dissemination and popularizing of scientific learning, and the British Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting—-an unspeakable insult!—-in the very heart of the religious world: Oxford, 1832!

Liberalism, however, the growth of which greatly exercised and worried poor Doctor Newman, had burst with all its heretical fury upon the world at the time of the French Revolution. After its initial explosion it had, however, taken quieter, even more effective routes. In Germany Pusey and Hugh James Rose saw insidious attacks made upon religion, by Baur at Tübingen, by Schleiermacher in Berlin, by that shortly to be set forth in Zurich by Strauss's Leben Jesu, a work that would make even Renan seem half-pious; horrorstricken, they saw the trend spreading in Oxford, the spirits of wickedness even visiting the high places and rearing their ugly heads in Hampden's irreverent treatment of the scholastics and the Nicene fathers. Liberalism was an attack upon Christianity; it
bellowed that intelligence, education and civilization would
cure all mankind's evils and sorrows, and for the first time,
the impossible idealism of Shelley's *Queen Mab* became the pos-
session of the proletariat. Reverence, awe, mysticism were no
longer comprehensible terms. Newman spoke of the increasing
plague as that "false liberty of thought, or the exercise of
thought upon matters in which, from the constitution of the
human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful is-
 sue, and is therefore out of place...[It is] the mistake of
subjecting to human judgment those revealed doctrines which
are in their nature beyond and independent of it, and of
claiming to determine on intrinsic grounds the truth and val-
ue of propositions which rest for their reception simply on
the external authority of the Divine Word."(20) He outlined
its invidious credenda: no religious tenet is important, un-
less reason shows it so; no one can believe what he does not
understand; no theological doctrine is more than an opinion
held by bodies of men; acts of faith are dishonest if actual
proof does not exist; it is immoral to believe more than one
can receive mentally and morally; revealed doctrines may not
reasonably stand in the way of scientific conclusions; Christ-
ianity, less true than Mahometanism, must be modified by the
growth of civilization and the exigencies of the times; pri-

cate judgment and rights of conscience permit the belief and
performance of anything not against one's conscience; the civ-
il power may dispose of Church property without sacri
gle, and
may exercise its jurisdiction over the Church; utility and
political expedience are the measure of political duty, and the people are the legitimate source of power. (21)

When this new and subversive force cast its poison over the Established Church, its most brilliant and active apologists drew a circle of white magic, and standing within, called up the spirit of the past to work against the spell of the present. The Oxford Movement was the child of war, and of a great hatred, as well as of softer threads. The heart of liberalism, aflame with social justice, burned unseen before the Tractarian eyes; had they been able to discover and christianize that inward light, they would have added an irresistible ally to their cause.

Bentham, Malthus, Ricardo and the elder Mill have been classed together as the prime expositors of that philosophy which was so closely related to Liberalism, Utilitarianism. Ethics, politics, psychology and economy, they held, were to be deduced from a predictable and calculable interplay of elementary forces. The intellectual world became resolved into terms of the physical, and in the theory of the association of ideas there came to exist the first application of physics to the world of consciousness.

Of the four first utilitarians, it was Bentham—child of Beccaria and Priestley—who first popularized utilitarianism with the maxim of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as the necessary guiding principle of smooth government. John Stuart Mill later paid him an important tribute when he remarked that every thinking man of the thirties or
forties was either a Benthamite, for progress, or a Coleridgean, "who upheld and emphasized the wisdom contained in the sacred traditions of the race."(22) Bentham was to the Tractarians the terrible ogre of the fairy tale; he represented the tendencies of modern thought which were gnawing at the trunk of revealed religion. If they turned from him they fell into the lap of Coleridge where the danger, if less evident, was scarcely less formidable; it was Kant and German metaphysics against Bentham and a plentitude of pork-chops. But the Oxford Movement needed just such a philosophy of tradition as Coleridge could furnish, and he received their myrrh and frankincense.(23)

Strangely enough, although it was supposed to have spent its strength long before the end of the XVIII century, another current added itself to Liberalism and Utilitarianism. The deistic quarrel appeared in the midst of the background of the Oxford Movement. There was, of course, its direct heritage which was mentioned many times by the Tractarians as a source of their ideas: the Analogy of Bishop Joseph Butler, the great culmination of Anglican apologetics. In the opinion of those who followed Butler he appeared as the Saint George of the quarrel, the man who conquered Dragon Doubt, reassured the maiden Faith, and made people feel secure against further threats of vile encroachment. Extreme probability, he affirmed, was equivalent to certitude, and analogy— or the principle of continuity as revealed by experimental reality and applied by instinct to the whole order of the universe— bulwarked
faith. Inspired champion of the revolt against reason, he followed Pascal, and reminded his audience of that principle, the conscience, which if uncorrupt was possessed of absolute authority, the voice of God in the man-soul. (24) Similarly, Kant in Germany enforced the belief that freedom was to be revealed not in the dictates of wayward desires, but in self-chosen obedience to the moral law.

In 1793, however, Burke in his denunciation of the French Revolution also called to witness the London booktrade to substantiate his statement that the deistic pamphlets had become practically unsaleable. (25) Godwin could scarcely trace even a lingering effect of the great tempests of fifty years earlier. (26) But in that very year that Burke declared it extinct, Thomas Paine was composing its most widely read and popularly influential pronunciamento: The Age of Reason. The Tractarians, especially the more clear-visioned, saw the danger in Paine, and felt drawn more to Burke as they surveyed the past scene; he formed one more link in the chain of setting of the Movement. His work in England was to stimulate his fellows into a national consciousness, to establish for themselves a place in the England of great achievements, of heroes and saints, and not to dream languidly of a Kantian Erewhon in a mist-shot future. What Burke began, Walter Scott carried on, and added a third stream to those of Butler and Coleridge.

The toughness being engendered in the public mind by the influx of Liberalism was therefore alarming to the Tractarians, who in their idealistic revolt against reason desired to
introduce softer and more delicate fibres into the people's consciousness. Liberalism was an influence in the Oxford Movement but only negatively, as a whip stings a sufferer into hatred for the hand that holds it. It became the reason for action, and against its materialistic shadows the Oxford Movement set up more mystical and quietistic screens. Liberalism had smothered the use of the imagination in religious ceremony and doctrine; the Movement liberated it, and stimulated noble emotions under a superb restraint.

iii Aristotelianism (27)

In the years after Newman's secession to the Roman Church, there were two forces struggling for sovereignty in Oxford: rationalism and Catholicism, and added to these was a third, a riptide, caused by a devotion to Aristotle.

"While we are men," wrote Newman, giving voice to the general Oxonian view of his time, "we cannot help, to a great extent, being Aristotelian, for the great Master does but analyse the thoughts, feelings, views and opinions of humankind... In many subject matters, to think correctly is to think like Aristotle; and we are his disciples, whether we will or no, though we may not like it." (28) John Keble pronounced most of his judgments according to Aristotelian canons. (29) Hurrell Froude and Blanco White were thorough and devoted students of the doctrines. (30) The fashion was at first confined to Criel; later it spread to other colleges. Coplestone, Thomas Arnold, Hampden and Hawkins were all agreed that Aristotle
was one of the most dependable philosophers of history. The biographer of Dr. Whately said that his "close and sympathetic familiarity with the writings of Aristotle...made him perhaps the leader among those who rendered the Ethics and Rhetoric...for many years the leading class-book of the University, and who studied to unite them, by comparison and analysis, with all that they esteemed most valuable in modern philosophy. For the enthusiastic and exclusive tendency of Oxford minds, for a whole generation after his introduction to tutorial life, no man was so responsible as Whately."(31) Bishop Joseph Butler's Analogy, which guided the religious speculations of the group, was packed with Aristotelian precepts. Mark Pattison wrote of the Aristotelian movement that to its followers it was not "a mere antiquarian's question"; it was a real philosophical revival which "may have taken the shape of a comment, or interpretation of a document, yet as we know some of the vital religious questions may assume the same form, so our intellectual movement has not been the less real for having in its early stages attached itself to the resuscitation of Greek philosophy."(32)

The Aristotelians were nicknamed the 'Noetics', and visitors who called upon them in their common room, where conversation based on a facile logic consisted in a tracking and sharing of first principle definitions, a compound of Christianity and Aristotelianism, complained that the air "stunk of logic."(33) In reality it may be supposed that the talk was more or less witty in a heavy way, pertinent, tolerant and
It must have seemed to them that there was nothing which could hinder their conquest of the years ahead. And nothing could, but it was not under the banner of the 'Noetics' that they came to ride. The Tractarian supplanted the Greek.

Aristotle was luckily a man whose writings could be altered to suit wholly divergent purposes. He could minister equally well to Newman's authoritarian leanings, and to the passion for intellectual freedom that was also current in Oxford. It may be difficult to perceive at first the extent of the influence which Aristotle had upon the Movement. Study reveals, however, that the following of his theories contributed to make the ensuing thought of Oxford more supple and plastic, while at the same time it uncovered the golden gifts which a life of contemplation could bring. The revival of the study of Aristotle was in Oriel the first sign of Oxford's mental spring in the XIX century. The Noetics pumped vitality into a system which had been preserved only by tradition. The restoration of earnest scrutiny of Aristotelian doctrines meant also that the students of them formed habits of stern intellectual discipline which aided the progress of the Oxford Movement's ethics and thought when the time came for their development. Even after the "intellectual desolation" produced by Tractarianism came to an end in 1845 (34), the currents of the revivified study of Aristotle continued down through the rest of the century. Although, remarks Knickerbocker (35), while in many of its manifestations it was profoundly Aristotelian, and a de-
velopment from the Aristotelianised state of the place, the Oxford Movement was nevertheless the first symptom of an effort to retrieve lost communications and to re-establish Oxford’s prestige in the national life and thought of England, and a great value in that it distracted exclusive attention from the stultifying investigation of Aristotle. Newman, child of the Neoetics, and as such tending to be detached from traditional loyalties by the rationalism engendered by this parent-age, nevertheless threw off the Neoetic influence and by his metaphysics and spiritual charm effected the conversion of Oxford from Aristotelianism to orthodox Christianity. (36)

It is possible, therefore, to view the study of Aristotelian doctrines in Oxford in the same way one might view the period of training for the athletes of Marathon. Over the Greek mountains the Tractarians chased each other before they started, for the trophies of Christ and Church, on the long overland race to Rome.

iv Methodism and the Pre-Tractarian Church

At fifteen years of age Newman was ‘converted’. * He

* The conversion, however, had none of the “special Evangelical experiences.” He did not go through the prescribed “stages of conviction of sin, terror, despair, news of free and full salvation, joy and peace,” etc. (37) The normal Evangelical doubted whether he had been converted at all. Newman merely had a “return to, a renewing of, principles, under the power of the Holy Spirit.”

had spent the summer of 1816 in reading the works of certain Evangelical writers, and his impressionable spirit was meshed
in the inelastic net of evangelism. In the chronology of his reading it so happened that he read the disciple's work before the master's: Thomas Scott's before John Newton's, but it made small difference. Scott affected him greatly; so much, indeed, that he could say he felt that, humanly speaking, he owed his soul to him (38), and to his work *The Force of Truth*, which represented the fruit of the author's three year seclusion with his Bible, and the consequent emergence of the affirmation that the Evangelical system was the only true gospel.

The Reverend John Newton (1725-1807) whom Newman read secondly, had after a wild youth at sea experienced a great conversion, and made an apostle out of Thomas Scott who was rid of his Socinian views and careless life by the mere grace of hearing Newton preach once. Newman said that by his work, *On The Prophecies*, and Joseph Milner's *History of the Church of Christ* the seeds of an intellectual inconsistency, which disabled him for a long course of years, were planted in him. (39) For as Scott proved the tenets of Evangelicalism were scriptural, so Milner undertook to prove that they were traditional, the doctrines of the Apostolic Age, of the Reformation, and of the great founders and theologians of the Church of England. They each argued with convincing thoroughness, and Newman found himself bewildered. The Evangelicals, Milner declared, alone stood in the footsteps of the Fathers and of tradition, while the official Church was the division that had lapse[d. Newton's book, however, warred against this argument for tradition in its assertion that the Pope was the Antichrist
predicted by Daniel, St. Paul and St. John. The inconsistency was disturbing, for Newman found himself loving the long extracts from Augustine and Ambrose because they shadowed forth the religion of the primitive Christians, and at the same time found that Newton convincingly inferred that there was no religion true except that which Newman tended to consider irreligion!

The Evangelical party in the Church of England was a direct outgrowth of the doctrines of the two Wesleys and Whitefield who a hundred years before had seceded from the Establishment. They had been in reality most unwilling to leave, and the Anglican Church might very easily have retained Methodism within it, although it is foolhardy to predict what dire eruptions might have taken place in such an event. The fashion of methodism, however, was still kernelled with life, and after a time there arose in the state Church a number of clergymen who imitated closely the misdirected zeal and perverted efficiency of the Methodists, earning for themselves the title of Evangelicals.

There is no better way to make plain the characteristics of the "stupid party" than to survey the nature of its original and almost exact counterpart, Methodism, which insisted on the literal interpretation of the scriptures and made application of divine prophecies to contemporary events. In 1808, using as raison d'être the review of a book by one R.A. Ingram on the Causes of the Increase of Methodism and Dissension, the inimitable Sydney Smith built upon a slight frame a rib-tickling essay on Methodism, an essay which depended mainly for
its humor on the simple citation of extracts from certain
methodist and evangelical magazines, interlarded with ironic
comment. In no clearer fashion can the true nature of that
curious religion be revealed than by the paraphrased and
shortened transcriptions of some of these great tales. All
of the anecdotes used by Smith were taken from two periodicals,
the Methodistical Magazine and the Evangelical Magazine for
1807:

1. A clergyman, spending his evening at the card-table, on
remarking that it was his turn to deal, dropped down dead,
"the third person in this neighborhood," affirmed the writer,
"to be summoned from the card-table to the bar of God."

2. A young man stung by a bee, buffeted them with his hat
the while he uttered most alarming oaths; whereupon one bee
stung him on the tip of his unruly tongue. "Thus can the Lord
engage one of his meanest creatures in reproving the bold
transgressor who dares take his name in vain."

3. David Wright, a man of scrofulous legs and atheistical
principles, on being with difficulty persuaded to hear one ser-
mon by Mr. Coles, was immediately and forever cured.

4. Captain Scott, going to preach in Mr. Romaine's chapel,
witnessed the displeasure of Providence at this, in the form
of a violent storm of thunder and lightning just as he entered
town.

5. A man, boasting that his cock-fight would draw a greater
congregation than the Methodist parson, sickened and died, and
his corpse was carried by the meeting-house "on the day and
exactly at the time, the deceased had fixed for the cock-fight."

6. Some "recent and authentic accounts of God's avenging Providence" exist in the destruction of a dancing-master for irreligion, of a person for swearing at a cock-fight, and of a third for pretending to be deaf and dumb. The manner of destruction is not stated, but it may be supposed that it was accomplished by celestial prodigies outrivalling the annihilation of the cities of the plain."

7. Mrs. Eliza Price and her attendants, "although some of them were carnal people", heard sacred music on a sudden, a few nights before her death.

8. A long account is given of a young man who was seized with madness of mind and body, believing "the bed curtains in flames, that he smelt brimstone, that devils were come to fetch him, that there was no hope for him, for that he had sinned against light and conviction and that he should certainly go to hell." For four days he suffered, his pulse at a hundred and fifty, at last confessing to the apothecary because he feared to tell the parson, that early in June he had gone to a fair and drunk at a public-house until in a measure intoxicated, and that afterwards he had been "criminally connected with a harlot." Upon confessing, it was observed that his mental distress ceased, but his nervous system had received such a shock that he survived but a few days.

The advertisements of position-seekers and others, taken from the covers of the Evangelical Magazine, revealed that everyone referred to himself as "serious", and that special
inducements to applicants consisted in the farmhouse's proximity to the tabernacle, or the number of places where "gospel is preached within a half mile." Only "serious" families were considered and desired by these "serious" applicants. "The Methodists," pursued Sydney Smith, "consider themselves as constituting a chosen and separate people, living in a land of atheists and voluptuaries. The expressions by which they designate their own sects are 'the dear people, the elect, the people of God'. The rest of mankind are 'carnal people, the people of the world, &c., &c." (41) Finally, he summarized excellently the general characterizing traits of Methodism: (a) They entertain erroneous and dangerous notions of the present judgments of God. Their cry of a judgment! encourages the grossest superstitions—the application of the phenomena of thunder, lightning, wind and every striking appearance to the regulation of their conduct. (b) The doctrine that one must act on the inward impulses and emotions "which come from God" opens the way to extravagant and dangerous action. (c) They have no pleasures or amusements—no theatre, cards, dancing, punchinello, dancing dogs or blind fiddlers. It is not the abuse of pleasure which they attack, but its inclusion in life. It is as wicked in their eyes to hear Shakespeare and Sheridan as Congreve; ennui, wretchedness, melancholy, groans and sighs are the offerings these unhappy men make to a Deity who has covered the earth with gay colors and scented it with rich perfumes. (d) They lay very little stress upon practical righteousness; they do not say to their people—-or very rare-
ly—"do not be deceitful, do not be idle, get rid of your passions," etc. (e) They are always desirous of making men more religious than it is possible, from the constitution of human nature, to make them. (f) All the doctrine of the Methodists is calculated to gain power among the poor and ignorant.

With no changes at all, these descriptions may be applied to the Evangelical party in the Establishment. The remedy for all this, which Smith was astonished to see not realized and known by the Church of England, was perhaps education of the poor.* One brilliant argument for the 'coldness' of the Eng-

* It is strange that Sydney Smith was not aware of the Church of England's fear of mass education and its attendant engendering of rationalism. For this reason, the retention of those who still adhered to it, as well as for its lack of facilities to accomplish popular education, the Church of England chose not to battle against the rising popularity.

lish Church was that it was at least a nostrum against such fearsome superstitions. "To the learning, the moderation, and the rational piety of the Establishment," cried Smith, "we most earnestly wish a decided victory over the nonsense, the melancholy and the madness of the tabernacle!"(42)

Such was Methodism in 1807, and such was Evangelicalism on its most intelligent side in an age when the scientific method was challenging the entire world of ancient creeds. But the Wesleyans knew no more of the march of science than does a babbitt of cinematic double-entendre, nor did their twin brothers, the Evangelicals. Theirs was not a faith founded on love, but on fear, and there is nothing in religious
history more strange than to witness the song of the Christmas angels so metamorphosed into the shrieks of a Sulu medicine-dance.

The mind of John Wesley was a composite of bourgeois elements. Such books as Hume's *Natural History of Religion*, or Voltaire's writings, or Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* with its destructive exegesis were non-existent for him. Miracles were a daily commonplace in his mind; the Lisbon earthquake was a fulfilling of the Divine Plan. He was the center of all those gross beliefs against which the reborn science had to battle. He declared the evidence for a real black art was irrefutable, and said that with the acknowledging of witchcraft one's faith in Christianity must stand or fall!(43)

Wesley, who through Evangelicalism came to be an irritant which helped to produce Tractarianism, performed a function strangely similar to that of the Oxford Movement. The XVIII century Church was in his time lethargic and indolent, and it can not be denied that he ministered to a most urgent necessity with his infusion of fresh vigor into its failing heart. He fascinated and inspired multitudes of ignorant people whom no one else cared to address. He came to revive a Church killed by deism and materialism, just as the Oxford Movement arrived to inject new life into one whose strength had been stolen by the corruptions of the age, and twice the great hound spewed forth the medicines which might have cured it.

Evangelicalism, however, was not the only thing which had mouldered. All divisions and parties of the Church were
in an equally wretched state, and the Church itself, its material body, had woefully suffered. Newman described it vividly: "A ritual dashed upon the ground, trodden on, and broken piecemeal;—prayers, clipped, pieced, torn, shuffled about at pleasure, until the meaning of the composition perished, and offices which had been poetry were no longer even good prose; antiphons, hymns, benedictions, invocations, shovelled away;--Scripture lessons turned into chapters;--heaviness, feebleness, unwieldiness, where the Catholic rites had had the lightness and airiness of a spirit;--vestments chucked off, lights quenched, jewels stolen, the pomp and circumstances of worship annihilated; a dreariness which could be felt, and which seemed the token of an incipient Socinianism, forcing itself upon the eye, the ear, the nostrils of the worshipper; a smell of dust and damp, not of incense; a sound of ministers preaching Catholic prayers, and parish clerks droning out Catholic canticles; the royal arms for the crucifix; huge ugly boxes of wood, sacred to preachers, frowning on the congregation in the place of the mysterious altar; and long cathedral aisles unused, railed off, like the tombs (as they were) of what had been and was not...."

(44) Gladstone rewrote his speech in Parliament for the Contemporary Review (October, 1874), presenting his remembered picture in even stronger language, and adding that the services "were probably without a parallel in the world for their debasement." The churches were decayed; hideous pagoda-like three-deckers—pulpits with three distinct desks, one for clerk, one for reader, and one
for the preacher—cut off the view of the altar. The Holy Table was shamefully treated, and was frequently so rickety and unworthy that no huswife would have allowed it in her kitchen; discarded ones were often sold or given to the village tap-room, where John Bull slopped his beer over the winesanctified wood. The music of the services was abominable, and the choir-men, whose conceit was notorious, were chosen for their voices alone, with no consideration given to the holiness of their lives. (45)

Against this corruption certain 'heroes before Agamemnon' revolted. A group of High Churchmen in London tried to initiate a movement, which if it had taken hold would have made the Oxford Movement unnecessary. They were called the 'Hackney Phalanx', and included in their number John James Watson, rector of Hackney, and his brother Joshua, H. H. Norris, Edward Churton, and Thomas Sikes. Others with similar 'High' tendencies were scattered over England. William Jones, 'Jones of Neyland' taught High Church doctrine; Dr. Routh published his Reliquiae Sacrae in 1815; the instinct lived and burned in such men as Charles Daubeney, E. J. Rose, Walter Hook, William Palmer, Arthur J. Perceval, John Keble senior and E. B. Pusey, long before the Oxford Movement as a definite impulse began. (46) In 1845 Hugh Miller compared the High Churchmen before and after the Oxford Movement to bulbs in a drawer, and the same bulbs planted out and flowering.

Clarke, however, cites certain reasons why there was not a Hackney Movement instead of an Oxford one. (47) There was
first the stiffness of the group, which was not only 'High'
but 'Dry'. Its members abhorred hymns, and it became the Can-
tabrigian Neale's task to change their taste. They were reti-
cent and disliked publicity, not like the Tractarians whose
growth at its paps was positively swinish. But the chief rea-
son for their failure was that they did not know how to com-
bat successfully the absence of sanctity in the great body of
the Anglican clergy.

It is true that the material decay of the Establishment's
buildings and music was as nothing compared to the black rot
which was destroying its limbs. The clergy was everywhere lax
and vicious, and all manners of abuses were born from the de-
cadence. They had made no break with the worldly traditions
of the XVIII century. The defect struck Pusey, who wrote to
Hook that he missed the element of severity and austerity. The
whole tone of the Church was Erastian. Episcopal wealth was
immense; pluralism and absenteeism made cathedrals a scandal.
At Canterbury the Archbishop received £22,000 a year, the dean
and six canons divided an £8,000 income, and the members of
the chapter held seven benefices worth £9,200. A bishop's son
who died in 1870 held the following pluralist record:

1818. Ordained priest, and collated to a
Prebendal Stall in his father's Cath-
deral. (This was worth £307 per annum,
and was held for fifty years.) Appoint-
ed Rector of Streatham (£756) and sine-
cure Vicar of Littlebury.
1819. Appointed (by his father) Vicar of Cot-
tesham (£770).
1824. Appointed Chancellor of Ely Cathedral,
1827. Appointed Rector of Leverington (£2,100).

In cathedral libraries the books were mistreated and unavail-
able. An anecdote (48) reveals that one congregation was instructed "not to remain for the Sacrament, as that would give the Minir Canon the trouble of celebrating, which otherwise he wouldn't do." Bishop Blomfield in his 1834 charge lamented that on Easter Day, 1800, "no more than six persons were found at the Table of the Lord." No one was prepared for Confirmation, and one bishop administered eight thousand in one day; on 'Christening Sunday' men and women of the lowest type used to gather outside the parish church of Plymouth to act as sponsors for a pint of beer. One bishop always began his second address at his confirmation services with "This very interesting, and (as I hold it to be) perfectly unobjectionable ceremony in which we have been engaged."(49) Too often confirmation services were made occasions of drunkenness and reveling by the humbler people, and for them the public house hours were always extended on confirmation nights. The wife of one west-country bishop used regularly to give a ball when confirmation took place in her husband's cathedral, because, as she observed, "it was a pity so many young people should be brought together without having a chance of enjoying themselves." Churches were closed from Sunday to Sunday, allowing no one the consolation of prayer before the sacrament; the services were dull, colorless and uninspiring; pews and galleries extinguished devotion. The morals of the clergy were extremely low. One curate was so drunk at an interment that on throwing the memento of earth on the coffin he lost his balance and fell into the grave. Another, reprimanded by his
bishop for drunkenness and unseemly behavior protested, "But, my Lord, I was not drunk on duty." 'Respectability' and 'decency', always the sins of the English Establishment, were the aims above holiness and austerity. The clergy and bishops were everywhere unpopular and the reformer's proposals made by Bentham, who had captured a section of the educated classes, held the dire threat of guillotine for the spouse of Christ. Naturally, the Church's enemies were not slow to seize upon her laxity, and raise hilarity over her defection. The Westminster Review, organ of the philosophical radicals, contained in its issue of July, 1820 an article making great fun of the previously mentioned Bishop Blomfield's Letter on the Present Neglect of the Lord's Day. "How," it chuckled, "has the Bishop of London been passing his Sundays? In what movements and observations has he been engaged on the day appropriated to holy contemplations? How has he qualified himself to speak of the doings in the New Cut, the iniquities of the Green Park, and to shoot out his tongue and testify against Clare Market? How has he made these surveys of wickedness—how has he probed into the scenes of Sabbath-breaking without Sabbath-breaking?"

But there was weeping as well as laughter in Zion, and there were sincere souls who mourned in their love for the holy church. The picture of the decadence of the Establishment is drawn in ashes, swirled with dust. Never before had the enervating poison of Protestantism, its character strengthened by the Wesleyan revival, the industrial revolution and
the lingering influence of deism, so filled the veins of the Church. But under the cold surface there was tinder, ready to catch the spark from the Oxford flint. Had it not been there, had the Church not needed reform, the Movement would have gone an unseen puff in the night.
Notes to Chapter III

1--13 Car. II, st. 2, c. 1
2--25 Car. II, c. 2
3--9 Geo. IV, c. 17
4--10 Geo. IV, c. 7
5--The Oxford Movement, pp. 4-6
6--Stanley, Life of Arnold, I, 326; quoted by Ollard, op.cit.
7--W. L. Knox, op.cit., pp. 205-6
8--Stewart, op.cit., pp. 35-9
9--pp. 28 et seq. Vide also below, section on Methodism and the Pre-Tractarian Church, pp. 205-16
10--Vide infra, Methodism
11--Newman, Letters, I, 180
13--Church, op.cit., pp. 51-2
15--Hansard, op.cit., vol. 18, 1828, pp. 676 et seq.
16--Froude, Remains, I, ii, pp. 184-269
17--ibid, I, ii, 386-94; this on pp. 392-3
18--Stanley in the Edinburgh Review, April 1881, p. 309
19--Briilioth, op.cit., p. 93
21--ibid, pp. 499-501; Appendix, Note A. Old edition, pp. 294-6
22--Dissertations and Discussions, I, 393
23--It remained for J.S. Mill to establish the median between the systematic intellectualism of Bentham and the mysticism of intuition of Coleridge.

24--Knox, op.cit., p. 28-9

25--Stewart, op.cit., p. 38-9

26--Godwin, Political Justice, I, p. 90; vide also Stephen, English Life and Thought in the XVIII. ---in the XIX Century; cf. Boswell on deism in the Life of Johnson.

27--Knickerbocker, Creative Oxford, passim.

28--Newman, Idea of a University, Discourse V, sec. 5, p. 110

29--Vide supra, p. 58

30--Vide the discussion of points in White's Autobiography, in a letter to Professor Powell, Feb. 10, 1838, vol. III, p. 6; also reference to the "many profound observations" of Aristotle, III, Appendix, p. 425

31--Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, by Jane Whately, p. 17

32--Pattison, Mind, I, pp. 1-16; reference and quotation from Knickerbocker, op.cit., p. 186

33--Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 17

34--So Pattison refers to it, op.cit., pp. 100-1; he was very bitter towards the Oxford Movement.

35--op.cit., pp. 188-9

36--Knickerbocker, op.cit., pp. 54-5, 66

37--Newman, Letters, I, 122-4


39--ibid, p. 110; old edition, p. 7

40--The interested reader will be amply repaid by digging up the Edinburgh Review, 1808, vol. II, p. 341 and reading Smith's article. There is a return to the discussion in vol. IV, pp. 11 et seq.

41--ibid, 11, 350

42--ibid, 11, 362
43--quoted in Stewart, op.cit., pp. 31-2

44--Newman, Essays Critical and Historical, II, 443; vide also Clifton Kelway, The Story of the Catholic Revival, 1-16

45--For delicious cartoons of all this, see A. R. Mowbray, The Deformation and the Reformation, published circa 1865; three of them are reproduced in Kelway, op.cit.,

46--Clarke, op.cit., p. 17

47--ibid, pp. 17-37


49--quoted by Kelway from How, Lighter Moments.

50--Vide supra, p.187, e.g.
Chapter IV
Temper: 1830

The state of English opinion in the latter half of the XVIII century was a curious variant of that which prevailed in the more advanced nations on the continent. There rationalism had festered in every department of human knowledge, and there was scarcely one educated person left who retained entire allegiance to the doctrines or institutions of ancient times. (1) But the deficiencies of the French philosophy, as it was commonly called, made it too weak a dish to sate the English relish for roast-beef; the philosophical movement had been stopped in an early stage, and an unstable truce between the ruling philosophy and traditional creeds had been erected. England, the native country of compromise, prime in fence-straddling, could not endure either in speculation or practice anything save a shy and modest shrinking from both right and left wings, but the shrinking, remarked Mill, was rather an instinct of caution than a result of insight. Within her boundaries the philosophical speculations of the age had not, except in a few highly metaphysical minds, taken half so audacious a flight as they had on the continent. "The age seemed smitten," continued Mill, "with an incapacity of producing deep or strong feeling, such as at least could ally itself with meditative habits... Philosophy fell mostly into the hands of men of dry prosaic nature, who had not enough of the
materials of human feeling in them to be able to imagine any of its more complex and mysterious manifestations... An age like this, an age without earnestness, was the natural era of compromises and half convictions."(2) Mark Pattison spoke of the strange XVIII century as a time when poets were without romance, philosophers without depth, and public men without character.(3) The deistic controversies had accustomed men to view religion through a wider range glass than had been formerly used. Locke had forced upon the public the hard theory that all knowledge was acquired through the senses. Gibbon's historical technique was not only taken as a pattern by succeeding writers, but his intimations that many Christian beliefs were illusory was accepted almost without question. Germany in some measure counteracted the preachments of the Lockian school by drawing up the curtain on thitherto unrevealed, undreamed of things of the mind and soul, and through Coleridge had begun to make known the transcendent philosophies, although because the Oxonians were generally unfamiliar with the German language (4) and theories they considered the 'Cambridge Apostles', exponents of German doctrines, to represent a 'German menace' in theology.

Against the XVIII century came the romantic movement as a reaction; it was in no sense an offspring. All over the continent as well the new tide was flowing, in art, literature, philosophy and faith.(5) The poetry of Klopstock, the speculations of Chateaubriand, Schlegel's account of universal history, Tieck's painting of the middle age, Grimm's fairy lore,
Mühler's Symbolik (the only book of theology, Roman Catholic at that, which the Oxford divines knew--(6)), Manzoni's Promessi Sposi, and Coleridge's Biographia Literaria in England. It is an axiom that reaction always follows the stalemating of trends, and why certain tendencies should appear at the end of a period which seemed the least favorable to all of them is perhaps a matter of surmise only to those who are in general unfamiliar with the history of the race. Out of impatience for the present arose a new enthusiasm for the past; feelings and emotions were suddenly aureoled with light. As literature came to be quick with the elder modes of writing, so religion was at once filled with a desire for the ancient forms of worship. Coleridge, and Germany through him, expressed the revolt of the human mind against the philosophy of the XVIII century; they were ontological, conservative, religious and poetical because so much of the other was experimental, innovative, infidel and prosaic.(7)

It is, however, with the temper of the times as it was manifested in 1830 that present concern exclusively rests, the revelation of the geist of that age characterized by Carlyle as "destitute of faith, yet terrified of scepticism."(8) One settles upon the year 1830 realizing that it, as well as any other of the decade, will reveal the troubled welter of affairs, curiously similar to the state of the world a century later. Perhaps no better contemporary record of the economic and social crisis exists than in an article published in Black-
wood's Edinburgh Magazine (9), unsigned, and titled The Present Crisis. Some, remarked the unidentified writer, would have it that the whole disturbance was more in France than England, but such was untrue. "At no period of modern times," he cried, "has the settled order of things appeared to be so exclusively under the influence of the desire for change!" England was impoverished "by a mistaken system of commercial policy, embarrassed by the contraction of the circulating medium, and the consequent increase of the pressure of taxation...and harassed by the distress of an unemployed population"; it was easy to see "how soon excuses might be found for acts that would be fraught with public mischief." The ancient fashion of the country, the feudal regime, was losing its strength: "a sour and sullen spirit of insubordination was gaining fearful ground among the people," and the first thing necessary to bring a better spirit was to relieve their abject penury, or at least show an honest and anxious desire to do so. A tidal wave of complaint from those who suffered from the spreading use of machinery dashed against the walls of Parliament. What would become of the poor who lived by the remuneration of manual labor, and were possessed of no property? Would the rich, who owned the machines and the land, share with them? Assuredly not; the rich never shared unless they were under compulsion. But as starvation placed the humble on the rack, their bodies would grow desperate; property rights would be violated, and social chaos ensue. "If society were in that state," prescribed the writer, "that every advantage obtained
by the society were shared by the individuals who compose it, then the abridgment of manual labor would be an indisputable advantage; but since wealth is in the hands of the few, who will not share, it is easy to see how the depression of the value of labor for the poor, will compel them to resort to the law of nature, and violate the regulations of a society whose advantages they have no means of sharing in." The best way to prevent revolution was to show the people that they had nothing to gain by it, and to convince them that greater ends could be accomplished by gentler means involving, however, not lesser basic alterations. "When we consider how wonderfully the powers of production have been changed and improved, and how generally throughout the world we find suffering following from abundance, and perceive a want of demand equal to the powers of supply, it seems to be almost time that some serious alteration in the system of society should take place, so as to give mankind at large a fairer share of the benefits which our great improvements are capable of affording."

With so much storm and tumult in the heavens, it was small wonder that no great poetry was produced. The minds of men shifted to other things; debates of coal merchants in Parliament supplanted the love of the skylark's song. A man could not look at a sunset while an earthquake ran beneath him. Romanticism was already waning into the sullen quiet which was to lead to Victorianism. The great poets were dead, or dying: Keats in 1821, Shelley in 1822, Byron in 1824. Coleridge had written no poetry of merit for thirty years; Wordsworth's
great period had ended twenty-five years before. The splendid flame had burned so intensely that its lustre was dying. England had just been through war: 1812-14 with the United States, with 1815 seeing the end of the conflict with Napoleon in Wellington's great victory at Waterloo. The post-war psychosis had given birth to the fierce revolutionary poetry of Shelley, and was shortly to be followed, as always, by a return to religious fields; from battle-blood rises a desire for the quiet stars, 'port after stormie seas, ease after warre...doth greatly please.'

"The spirit of the age," admitted another writer in 1830, "is not very favorable to the cultivation of poetry."(10) "There were few poets," remarked J. S. Mill (11), "and none of a high order." Coleridge as early as 1817 had with his occasionally wonderful clarity perceived another cause for the decline of the noble art. "The habits attached to this character of viewing England as a commercial nation," he wrote (12), "must, if there exist no adequate counterpoise, inevitably lead us, under the specious names of utility, practical knowledge and so forth, to look at all things through the Medium of the market, and to estimate the worth of all pursuits and attainments by their marketable value." The damage was indeed begun, and by 1830 the blighting frost of utilitarianism was everywhere. Poetry was floundering in Benthamism, and there was no one to fly to the maiden's help. A shameless creature had the daring to write thus of the most other-worldly poet of the times, the one who had early taken a strong stand a-
against the commercialism and utility of art: "Thus Mr. Coleridge is a Benthamite in his poetry; a Utilitarian; a "greatest happiness" man; for, as a poet, he writes under the controlling and dictating power of truth and nature, under the inspiration of his own profound convictions and emotions. It is different, indeed, in his prose. There he is not his own man. There he has something else in view besides telling out what he thinks and feels in the melodious words which it spontaneously assumes."(13) So to pervert the real nature of the Coleridgean poetic spirit, to go against his expressed ideal, constitutes an unparalleled descent into the depths, and reveals the barrenness of the appreciative and intuitive instinct, at least in the black hearts of the Bentham henchmen on the Westminster Review.

In 1830 the continuity which today exists between the course of nature and the affairs of man had begun to grow delicately, although it had not then been strengthened and bulwarked by the Darwinian dogmas. Man and nature were beginning to live and work inseparably, in the poetry of Shelley and Wordsworth, in the philosophy of Bentham and Godwin. Science was promising everything; it was viewed as the great liberator of man, the key to his bonds of servile belief. The conclusions of nature and science were becoming accepted as proof of propositions which concerned man alone, weaving insidiously a corrosive net around him. A false optimism, the natural accompaniment of enthusiasm for a new philosophy, was the people's will-o'-the-wisp, leading towards chasms of unsuspected
depth. Although many of these ideas did not crystallize until after Darwin and Huxley, they were nonetheless in the air, vaguely disturbing factors, in 1830. Man had begun to wonder if the universe had been made for him or if that conception had been created by his own desires; he began to suspect that he might be only a clod upon a small and dying planet, being whirled about, with no attention paid to his will or desire, a part of the 'blind run' of nature.

Science, however, was going ahead with raucous hilarity; like a slattern come into an inheritance, she was promising everyone everything. In geology she was making seven-league strides; in Germany Professor Meinacke of Halle had just succeeded in producing a brilliant illumination by means of electricity, and with the aid of an artificial air enclosed in glass tubes, an invention foreseen by its creator as a means of lighting a whole city "at a very trifling expense."(14) Inquiry and invention in England went on apace. The good middle-class was frightened almost witless by its dread of certain experiments to produce artificial life. Shelley's atomic experiments at Oxford were taken as a presage of his later atheism.(15) But Science had already begun to lose some of its vesture of secret rites; "...instead of being a high and abstruse mystery, \( \sqrt{\textit{it}} \) is a clearer-up of mysteries that lie in our daily path."(16) It did not necessarily signify any longer the use of costly instruments and expensive apparatus, but a mere state of mind involved in the questions 'What is this?' or 'Why is that?' The tracts for the diffusion of knowledge
published in the Library of Useful Knowledge were considered by critics a trifle above the layman, but they were issued in accord with the great aim of the age: to communicate scientific knowledge to the mass of society. "It is an attempt to pluck from the sun, 'in the highest heaven of Philosophy', the Promethean fire, to burn on the common hearth-stone in the humblest abodes of mortals." Scientific learning, as well as other kinds, including religious, had been monopolized in the past. "Diffusion is the watchword of the age, and unless the spread of intelligence keeps pace with that of power, of wealth, and of religious liberty, it will become the motto of universal disappointment and defeat."(17) The means of dissemination chosen, however, were with some people unsatisfactory; "'Trumpery books of mathematics and physics' have, along with the knowledge they conveyed, filled people with dogmatical conceit, have led to disputatious habits, and have induced them to try moral and political questions by rules and methods wholly inapplicable to them," infecting the populace with a kind of "bastard learning". But after all, the project of scientific sowing was not visionary; there was utility in the scattering of seeds, although it was a prevalent opinion that nothing was useful save that which tended to increase the property, comfort, and outward well-being of the people. The poor were not prosperous enough; there was no want of means, but the means were so distributed that the struggle of human interests and necessities was too hard. "But here we say," continued the writer (18), "...that the spread of scientific
knowledge, a knowledge...of the mechanical powers and of the capabilities of nature would tend...to bring about the increase of comfort and competence in the world."

False, false! Comfort and competence it would bring, perhaps, but the deluded ones of the time were so enthusiastic that they believed it would bring everything else. No people ever went more joyously to its doom. The spread of the knowledge of science would restore the world to its pristine state. "And as religious reasoners," it was written, almost as though Shelley's *Queen Mab* had been cast into prose, "so far from admitting...the scientific study of God's works to be out of the province of the mass of mankind, we should say that the world is not, and never will be, right, till they are generally understood." (19) Science would not only provide, comfort, guide and mother, but it would also supply objects to the mind to keep it from stagnation, ennui and melancholy; it would reveal to mankind how he could make Nature his plaything and toy: "Do our people then crave entertainment? Nature stands before them as a mighty storehouse of materials. The show-man, the manufacturer of fireworks, has nothing like this. It would furnish to the people one grand and perpetual fete. It would open scenes of enchantment, and miracles of art, beyond all that theatre, or royal palace, or the fabled halls of oriental magicians could offer." (20) It is beyond surmise whence came such a singular delusion, that one could drop a nickel in the slot and have nature begin its show like a wheezy phonograph.
But more sombre clouds were upon the horizon. A frightening confusion of thought was growing from the attempt to reconcile scientific teaching and knowledge with religion's precepts and the 'man's-world' idea, and from science's claim that it was possessed of abundant right to trespass on those conclusions which affected the human province alone. The Edinburgh Review in examining the transactions of the Geological Society, surveying the progress made by geological science and investigation, believed that its article had given "some idea...of the numerous changes to which the earth has been subject since its original creation, and the vast number of ages which must have elapsed before it became fit for the habitation of man. Well may it be predicated of the Deity, that for him a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years!"(21)

A stout wrench to bring the two into alignment, but barely successful. The American colleagues, however, outdid themselves in a lyric rationalization: "What is needed then is, that religious reflections should be mixed up, if possible, with the mass of human pursuits, should start up unhidden on every side, should make their impression...by constant and unforced repetition... Now, it is precisely this want that is supplied by the scientific knowledge of nature...[which] would help to explain their Bible and give a loftier meaning to many of the noblest passages in Holy Writ. Nature, too, is as truly a manifestation from Heaven as the Scriptures... Of this various, unceasing, omnipresent communication, scientific knowledge is the great interpreter... Knowledge would write
lessons of piety on every leaf. Every 'turf would be a fragrant shrine'. The earth, in its light, would rear ten thousand altars around us. The air we breathe would be incense. And heaven, beyond towering arch or temple's dome, would bear us to contemplations, glorious, sublime, unspeakable, of the adorable Creator."(22) Gently, John Keble even attempted the impossible: "Both \[\text{i.e. the natural philosophers and the mathematical scientists]\] include an element which can appeal with growing strength to their power of admiration, which can be pursued with eagerness and delight, and under whose influence the mind may surrender itself to be carried away and drawn into I know not what mysterious regions... Whoever cultivates either of these two fields in a reverent and sober spirit, finding an even greater pleasure in rapt contemplation than in mere discovery, possesses, I should say, a heart not ill-prepared either for poetry or even for religion itself."(23)

From two quarters, however, proceeded evidences of a growing disgust with scientific pretensions. The first one came from Coleridge who was indeed hostile to such a vain-glorious braggart as Science was showing herself to be. As early as 1817 he had complained that "a handicraftsman from a laboratory, who had just succeeded in disoxydating an earth --silex, or lime, for instance--would be thought a more illustrious person" than Plato.(24) In 1830, surveying the moral history of the past hundred and thirty years he saw that the mechanico-corporeal theory had been raised to the title of mechanistic philosophy, and espoused as a revolution
in philosophy by actors and partisans of the (so-called) Revolution in the State; in the same place he deplored the fact that a state of nature, or the Ouang-Outang theology of the origin of the human race, had been substituted for the first ten chapters of the Book of Genesis!(25) And from the friendly camp a tocsin of different nature sounded in the same year: "Bribed by foreign gold, or flattered by foreign courtesy, her [i.e. England's] artisans have quitted her service—her machinery has been exported to distant markets—the inventions of her philosophers, slighted at home, have been eagerly introduced abroad—her scientific institutions have been discouraged and even abolished—the articles which she supplied to other states have been gradually manufactured by themselves, and one after another, the best arts of England have been transferred to other nations."(26)

All this while the promise of the Aufklärung had become more and more generally considered with derision by the people to whom it had promised so much. Their fanatic faith in dialectic went out of fashion. At almost the same time that Shelley was spouting his impossible idealism forth in Queen Mab and The Revolt of Islam, Byron said exactly the opposite thing in his belief:

That knowledge is not happiness, and science
But an exchange of ignorance for that
Which is another kind of ignorance...(27)

Strange words, indeed, for the era, to be echoed a century later by Joseph Wood Krutch under parallel circumstances,(28), after the Darwinian shock had almost completely extinguished
this growing train of dissatisfaction among those reactionaries who wished for a return to the past. The fact that they did desire a new middle age, however, was potently a reason for the spread of the Oxford Movement through the educated classes which were alive to the increasing displeasure felt towards science and its conclusions.

The contradictions of this curious age were sometimes amazing. At the time when astronomy, geology, and historical criticism were challenging the ancient precepts, Methodism with its superstitious viewing of natural phenomena was at one of its most influential periods, and for every new star discovered, a thousand people believed that a new celestial cottage had been added to the streets of gold. Scientific explanations advanced in the Library of Useful Knowledge and the Library of Entertaining Knowledge were uncomprehended by the ignorant layman, garbled and twisted into supernatural proof and theory. Astrology flourished, and the interest in phrenology was feverish. Emerson in America could with high seriousness praise the deductions of Spurzheim, the skull-reader them eminently in fashion, and include his name among those of Locke, Lavosieier, Hutton and Bentham in his Essay on Self-Reliance; and there is nothing anywhere more amusing than the picture of the great Herbert Spencer sitting with solemn gravity in the chair of a quack to have his destiny read out from his bumps! Legitimate medicoes wrote learned articles reviewing the work of Gall and Spurzheim on the imitative principle. The skull of Robert the Bruce was found
when his grave was exhumed, and the reporter of "Scientific Intelligence" in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine earnestly wrote, "Now that the opinions of Gall and Spurzheim are not passed over as mere pieces of quackery, the curiosity of anatomists was excited by the invaluable opportunity of inspecting and examining such a skull." (35) Quackery went hand in hand with science.

But into this confusion a new note was entering. August Schlegel in Germany hit as true a tone as any: "The work of the Reformation is accomplished. The pride of human reason, which was evident in the first Reformers, and still more in their successors has guided us so ill, especially during the last century, that it has come into antagonism with itself and destroyed itself." (34) An 'invasion of sacerdotalism' was at hand. (35) It was not unusual that in the face of so much uncertainty men should welcome most heartily any solution which bore an authoritarian stamp. There was a superb hierarchy of tradition available to them. "If there be any antidote to that restless craving for the wonders of the day," cried Coleridge, "which, in conjunction with the appetite for publicity, is spreading like an efflorescence on the surface of our national character; if there exist means for deriving resignation from general discontent, means of building up with the very materials of political gloom that stedfast frame of hope which affords the only certain shelter from the throng of self-realising alarms, at the same time that it is the natural home and workshop of all the active virtues; that antidote and
these means must be sought for in the collation of the present with the past, in the habit of thoughtfully assimilating the events of our own age to those of the time before us." (36) The spirit came to teach those who were themselves teachers, and the infusion gave them strength to combat the menace of German theology, of their own inner political cogs, to war against the materialism and the sheets of shining evil which were sweeping them down into the vortex of the maelstrom. With their eyes upon the face of God, and the consoling beacon of the ancient faith before them, they prayed and battled their path towards heaven.

The Oxford Movement was no longer a dream of glory, but a sword in the hands of men.
Notes to Chapter IV

1.--J. S. Mill, op. cit., II, 25, 41-2; Coleridge

2.--Ibid, p. 42

3.--Essays and Reviews, p. 254; quoted by Stewart, op. cit.

4.--Naively enough, the Tractarian reply to an heretical Ger-
man work announced that it relied for data on an account
of the doctrine "as contained in an American periodical." (Tract
LXXIII, Postscript) Only Pusey and two or three
others knew German.

5.--Stewart, op. cit., p. 54

6.--authoritate Knox, op. cit., p. 356

7.--Mill, op. cit., II, 15

8.--Essay on Scott, published 1838

9.--vol. 28, pp. 690 et seq; cf. also Quarterly Review, 43,
pp. 185-215, review of writings of Bishop Butler; ibid,
vol. 43, pp. 278-304, review entitled Distress of the
Country which discussed three publications: Thoughts on
the Present Distress, 1829; An Inquiry into the Nature,
Extent, and Causes of the Distress since 1825, London,
1829; On the Distressed State of the Country, By a Mer-
chant, London 1830. These publications were concerned
mainly with financial, political and economic considera-
tions; a great part of them was devoted to monetary ques-
tions, evidently: decline of the value of tender, markets,
etc.

10.--North American Review, 31, 442 et seq; Studies in the Po-
etry of George Cheever, reviewed. The author made allow-
ance for the operation of another cause: the influence of
the perverted taste which made men welcome the great num-
bers of inferior novels, etc, which were poured from the
presses.

11.--op. cit., p. 42

12.--Second Lay Sermon: "Blessed are ye that sow beside all wa-
ters", edition cited, p. 216

13.--Westminster Review, vol. 12, p. 3, in an unsigned review of
Coleridge's poetry.

14.--Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 6, 465, under caption of
"Scientific Intelligence".
15—Stewart, op.cit., p. 40-39

16—North American Review, April 1830, vol. 30, p. 293; article on the Library of Useful Knowledge and the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, vols. 1-2. The MAR was used because the subject matter of the article was British, and the temper in both places much the same.

17—ibid, p. 297

18—ibid, p. 304

19—ibid, p. 298

20—ibid, p. 310

21—Edinburgh Review, October 1830, p. 43-72

22—North American Review, ibid, p. 312-13

23—Keble, Lectures, I, 365-66

24—Second Lay Sermon, edition cited, p. 192

25—Coleridge, Church and State, passim. It is interesting to observe by how many years the 'evolution' modes of thought antedated the publication of Darwin's Origin of the Species in 1859.


27—Manfred, II, iv.

28—The Modern Temper, passim.

29—Wide George Sand's reaction, in her Life by Dowmio.

30—It is curious that in later editions of the Essay, the name of Spurzheim was changed to that of Fortier. It may be surmised that Emerson made the substitution when it was discovered that Spurzheim really was a quack.

31—Stewart, op.cit., pp. 4-6

32—Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, VI, 309, 1819-20; article by Peter Morris.

33—ibid, VI, 213

34—quoted from Stewart, op.cit., p. 28

35—Pattison, Memoirs, 166

36—Lay Sermons, I, p.10, 3d. ed. London, 1852
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BIOGRAPHY

Samuel Morris Steward was born in Woodsfield, Ohio, July 23, 1909. He received his secondary school education in the public schools of Richmond, Virginia, and Woodsfield, Ohio, and the high school of Woodsfield, Ohio; his undergraduate education was taken at The Ohio State University, from which he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1931 and the degree of Master of Arts in 1932. During his seven-year residence at The Ohio State University he sometimes acted as a substitute teacher at the call of various members of the English Department, 1932-34, and in the summer of 1933 he taught a course in creative writing for the University's Emergency School; in 1932 he lectured occasionally before the students of Franklin University, Columbus. In 1932 he received from the Ohio State University an appointment as University Scholar, and in 1933 an appointment as University Fellow. These positions he held for the two years necessary to complete the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.