LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

DURING HIS LIFE IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH

WITH A BRIEF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

EDITED, AT CARDINAL NEWMAN'S REQUEST, BY

ANNE MOZLEY

EDITOR OF 'LETTERS OF THE REV. J. B. MOZLEY, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. II.

LONDON

GMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

D NEW YORK: 15 EAST 16th STREET

1891

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JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

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PORTRAIT

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN *Frontispiece*

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VOL. II.

XXVI.A.13

LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

In carrying on the correspondence of Mr. Newman and his friends to a second volume, it may be well to remind the reader of the progress the Movement had already made by a few dates.

July 9, 1833, Mr. Newman arrived at his Mother's house at Iffley, after his illness in Sicily.

July 14, Mr. Keble preached his celebrated Assize sermon on National Apostasy, which Mr. Newman 'ever considered the beginning of the Movement.'

July 25, meeting of Churchmen at Mr. Rose's, at Hadleigh.

Early in September the first tracts were published. The reader will see that by the middle of December the number of tracts and records of the Church had together reached in all to twenty-eight.

A letter of James Mozley, dated September 3, 1833, says, 'With this letter you will receive a considerable number of tracts, the first production of the Society established for the dissemination of High Church principles. . . . Newman is the writer of all the tracts I send you—Keble has written two, but they are not printed.'

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. Hugh James Rose.

December 15, 1833.

[Whether this was sent I know not. Most probably; at least in substance. It is transcribed here as recording the feelings, &c., of the writer at the time. As to Rose's letters, after his death I was asked for them all, that John Miller might have them, as he was to draw up a memoir of Rose, which, as far as I know, never appeared. I was most unwilling to give them up. Pusey forcibly persuaded me. I ought to have asked for my own addr d to him instead.—J. H. N.]

Your letter cheered me very much; for, as Froude is away, I have no one on the spot whom I can get advice from, in spite of the many good friends I have around, for which I ought to be very grateful. Indeed I trust the right cause is making progress here [Oxford]. Thank you for the kind things you have said of me both in your Magazine and by letter.

I now write to you, after some talk with Keble, to acquaint you how we stand, and to enable you to keep our movements clear of your own. Turrill [Smith] wants us to form our tracts into a periodical. I am against anything like a tract-magazine on a ground which I think you have pointed out yourself. It is highly desirable that each tract should be *separate*; we do not want regular troops, but sharpshooters. However, to make the *issue* periodically, *e.g.* monthly, might be a good thing, as leading persons to look for them.

The 'Record' and (I am told) the 'Christian Observer' have advertised them for us in their own way, and we are going to advertise them in consequence for ourselves. . . . The trouble of making up parcels is already very great. Our only fear is that of involving ourselves in expenses which we cannot estimate. Smith says we must have 2,500 copies struck off of each tract, which would be, I suppose, 12*l.* a sheet, and it is a speculation how long this outlay would be going on before the sale would be equal to it. This is one cause of hesitation.

Another is lest we should be engaging in an employment which would take up all our time. But this is, perhaps, a needless alarm; we do not pledge ourselves to continue it.

A more serious difficulty with us is the chance of interfering with the 'British Magazine'—yet I cannot fancy we should. What we publish would be stray remarks, passages from standard works, translations from the Fathers, &c. Nor should we be withdrawing writers, even ourselves, from the Magazine, as is evident. The style of writing would be quite different. Accordingly we fancy we might sail out in our little boat without the chance of your running us down. However, we wish to be guided in this matter entirely by you. The Church owes so much to the 'British Magazine,' as the first publication which set up her standard when others shrank from doing so, that you have a right to this deference.

If you think we may proceed, the question follows; should the publication be weekly or monthly? If it were weekly, we might bring out a tract against any immediate atrocious measure of the Legislature against the Church, and thus have an advantage over the 'British Magazine.' I have already been taking measures to secure some lay assistance in that way in contemplation of the English Bill. Hitherto we have confined ourselves almost entirely to doctrinal and ecclesiastical points, with one or two objects, to stimulate and inform the clergy, to inform the higher classes, the poor population, &c. (of course we have hardly done anything yet, in any one of these lines, but made beginnings). But when the proper moment comes, perhaps you would find you could make use of us for purposes of a more immediate practical kind—for getting up a resistance to State interference, for the repeal of the *Præmunire*, for the appointment of suffragans, &c.

On the other hand, would once a week be too frequent to excite an interest? Could matters be so arranged that they should be published at odd times during the month and *circulated* through the country once a month?

We are sending a parcel of tracts to Dr. Spry at Canterbury, and shall consult him on the practicability of the scheme. He is a good man of business, I am told.

The following paper was written by Mr. Newman in the autumn of 1833:

[Draft of instructions written by me (J. H. N.) in the autumn of 1833 for the use of our Propagandists.]

Objects of your Journey.

To form local associations.
To instruct the corresponding member.
To sound men on certain questions.

Our object is to get together immediately as large a body as we can, in defence of the *substance* of our spiritual rights, privileges, our Creeds, &c; but we wish to avoid technicalities and minutenesses as much as possible.

The posture of affairs will not allow of delay.

We wish to unite the clergy and create channels of correspondence between them.

We have it in view to get up petitions on a sudden, through the country, should any bold measure of the country against the Church, be contemplated or other event require it.

We are of no party nor interfere with party questions.

We have no concern with politics.

We have nothing to do with maintaining the temporalities of the Church, much as we deprecate any undue interference with them by external authority.

Queries in Prospect.

1. Petitions against lax men about to be appointed bishops, &c.
2. Alterations in Burial Service and in Baptismal.
3. On the competent authority to alter Liturgy.
4. On protests.

Beware of any intemperance of language. You may mention *facts* illustrative of the present tyranny exercised over the Church as much as you please, according to your discretion.

If men are afraid of Apostolical ground, then be cautious of saying much about it. If desirous, then recommend prudence and silence upon it at present.

Everything depends on calmness and temperance. Recol-

lect that we are *supporting* the Bishops; enlarge on the unfairness of leaving them to bear the brunt of the battle.

The following letter is an example of the inquiries that reached the first movers in the agitation:

REV. H. RICHARDS TO REV. J. KEBLE.

[*Near Bristol:*] *December* 1833.

One of our clergy has to day brought me a printed letter sent him from London by the Rev. Mr. Norris recommending the formation of Church of England Societies for the protection of the doctrines and Liturgy, &c., of our Church, and purporting to have originated in Oxford. It has struck me that you must know something about it. There are many more competent than I to bring the thing forward here; but, owing to my having originated the address last session against the Irish Church Reform, many have wished me to come forward again on the subject. These are indeed troublesome and stirring times.

J. H. PARKER, ESQ. (OXFORD) TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Monday.

I have been applied to this morning by Mr. Combe, of Leicester, for a set of the tracts lately printed and circulated by a Society of clergymen of which, I believe, you are an active member. Mr. Combe states that they are for a clergyman who is anxious to aid and abet the views of the Society so far as he is able.

REV. JOHN KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December, 1833.

I really think it is quite necessary something should be settled about the manner in which the address is to be presented to the Archbishop and the signatures conveyed to him. Should not two or three Archdeacons wait on him to know his pleasure?

I have heard this morning for certain that our Bishop approves of it.

Go on and prosper, and let the 'Record' dry in its own ink.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE [at Barbadoes].

December 15, 1833.

Everything is going on most prosperously; the address is signed everywhere, being understood as a rallying round the Archbishop. Oxford is turning; Symons, who was one of the most vehement opponents, has subscribed it. Burton is on the turn of the tide; the Bishop of London has determined that to do so is 'the lesser of two evils,' and has instructed his Archdeacons to get signatures through his diocese, and this after having sneered at us as 'Solemn League and Covenant men,' and exerted his influence against the address. He has gone so far as publicly to deny 'he has anything to do with a ministerial liturgical reform.' Meanwhile the reports of some sweeping Government measure, certainly ecclesiastical if not liturgical, wax stronger and stronger. The lay address is in preparation, Sir R. Inglis and Sir W. Heathcote being the leaders in it.

Now as to the tracts, if you knew the trouble I had had with Palmer, you would pity me. He is the best-tempered, kindest fellow in the world, but we wellnigh quarrelled for a while. He made a most vehement set at them, and not once alone [at our proceedings], and even now, I regret to say, has not got over it. The fact is, he promised Mr. Norris 'there should be no tracts'; and, as you know, Mr. Norris wrote about saying so. Then he came to persuade me, who was unpersuadable. But I was so fiery about it, that afterwards, in a fit of weakness, I wrote to him to say that, though I would not give up my tracts, I would waive my objections to an Association, strong as they were. In a short time Harrison and others bothered me to keep to my promise of disclaiming an Association. On the other hand, —— and others were so far advanced in the formation of one that I did not like to damp them, so I excogitated a paper condemning one great Association, but

advocating small local ones, which I thought would reconcile all parties, and went to Palmer about it.

I found Palmer in a taking, having received furious letters from Mr. Norris, who declared he would have nothing to do with the address because it was so weak; he (*nota bene* and the Z's in London) having made it so. I advised Palmer to keep with the Z's as long as he could, and when they sank to leap into our little boat, and he consented. Keble, Williams, Copeland, Christie, and I drew up the proposed paper, when at the moment down came Edward Churton from London, as a sort of ambassador from Norris about the address (I cannot go into all the fuss of the address; it is not worth it). [N.B.—I was dining at Trinity when Edward Churton was announced. Keble was there, and (I suppose) Williams and Copeland. It must have been on Wednesday [this is confirmed by Fragmentary Diary], November 27. I recollect Keble could hardly help laughing, and did laugh, and enjoy excessively afterwards, the diplomatic look and bearing of Churton as he entered the room, greeted us, and sat down.]

Accordingly, when the said paper was presented to Palmer, he was more earnest and tragic against it than ever I could have fancied. It seems he considered that mentioning tracts at all with associations was interfering with his pledge to Norris; and he charged me with my (weak) agreement to join his Association. I replied, which was the case, that Norris himself was now more urgent against an Association than I was. He was full of fears, even to be seriously annoyed. We have not been right since.

Soon after I had a letter from Rose, who told me he had not only rated at Palmer for the imbecility of the address, but had remonstrated with him for thwarting the tracts, which he said was the only good part of the scheme. However, Palmer is still dreaming of some grand union of Churchmen against the Government.

I had sent five letters to the 'Record,' and they were well received. My sixth stuck. At length appeared a most ominous leading article about the Society, the address, and

the tracts, with quotations of the Transubstantiation passages (which have brought us into all sorts of trouble. Rickards has bullied me *ὅσον ἀμήχανον*), but no opinion. Then came a private letter to me declining No. 6, and sighing over the tracts. I sent a civil answer and an anonymous letter through Ryder, quoting to them Acts v. 38, 39. They evidently had been puzzled how to act, but this letter came too late to prevent an explosion, in which we were called heretics, papists, &c., and to-be apostates, &c. Next paper they softened, and said they had spoken under excited feelings. Next paper still, the cause appeared. Two letters from Evangelical correspondents were inserted, defending our doctrine, though they abused our tracts; and an article from the Editor accompanied it, expostulating with the imprudence of his 'friends at Oxford,' begging us to be more practical, and resolving magnanimously to shut up the question and not admit 'the apple of discord which had rolled into their columns from Oxford.' So these people have just managed to give us a most flaming advertisement. Upon this I sent up to Turrill to advertise the tracts in our own way in the 'Record' and 'St. James's Chronicle,' also in the 'British Magazine,' and it is probable we shall soon put them on the footing of a periodical without giving up the tract shape.

Our demand increases; we have had new editions of several. T. Keble, Harrison, Menzies, Perceval, and a more important friend, who at present is nameless [N.B.—this meant Pusey], have written for us; J. Miller, Copeland, and Williams are also writing. I have coaxed Palmer into writing one. Several Ch. Ch. men [N.B.—Liddell, Thornton, Scott of Balliol?] have been translating 'Ignatius.' We have twelve numbers out of 'Records of the Church,' and sixteen tracts besides already. I have lately heard that the 'Christian Observer' has a furious attack on us, nay, upon Oriel, in this last month. Can we have more favourable signs? Men do not cry out till they are frightened.

The following is the advertisement of the tracts:—Tracts for the Times, published at Oxford. 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?'

VEN. ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December 15, 1833.

. . . . I have often told Hurrell he was going too fast; he people by his speculations, and is incautious in talking persons who cannot enter into the purity of his motives. I dare say he laid himself completely open on his visit to Archdeacon Lyell.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel College: December 19, 1833.

Your diplomatic powers are as admirable as my negligence was great in not detecting Turrill's hand. My parcel of tracts must have passed his letters on the road. . . . .In a short time we shall probably publish them monthly, at present we do not wish to commit ourselves so far. We hear more and more of abuse directed against them, but the only thing we have to fear is disregard. To abuse is next best, or rather the necessary shadow of praise. . . . I have a most admirable tract from Pusey, but his name must not yet be mentioned, nor Harrison's. The second part of 'Richard Nelson' is arrived, and Palmer's tract is out. The Bishop of London is strongly agitating through his Archdeacons for the address. They say the tracts retard its success in some places; but this is but temporary, doubtless.

As to Messrs. Rivington and your diplomacy, to which I return, on consideration I think I return to the octavo form;[1] the duodecimo form is used, I believe, for the sake of reading in the pulpit. Now I have no wish to be spouted over the kingdom. That 1,000 (octavo) is equivalent to buying the copyright, antecedently speaking, I grant; but so with these very sermons, perhaps, in the first edition 12mo. I suspect no volume of sermons (generally speaking) goes beyond the first edition. If they used to do, yet Tyler's series have created a glut in the market now. I do not expect mine will,

[1] For his sermons, of which Mr. Newman was about to publish the first volume.

and therefore think it more respectable, as it is also more lucrative, to publish in octavo. If unexpectedly my sermons take, as something out of the way, then there would be a second edition, whether of octavo or duodecimo; the only difference will be one of time. I may not have expressed my meaning clearly, yet I think I have a meaning. . . .

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE.

Oriel College: December 22, 1833.

I was much pleased and encouraged by your letter, being in the midst of worry and fidget. A person like myself hears of nothing but his failures, or what others consider such. Men do not flatter each other, and one's best friends act as one's best friends ought—tell one of one's mistakes and absurdities. I know it is a good thing thus to be dealt with; nor do I wish it otherwise. All things one tries to do must be mixed with great imperfection, and it is part of one's trial to be obliged to attempt things which involve incidental error and give cause for blame. This is all very humbling, particularly when a person has foretold to himself his own difficulties and scrapes, and then is treated as if he was quite unconscious of them, and thought himself a very fine fellow. But it is a good discipline, and I will gladly accept it. Nevertheless it is very pleasant to have accidentally such letters as yours to encourage me, though I know well that it goes far beyond the occasion, owing to your great kindness.

Mr. Terrington called on me yesterday. He was very kind, and said he intended to sign the Address to the Archbishop, and did not call me a Papist to my face, as some other persons have. I really believe that, if Ridley or Hooker could be published without their names, their works would be called Papistical.

The following letters show the progress of affairs in London, after five months' active work, of the movers in the Movement:

REV. B. HARRISON, CHAPLAIN TO THE ARCHBISHOP,
TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Clapham Common: Christmas Day, 1833.

I had a long conversation yesterday with Dr. Dealtry respecting the tracts, address, &c. The result of it was that I fear the hope which we had in Oxford respecting the Bishop of London and the London clergy, rests upon very slight foundation. I forget what Pusey's letter exactly stated, but I know the impression under which I left Oxford on Monday was, that the Bishop of London's clergy now felt themselves at liberty and were taking up the address. This, I fear, is not the case. Dr. Dealtry tells me that when he came up from Winchester he heard the same account, and immediately set himself to ascertain whether it was the case. He found it was not, and as late as this day week he was with leading men among them, and heard that the address was not signing at all. Dr. Dealtry is very anxious about it, very anxious that it should be as generally signed as possible, and be a source of union among the clergy. But he finds the diocesan objection everything, especially among the Bishop of London's clergy.

He had just received a letter from a clergyman at Pontefract, asking him with much anxiety what he ought to do about it. The letter struck me very much, as it seized strongly the main object of remonstrance against the interference of Parliament in spirituals, expressing a very strong opinion upon the stand which at all hazards the clergy must make against such an interference, and also as to the duty of not waiting till Ministers of Parliament did something illegal, but preparing against it and showing a bold front of opposition. The hesitation seemed all to arise from the diocesan difficulty. He had heard it said in several quarters that there was much objection to passing over their own Bishop.

I told Dr. Dealtry that at Oxford there was a hope that in London, as well as in other dioceses, the address might be transmitted through diocesans; he seemed to catch at it as a thing highly desirable, and the only mode now remaining of

getting rid of a serious objection. He thought it would give the address every signature.

I heard from a very particular friend of the Bishop of London [Blomfield], that he strongly disclaims having ever had any intentions about the Liturgy, beyond an explanation to be prefixed to the Athanasian Creed. Dr. Dealtry tells me the same report had reached him from the Bishop of Chester [J. B. Sumner], Lichfield [Ryder], and [Winchester] C. Sumner. He tells me that, if Ministers designed anything, it has certainly been without the knowledge of these Bishops. Thus, then, the Bishops are all on our side; at least they ought to be regarded so; but will they not continue to feel jealous of the address appearing to pass them by (the letter from Pontefract mentions the Bishop of Chester as reported to be unfavourable to the address)? Is not, then, your hope of getting the several Bishops to present the address to be followed up by all means?

How, I leave to your full consideration; but would it not be most effectual and most utterly destructive of all jealousy and suspicion if you in Oxford would now suggest this, as the proper *mode* of presenting it when it is signed? I believe it would give a fresh impetus, and add a great number of signatures. The clergy will then feel that they cannot be casting a slur upon their own, perhaps wavering, Bishops, while they express their admiration of the Archbishop's line of conduct; that they are really supporting the whole Bench in addressing the Primate. If not, I fear it will be the address of a minority, or at least only a part of the clergy, who are the Archbishop's party, whose numbers will be compared with another party, the Bishop of London's; and not only the clergy, but the Bench will be divided. And a feeling of regard and respect and obedience to their own diocesan, will in several dioceses have been weakened if they sign; or if too strong to yield, they will give an unhappy handle to the opposite cause.

I know not, though, why I am saying all this to you, who will feel more anxious about it, and look at it in more of its bearings than myself. I meant to have told you that I fear our hopes will not be realised about London, &c., except by active exertion.

[In consequence of this letter, I think, Palmer went to London at once.—J. H. N.]

REV. W. PALMER TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Bath Hotel, Piccadilly: December 28, 1833.

I write a line to say that, after much deliberation, it is finally settled that we shall write to all our friends requesting them to make application to the Bishops, through the Archdeacons, to present the addresses from their respective dioceses;* and adding that this is the particular wish and desire of those who originated and promoted the address.

I will send you down a circular to this effect, which, if you approve, you will perhaps get printed and send me a lot.

The Ministry, I hear, are astonished at the activity and success of our movement. The Bishop of London is appeased, and wishes to present the address. I saw it lying at Rivington's to-day with Archdeacon Cambridge's signature at the head.

I believe it will go on well here after all.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: December 28, 1833.

No great news, except that the Bishop of London is said not to be for the address. I can hardly believe he has gone back. The 'Record' has ratted round, advocates the Oxford Society, and announces that the objectionable tracts are withdrawn and others substituted. There is a hitch in the lay address. The Duke of Wellington is against it at the moment. Difficult, I suppose, in London to separate from politics. I almost think Sir Robert Inglis is inclined to agree with him.

Writing from London, Mr. Bowden, at the close of 1833, sends cautious anticipations of what the coming meeting of Parliament will be engaged on.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

. . . Everybody thinks the Government will do something when Parliament meets, which will make these points party questions, and then you will find many ears deafened to all you can teach.

I have not touched [in his paper] on Church property, for that is unhappily a party question already. *Tempus fugit.*

An entry in the 'Chronological Notes' at the opening o 1834 shows it to have been a busy year.

[In the following year my Journal is full of our meeting gatherings, dinners, soirées, correspondence day by day a term by term, which a simple transcript would alone justice to.—J. H. N.]

A few notes may be taken from it as landmarks:

January 1.—First proof of Sermons from Rivington's
January 15.—Set out for Derby (Mozleys).
January 16.—Breakfasted at Birmingham [the first time I saw Birmingham].
March 11.—My first volume of Sermons out.
March 24.—At this time I was lecturing at Littlemore every Monday.
April 23.—Began for first time weekly lectures in Adam de Brome's Chapel.
June 10.—First day of Installation; Duke's levee; Archbishop's levee.
June 13.—Rose, Sewell, Palmer of Magdalen, Wordsworth at breakfast.
June 16.—First day in Bodleian [collated MSS. of fragments of Dionysius Alex.].
June 30.—Began daily service in the chancel.
July 1.—Declined marrying a couple; the lady being unbaptized [a row followed].
August 13.—Last lecture in Adam de Brome's Chapel.
August 16.—Went to Bisley, leaving Copeland in charge of my church.

September 26.—To Woodbridge, Tunbridge Wells, through London [there it was that I had my first and last sight of our Queen Victoria].

November 5.—Did not read the special Gunpowder Plot service.

December 19.—All these days busy in writing sermons for my second volume.

Rev. B. Harrison to Rev. J. H. Newman.

January 1, 1834.

. . . I assure you the more I see in this part of the world the more I feel that, without such a stand as you are making on Apostolical grounds, all would fall to pieces. If I doubted whether it were a matter of vital importance, and not a mere Oxford 'Apple of Discord,' my eyes would have been opened by the present miserable state of a chapel in this parish. . . And all so clearly to be traced to the rottenness of the system.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

January 1, 1834.

. . . Many thanks for your letter. I yearned for one from you; but I was not (however consistent it would have been with my general character) at all fidgeting about the parcel. Mind in your future letters to omit such phrases as 'You have perhaps seen,' &c.; construct your letters on the hypothesis that here I see nothing and hear nothing. Even Newcastle-on-Tyne, which you seem to suppose within a walk, is divided from me by twenty miles of more dull and uninteresting country than I should think (traveller as you are) you ever beheld, and as nobody ever seems (saving the postman) to go thither or return thence, my communication with the place is not great.

Your letter gives, on the whole, a flourishing account. What do you mean by the Norris party? I am glad to find the address from the laity is progressing. There is no time to lose. Between this and February 4 you occupy a favourable position which you will never occupy again, at least till

some great change has taken place in the condition of things. I am very glad to hear of the Bishops being drawn into your vortex, and presenting the petitions to the Primate. Like you, I am not sanguine about your arresting, by your Movement, the flowing tide of innovation, but you are doing your duty; and the Church, if it does fall, I trust will fall with honour. I shall be anxious to see your sermons; I suppose I shall about *meet* them on my return to the south . . . on the (ever memorable) 21st of February.

I have read Hildebrand. (By *Voigt*.) It is not a thing to translate; rather dull in style, and often very prolix. The character of Hildebrand comes out, when studied, very finely; you *must* have a history of him published. . . He was, when you consider his character (as you ought) by itself, and separate its individual lineaments from the general physiognomy of the times, a truly great man. I wish I had seen the Castle of Salerno, where he died exclaiming 'I have loved justice,' &c. When I come to the catastrophe, I shall look to you for a picturesque account of the place.

I was glad to find at Alnwick that almost all the clergy of the neighbourhood had signed the address to the Archbishop. The Duchess of Northumberland was highly delighted with the tracts.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: January 3, 1834.

There is a *chance* of my being elected Professor of Moral Philosophy. I have no especial wish for it. It would oblige me to take up a line of reading somewhat out of my present course; yet it might be the means of giving me influence with the undergraduates, and there is no situation which combines respectability with lightness of responsibility and labour so happily as the office of a professor.

I have to-day undertaken for the Clarendon Press an edition of Dionysius Alexandrinus; so, you see, I have enough to do.

A friend, rendered testy by a passive opposition to his arguments, begins a letter:

REV. —— —— TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 4, 1834.

. . . I really believe the clergy here, although they look on the ministers as little better than incarnate fiends, wish to let them have their way for two or three years, because they think they will do some good work in a rough way which our Bishops would never do. That is, they will equalise livings, and look after poor curates, and take away pluralities, and secure the Church from immoral ministers, &c. &c.; and in this hope they seem content to let the Church and its rulers be outraged by infidels. . . .

I think it would be as well to introduce a petition for extraordinary powers to be granted to the Bishops, and extraordinary facilities in using their present powers; but this is a thing so likely to be suggested that I will make a virtue of inserting it on the suggestion of others.

REV. W. PALMER (OF WORCESTER) TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 8, 1834.

. . . I have been so full of business here, and so full of anxiety too about the lay declaration, that I have not been able to write to you. A capital committee of laymen is now forming in London, of which it is expected that Sir E. Cust will be the chairman, and they will be in full activity in a day or two.

I send the lay declaration just printed—there will be large papers for signing, and then we must all work away. There is the finest spirit among the laity. You will observe in the last paragraph the 'Integrity of the Church's *rights* and *privileges*,' so that we need not dread the following phrase of 'Alliance with the State.'

REV. THOS. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 9.

. . . People here are almost one and all for turning overboard the Church rates. They are almost sick of the struggle with Dissenters. Your letter has not damped or changed us; if we change our plans, it is to suit our circumstances. I have not written to Rose.

I think I shall write to the newspaper on the Church rate topic, and leave it to work its way. Mr. G—— anticipates the immediate and utter downfall of Dissent as soon as this pretended grievance is moved out of the way.

REV. SIR GEORGE PREVOST TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Stinchcombe: January 10, 1834.

There are a few right-minded people every here and there, and in the present state of things they are led without any great difficulty to still more sound views; but the current in general, I fear, sets so decidedly that it is hopeless to stem it now.

REV. H. W. WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 11, 1834.

Sir R. Inglis wrote to-day thus: 'The address is no longer in the hands of Sir W. Heathcote, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and myself. The friends who desired us to draw it up have since preferred a declaration "with which we have nothing to do." What does this mean?'

REV. THOS. FALCONER TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 14, 1834.

I was delighted to find in your book [the 'Arians'] what I have been looking for a long time—some account of the *Disciplina Arcani*. Porson should have given some pages on it in his answer to Travis. Oxlee in his letters to Nolan does

not refer to authorities so as to assist me. The point I wish to ascertain is when it originated, and how long it continued, and how it was applied. Can its rise and termination be accurately traced?

REV. D. I. EYRE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 14, 1834.

. . . I have read your tracts, and am delighted with the general tenor of them. With regard to some expressions, I might perhaps wish them not quite so strong, but the grand principle of Apostolical Succession I am rejoiced to see put forth in the prominent manner it is. Mr. Keble told me there was one which you doubted about publishing, but intended for private distribution. Perhaps you would send it me. If you have formed any plans for the conduct of the Church in this awful crisis, perhaps you would not be unwilling they should be known . . . Out of about 240 clergy in Wilts, 215 have signed the Address to the Archbishop. I do not think much of this, as Radicals and Whigs are able to swallow it. What was intended by 'ancient discipline'?

The following letter bears upon the feeling towards clerical marriages understood to exist in Mr. Newman and Mr. Hurrell Froude. In their absorption, heart and brain, in the 'Movement'—or rather in the train of thought that led to it—private plans, hopes, prospects, seemed an interference with the great public work and devotion of a life. The Church seemed to them to demand the whole mind of her ministers; they were not to encumber themselves with this world's cares. Not that it was doubted, to use Mr. Newman's words, that the clergy 'had a perfect right to marry,' but marriage and home ties were supposed to be a hindrance to the full surrender of self to the one object. If the followers of these two leaders did not acquiesce in, or at least did not act on, this sterner view, they might feel in a difficulty. The intimacy Mr. New-

man encouraged in his younger friends, and the sympathy which won their affection, made reserve unnatural, and yet in this case 'Cato was not a proper person' for such confidences, and there seems in one of his most devoted adherents to have been a slowness to confide, at which Mr. Newman professed to be astonished to the point of unbelief.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel College: January 14, 1834.

By-the-bye, talking of H. W., do not believe a silly report that is in circulation that he is engaged to be married. Not that such an event is not likely, but I am sure it cannot be true as a matter of fact; because he has been staying here, and though we often talked on the subject, he said nothing about it, which I am sure he would have done were it a fact, for the report goes on to say he has told other people. For myself, I am spreading my incredulity, and contradicting it in every direction, and will not believe it, though I saw the event announced in the papers, till he tells me. Nay, I doubt whether I ought then to believe it, if he were to say he had really told others and not me..

Mr. Newman's attitude of unbelief was reported to the person most concerned—the offending party, who answers his friend:

REV. H. W. WILBERFORCE TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

January, 1834.

I have no wish whatever to deny the report in question. Indeed, though I did not tell Neander (as who would?), yet I did tell his sister and gave her leave to tell him. . . . Whether Neander will cut me I don't know. I hope my other Oxford friends will continue my friends still. . . . It is, I am sure, very *foolish* of Newman on mere principles of calculation if he gives up all his friends on their marriage; for how can he expect

men (however well inclined) to do much in our cause without co-operation? I suppose, however, he will cut me. I cannot help it. At any rate you must not. . . . Nor, again, am I without a feeling of the danger, as you know, of married priests in these days of trouble and rebuke, but I have taken my line; and, after all, I am very certain that men, failing of doing their duty, oftener find an excuse than a cause in their circumstances.

It is needless to say that 'Neander' did not 'cut' the writer of this letter, whose first-born was subsequently his godson. The mutual friend, receiver of both confidences, replies to Mr. Newman's attitude of incredulity:

FREDERIC ROGERS, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 20, 1834.

Many thanks for your letter, in which, however, I must say, you do not use your judgment. How can you possibly suppose that, after your way of treating *perditum ovem* H. Wilberforce, you would be his first confidant? The fact obviously is that he came to Oxford with the intention of breaking the matter to you; but when he came near, and saw how fierce you looked, his heart failed him, and he retreated *ἄπρακτος*. And now at this moment he is hesitating about the best way of breaking it, and hoping that some one else will save him the pain. As for me, I cannot consent to join you in your unbelief; particularly as I have heard it from a person who professed to have been told it as a great secret by Mrs. H. M., with divers circumstances, the satisfaction of Mrs. Sargent in it, with sundry other particulars. If I could think, as you seem to do, that any incredulity on my part could avert, or even retard, the catastrophe, perhaps that might alter my way of going on. As it is, I have just fired off a letter of condolence, which I was engaged on when your letter reached me.

All your other pieces of news, barring the Duke's nomina-

tion for Chancellor, I am delighted to hear; your sermons, Dionysius, professorship (moral philosophy), 'Record,' and journey to Derby, and Beethoven are most satisfactory. I wish I could hope to join you in the last in any moderate time. However, I do expect you will take me to Rose Hill to hear some of it again, if it were only to remind me of those evenings I used to spend with you when at Iffley.

I am afraid you will have enough of my bass to satisfy you without Beethoven in the course of next term. [N.B.—He was to be in Froude's room over my head.]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

January 25, 1834.

On my return from Derby I found your parcels, and I am doing your orders as quickly as I can. As to your letter to Rose, I fear it will be thought obscure. I confess I only partially understand it, and think this arises from the delicacy you have felt in assailing a bishop.

I am determined to be avenged on you for refusing to let me put yours and your brother's initials [to your tracts?], and so leaving me in the lurch in my chivalrous support of Pusey.

We are going to put the tracts absolutely in Turrill's hands, to print and to sell. They are selling very well in town.

Thanks for your tract on the Eucharist.

[I think Pusey, who had not yet joined the Tract Movement, objected to the absence of the initials of each writer at the end. His own tracts in the sequel always had his initials, and it was *thus* that he became identified with *all* the tracts, for he was the only acknowledged writer of them. N.B.—Pusey fell ill in February 1834, and could not take part in anything if he would.—J. H. N.]

Mr. Newman always speaks of Mr. Keble as the chosen censor of the tracts. The following letter shows him in that position:

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 30, 1834.

In consequence of Palmer's wishing it so much, I have fixed to go to London next week. In my way I mean to take Oxford.

I am rather horrified at having sent back your sermon without an opinion. I was in such a hurry that, I suppose, it escaped me; but I assure you I meant no such conclusion as you have come to. I want the sermon re-written, and then printed with a note, certifying that such an operation was performed. For I think the sentiments most good and seasonable, but the composition too hurried.

Thank you for sending back that fog, which I have sent to Chalford, to see whether Tom (his brother) and Prevost can extract any sunbeams from it. Somehow, I am in a very foggy condition, but a spirt to London may help me. Pray go up with me, and let us be like the political union, and arrange a regular plan of operations. If you are not there, there is no saying how the Establishment men may corrupt me.

As to the initials, we are both of us [he and his brother, Mr. T. Keble] decidedly of opinion that they will hurt the *effect*, if not the sale, of the tracts. One of people's reasons for reading such things is the pleasure of guessing who wrote this or that. For the same reason T. K. is disquieted at 'Richard Nelson's' being known.

I hope you approve our Gloucester doings. I only fear we have given up the temporalities too much.

MRS. PUSEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Spring 1834.

Having heard from Mr. Harrison that you were wishing to hear more particular intelligence of Edward, and yet would not write for fear of disturbing him, I write a few lines to say that Dr. Wootton assures me there is no disease. He has enjoined, at Dr. W.'s desire, all intention of lecturing this

term; and soon as Dr. W. thinks it advisable for him to move, we are to go to the sea. Dr. Wootton acknowledges that he thinks him very *delicate*. At present he ought to see no one.

In order to show when Dr. Pusey's connexion with the Movement really began, it is well to extract the following entries from the private journal:

January 25, 1834.—I returned to Oxford.

January 26.—Called on Pusey, who was ill.

February 2.—Pusey still ill. I was not let see him.

February 16.—All this time Pusey very unwell.

April 16.—Letter from Pusey [who therefore had gone away, and was still away].

April 22.—I put on committee [against declaration] with Burton. . . . and Pusey [who by that time, I suppose, had returned, and was well].

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

February 4, 1834.

Many thanks to you for finding time, amid your many occupations, to write to me the letter I received yesterday.

[N.B.—Before the penny post letters were few, and long, which, I think, will explain my silence. One did not like to write without a good deal to say, and (a second obstacle) saying a good deal.—J. H. N.]

I am truly happy that my little contingent to the Oxford Tracts is approved of. I was aware it was out of print. Here, on the very *frontiers of episcopacy*, I do think I could do some little good with more copies. In the packet, about the middle of last month, I got your tracts up to No. 17, and your records to No. 12. I have given copies of each to the clergyman of the parish, and am amused by tracing slight touches of their effect in every one of his sermons which I hear. They have, I am sure, been useful to *me*, in the way of instruction. The 'Ember weeks' I was in a state of the most profound ignorance about, without having in the least a valid excuse for being so.

Is the chair of moral philosophy an object to you? is it to be carried by votes of masters? and, if so, is it likely to be sharply contested? Give me timely notice, and I will be in Oxford to keep a certain anniversary with you. Now do not scruple to answer.

With the new Chancellor,[1] as things go, and with the fear of a Liberal before my eyes, I am disposed to be satisfied. The *history* of his election I, of course, could not divine till I received your letter. If not a true friend of the Church, the Duke has for two or three years, and those critical ones, been the first honest and consistent enemy of its enemies —and his election gives no sanction to the proceedings of the slighters of Church discipline, or the plunderers of Church property.

REV. H. W. WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

February 5, 1834.

It seems that ministers are fairly frightened, and have quite abandoned any notion of spiritual reform in our Church; for this, no doubt, we may thank the Movement. . . .

The Bishop of Edinburgh begged me to thank you for the tracts, which he exceedingly admired both for their talent and for their *Apostolical* principles.

So the Duke is in—we might be much worse off.

The following letter is written under a feeling of progress, and has a hopeful tone:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: February 9, 1834.

The address to the Archbishop will be signed altogether by 8,000, they say now. Six thousand names are presented; addresses are to come yet through the Bishops of Exeter, Llandaff, &c. I am sorry to hear what you say about Durham, and cannot quite understand it. At first the Bishop of Durham [Van Mildert, the last prince bishop] had scruples, but, I

[1] The Duke of Wellington.

was told, had overcome them. Rose was at first afraid the address opened the door too much; it was, indeed, far more lax than *we* sent it to London. Indeed, so much altered that we may safely say it was not ours. All allusion to the iniquity of extra-ecclesiastical interference was cut out; and our words 'the restoration and completion' of the Church system were changed into 'renewal and correction.' However, to my mind, the *very fact* of addressing the Archbishop is enough, and it has answered its purpose. Certainly its tendency hitherto has been eminently conservative. Report says that the meeting at Lambeth was most gratifying. The Archbishop was almost affected, and everybody was very happy. They say there has not been such a day for the Church for years. If we can but organise, we shall do wonders.

You have seen, I suppose, the lay declaration. I know nothing about it. They seem getting on very well. . . . I still think there ought to be letters in the 'British,' or somewhere, on the genius of the Catholic polity, the relation of the Church, as such, to the world and the civil power, the various aspects which it has been seen under at different times, the methods of reconciling contending claims, &c. &c. Do you know Warburton's 'Alliance'? All should be connected with our present prospects, to show the importance of such considerations. For myself, I have all along said I would do nothing to disturb existing relations; but it is hard if we may not *prepare* for contingencies; and doubtless in *proportion* as the relations are altered by the civil power, it is the duty of the Church to demand corresponding alterations in its favour. It is a remarkable fact (which a friend tells me) that, of the concessions mutually made on Warburton's theory of Church and State, the State has *resumed* all hers, yet retained all the Church's.

February 9.

The electors [of the moral professorship] are the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, the Dean of Ch. Ch., and the Presidents of Magdalen and St. John's. I am not known personally to any, except, slightly, to the President of St. John's, but I think I have a fair chance—first, because no one else is standing;

next, because the estate which feeds the professorship is bankrupt, and the office is a sinecure of trouble. I have very little earnestness for the office except the name is a good thing. I haye quite enough to do without mastering Hobbes and Epictetus.

Poor Duke! Every one must feel for him; we owe him so much, and there is something so great about him; but it is strange how vexed every one is at the election. Ch. Ch., because it has been outwitted; Merton, &c., because the winning party is the Tory, &c. Numbers say now, 'O that it had been the Archbishop!' and some ask why Keble and I did not bring him forward—which we did as far as in us lay.

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Spring 1834.

I had thought of calling on you to-day, but on the whole judged it more prudent not. To-morrow morning we propose leaving Oxford for the Isle of Wight, to return, I trust, by God's blessing, to my duties at the beginning of next term.

I wished much to talk with you about many things—specially about the Sacrament of Baptism. Men need to be taught that it is a Sacrament, and that a Sacrament is not merely an outward badge of a Christian man's profession; and all union, I think, must be hollow which does not involve agreement, on principles at least, as to the Sacraments. Great good also would be done by showing the true doctrine of Baptism in its warmth and life, whereas the Low Church think it essentially cold. Could not this be done, avoiding technical terms? I know nothing, or little, as to the reception such a tract would meet with, but you have to decide whether holding back is Christian prudence or compromise. [N.B.—Pusey had not yet cordially joined the Tract Movement. The above is a gentle protest againt the first tracts. He *had* written, I think, the one on Fasting already.—J. H. N.]

Can you tell me whether the poor are invited to sign the Jay petition, or those only who have some sort of property? writing into the country about it.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

March 12, 1834.

I came up alone to town, and visited in the course of the day Turrill's shop. I was surprised to find that nothing had appeared since January; but the appearance yesterday of a copy of your sermons (for which let me express my best thanks) affords a plausible solution of the mystery. Now that that labour is off your hands, the warning trumpet will begin, I suppose, to breathe again, and with no uncertain sound.

. . . Did you read in the last 'Edinburgh' the article 'A Rhymed Plea for Tolerance.' It contains the most open and unblushing avowal of the 'Liberal' creed which the reviewers have yet, I think, hazarded. Nothing, I believe, will open the eyes of the bulk of their adherents. It is astonishing how few people can perceive or trace a *gradual* change, either in their own opinions or in those of the world around them.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

March 14, 1834.

I am floored as to the professorship. I heard of no other candidate till the day before, *i.e.* this day week, when the Principal of St. Mary Hall (Hampden) was named, and has succeeded.

The tracts have been delayed from several causes, chiefly from the necessity of reprints, and, since our object is to scatter information, the same, if there is a demand, do as well as new tracts. And now that they are known, there is not that violent hurry about publishing on. We have, indeed, the *prospect* of a regular sale. If we publish new ones, it would, of course, be an experiment, whereas we are sure of these selling—that is, we know they are called for. . . . I am coming to town the second week in April to attend the Christian Knowledge Society meeting on Tuesday, April 8. Rose, too, will be in town, and there are several other persons I wish to talk to.

The Duke has begun his campaign by advising us strenuously to resist the London University granting degrees in arts and divinity, and there is to be a convocation next week about it. Indeed, it does seem a little too bad that the Dissenters are to *take our titles*. Why should they call themselves M.A., except to seem like us? Why not call themselves Licentiates, &c.? And what is to hinder the Bishops being bullied into putting up with a London M.A.? Certainly they would soon.

We are preparing an agitation against some of the details of the Marriage Bill; but I trust the Dissenters will settle this for us without our trouble.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

March 19, 1834.

I am glad to hear so good an account of the sale of the tracts. If they are in demand I am all for striking while the iron is hot. Another reason against delay is the speed with which events march on us. The Dissenters seem likely to carry all before them; and for the efforts of all true Churchmen moments are precious. There seems a sort of delusion over people's minds on every subject connected with 'Christian Liberty.' They do not seem to comprehend the simplest arguments, the most common dictates of justice on the point.

At this time Mr. Keble was engaged upon his 'Ode on the Duke of Wellington's Installation,' for which Dr. Crotch was composing the music. Mr. Newman had written on this point: 'I hope Crotch will do your Ode justice.' Later on, hearing of some difficulties on the part of the composer, he writes to Mr. Keble:

I like your Ode uncommonly. I would not budge one step for Dr. Crotch. His letter most amusing, and your counter-suggestions are amusing, too. . . . I would go so far

for Dr. C. as to offer him your *frigate*, which certainly does better for music than the long ode.

In a following letter he inquires, 'How do you and Crotch get on?' Mr. Keble answers, 'Crotch has swallowed the frigate whole.'

At this time the proposed Marriage Bill was exciting much attention. Sir R. Inglis and Mr. Gladstone were consulted by the Church party. Mr. Newman had put (March 3) the following questions to Mr. Keble:

1. Can clergymen lawfully give out in church a mere secular matter—the marriage of Dissenters?

2. Can a religious M.P. vote for a measure which allows of marriage by *any*, and therefore, if so be, merely civil rites?

3. Supposing the Bill to pass, might we not get some *quid pro quo*—that is, that no clergyman need marry any but Churchmen—an important principle.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

March 18, 1834.

Harrison and I have concocted the foregoing petition [against the Marriage Bill]. It is likely the Dissenters themselves will do our business for us by their clamouring against the Bill. I propose to get a show of signatures; I do not care much how many or how few. I will not alter anything *in order* to gain signatures.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

March 21, 1834.

You will think me changeable; I am going to leave out parts of my petition in order to get more subscriptions. Read Harrison's letter. Rose's objects, I think, are in the main just, and Harrison (not apt to be led away) agrees with him. However, I will not without your leave. I want you to consider the lawfulness of the *principle* of my alterations.

What do I gain by this? It is a further step in bringing

together and organising (drilling) men who think alike, which has been one's object all along. Besides, a petition with Rose's name to it will make us heard. And, after all, the act of *resisting on conscience* is what we want to force on men's minds, and, if it is really *done*, no matter whether the words of the petition are a little stronger or weaker.

As to the House of Commons, let us give them the chance of treating our protest well. Has any Bishop in the Upper House ever manfully protested? We must bear the burden of our rulers.

On sending the petition on the Marriage Act Mr. Newman turns to another subject—the Eucharist.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: March 24, 1834.

I enclose the petitions and the first part of Bishop Cosin. My view of the latter matter is this: It is useless to attempt to draw men to contemplate duly the expressions, &c., of our Services on the subject of the Eucharist till they have exercised their minds on the subject. The strongest words fall as dead to those who *are used to them*. Some insight into the difficulties and controversy of the subject is necessary in the case of those who have long explained the doctrine away. Many men have no notion of any meaning of 'mystical' but that of *figurative*. [Does not Mill somewhere say that 'mystical' means 'supernatural'?] They have no notion of a *real Presence*. I think Cosin will be useful in opening their minds, and preparing them for your tract. They will, as if against 'Transubstantiation,' often say, 'Who doubts this?' 'What repetition is this?' yet all the while will gain something, *e.g.* I cannot conceive they will think my expressions in the 'Week-day Lecture' *strange*, whatever they may think of their prudence, after reading Cosin.

Next, I should like a tract against Hoadley, giving and refuting his view, showing how it had influenced the 'Companion to the Altar,' &c.; and then at length I should like

yours to come. I say all this to explain my publishing Cosin first, and hope I have not overdone my view.

On March 11, 1834, Mr. Newman's first volume of sermons came out—published by Messrs. Rivingtons.

The following letter to Mr. Rose is from a draft preserved by Mr. Newman, the original of his letter not having been returned to him. Mr. Rose seems to have expressed annoyance at the question of the Association:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. H. J. ROSE.

March 30, 1834.

As to the matter of the Association, Keble, Froude and myself were always against it. There is as much association now as ever there was in *our* plan, and it is *increasing*. I mean that I am entering into correspondence with strangers in different places on Church matters. We never contemplated more than an Association *based upon common views, i.e.* just as much as exists between you and me at this moment. So we began; but Palmer went to Hook, and Hook, Palmer and some others formed the Association you speak of, and Palmer came back and talked me over. (Here I use your words: 'I was blind like others for a little while, in the strongest feelings of regard and admiration for those who formed it,' &c.) So I suspended the tracts, sorely against my will, and joined in bringing out that prospectus for an Association which I never liked, and never gave in to till *Ogilvie gave his assent and corrected it*,[1] [This lasted six weeks.] Froude and Keble being most indignant. At the end of that time, *directly your letter came to me*, I abjured the Association and went on with the tracts. As to the address to the Archbishop, I no more considered it the work of a *formal Association* than I do now this marriage petition I have sent to you. If you think it worth while to ask Palmer, he will confirm all this. But it is not, and the only reason I say so much about it is from

anxiety not to seem to have taken a course which you disapprove.

Really I am deeply pained at your annoyance. As to what you think I meant by 'sudden conservatism,' it really never entered into my imagination. Indeed I cannot master what you think I meant. Whatever I meant certainly was nothing which I should not be quite willing any one should say of me any day.

REV. JOHN KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

April 1, 1834.

. . . I wish you a better office;[1] and *that* you will have in appeasing poor Rose, who (in my private opinion) ought not to waste himself on that Magazine any longer. It is quite plain that he in some measure forgets from month to month what he wrote the number before; and no wonder. But it proves he has too much to do. It never *can* be necessary for the Church that men should do grave things in a hurry—can it? And yet he does the thing so very well, 'tis a thousand pities he should give it up. Why can't he take a partner? . . . When shall we give up expecting one another to be consistent?'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. F. WILSON.

Oriel College: April 3, 1834.

. . . What do you mean by thinking me violent, and talking of my stern orthodoxy? Do you not recollect, when you began to read Aristotle with me, your declaring we did differ certainly, and your finding, when we opened to each other, that we quite agreed? Nor that other time when we were cantering on Bullington, and you declared a sermon of mine about the King and kingly power, which you had not heard, *must* be a peg beyond you, and I on the other hand said and showed that I did not wish to go one jot further than Blackstone, and you at length acquitted me? And now again you are already beginning to find, in spite of what you say, that

[1] Than the Moral Philosophy Professorship.

I am especially moderate in Church matters; that, if there is one merit I have, it is extreme moderation. Your last letter half admits this. Do not you believe any stray speeches ignorantly circulated by unphilosophical mouths to be mine; and tell your friend who said that if I had been a born Roman Catholic I should have died one, that he would have died a Dissenter had he been born one, and then we have merely to battle it, which is best to be, a Dissenter or a Roman Catholic.

In giving the following letter to Mr. Keble on Mr. Rose's state of feeling, it must be remembered that Mr. Rose had on his hands an amount of work and responsibility that would try the most vigorous constitution, and that his health was rapidly failing. Such a state of health was no doubt enough to account for any irritability that we are to gather his letters had betrayed, and which Mr. Newman treats tenderly in the following letter:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: April 3, 1834.

I cannot recollect whether Rose has committed himself to our view as regards the Irish Sees. Indeed I never thought he had a *view*. I never have reckoned him, as in his opinions one of ourselves, so to say. I have thought him a man of high and ardent mind, keen lively perceptions, and ready eloquence, but deficient in the power of taking an accurate and firm view of any subject which was clouded by political interests and the influences of friends and superiors. Our view, whether right or wrong, he has not seemed to me to grasp, or to be likely to grasp. Doubtless if he was a good deal with Froude or you, he would *ex animo* take your side: then, when he got to London he would shift. I perfectly coincide in what you say about his inconsistency or forgetfulness; only I have ever taken it for granted . . . and now he seems utterly unconscious that he wrote to us *for an answer* to the Bishop of Ferns. Besides, till I reminded him, he quite forgot that *he*

was *the* person who recommended the address to the Archbishop. I cannot help thinking he (unawares) excogitates his explanation of past facts as he writes.

I wrote him as kind a letter as ever I could, and did not say anything by way of vindication, thinking it best to wait. However I am not sure he is not sick of the Magazine, and finds the Chaplaincy in the way of it. If so, he would be likely to magnify any little vexation . . . so that I do not look at his frettings as against *us* so much as against his occupation. Your name has not been even hinted at. I cannot tell whether he thinks of you or not. There are many besides you, and they on the spot [which you are not], whom he might name to himself—Williams, Copeland, Pusey, Christie, &c. . .

As to consistency, what you say is quite true. Really I should say that consistency is one of the properties of an inspired teacher, and none but him.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. F. Wilson.

March 31, 1834.

Excuse this strange paper; I am writing from the Tower in the midst of an audit.

. . . The Church is certainly in a wretched state; but not a gloomy one to those who regard every symptom of dissolution as a ground of hope. Not that I would do anything towards the undoing, or will fail both tooth and nail (so be it) to resist every change and degradation to which it is subjected. But, after all, I see a system *behind* the existing one, a system indeed which will take time and suffering to bring us to adopt, but still a firm foundation. Those who live by the breath of State patronage, who think the clergy must be gentlemen, and the Church must rest on the great, not the multitude, of course are desponding. Woe to the profane hands who rob us of privilege or possession! but they can do us no harm. In the meantime, should (by any strange accident) the course of events fall back into its old channel, *I* will not be a disturber of the Church, though it is difficult to see how this return can be. . .

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

April 9.

I have altogether succeeded with Rose. He will insert my anti-Ferns letter if he can find it; and I am to re-write it if it is not forthcoming. He seemed to me jealous that you had done so little for him lately; said you wrote him one or two Church articles last year, that he was pressed for subjects, &c. I think a kind friendly letter from you (not alluding to this matter at all, but encouraging him) would be very acceptable. How would you find occasion? Could you from Sedgwick's most extravagant attack on him? I send you the 'Standard' that you may see it. By all means write him some paper, on any Church subject not touching on Erastian topics, *i.e.* if your conscience will let you.

Rivington has taken the tracts. Turrill is, I suppose, honest, but he is stupid and puzzle-headed. When he will settle with us I cannot form a conjecture.

My friend Bowden is so desirous of meeting you; he would come down any day he heard you were likely to be here.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

April 8, 1834.

Joannibus Keble et Newman. Fratres ignavissimi, ut quid fecistis nobis sic? as St. Thomas says to the Bishop of Poictiers.[1] . . . The Bishop [of Barbadoes] is a thorough Z, and I can make no impression on him, though I think I have frightened him. If he had not been as kind to me as one man can be to another, I should be terribly provoked with him sometimes.

I don't admire the 'Voice from North America,' whose-ever it is. Also I think Rose is turning a Z again. What business has he to put Whewell in the 'British Magazine,' and to talk so much of Church rates? You may like to know of my health; I really think I am getting well. I left England in the impression that I was *μινυνθάδιος*. Since I have con-

[1] *Epist. S. Thom.* Ep. cxlix.

ceived hopes I have become much more careful. I should not wonder, if I stayed here, if I get quite rid of my cough.

The Bishop's library is a great piece of luck. I don't think I am wasting my time here, independent of my health. I don't ask how any one is, for I shall certainly be gone before I can have an answer; and when I shall go to Yankland I do not know.

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

April 1834.

As to Froude, I know of course no more than the letters have told us both; and the first was so flattering that I was disappointed at the other; yet on consideration I see no additional reason for alarm. It seems much as it used to be, and we cannot be wrong in hoping the best. Any one who remembers him three or four years ago must acknowledge that to have him now is much more than we could have been sure about. I wish him strong enough (please God) to take duty and wait on some flock. I think he would get more calm and less *young* in his notions, or rather in his way of putting them, which makes people who do not know him think him not a practical man.

What a *wise, old* letter! Well, good-bye.

REV. R. W. JELF TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Berlin: April 1824.

I have not yet seen all your cheap translations of the Fathers [' Records of the Church ' or ' Tracts for the Times '], but Pusey has promised to send them. What an incalculable good, as an instrument in the hand of Providence, this address to the Archbishop has been!

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: April 21, 1834.

. . . We have another iron in the fire. Indeed I think the *more* the better. I am not quite sure all persons will

approve of the *object*. It is to petition the King against the desecration of Westminster Abbey by the music-meeting. Many men feel very strongly about it here; and it will be a point of agreement between your Saurinians [Evangelicals] and the High Church, which we want much, opposing them as we do in Lincoln's Inn Fields [Christian Knowledge Society]. I suppose we shall have a public meeting, but in all these cases one has a great many failures; so I shall not be surprised if it comes to nothing.

P.S. It is as clear as day that the Vice-Chancellor is bound by oath to administer the statutes; though the Legislature makes tests illegal at matriculation, he has sworn to impose them *till* Convocation rescinds the statute. [At this time the Vice-Chancellor imposed the Thirty-nine Articles, and the observance of the statutes, by oath, on every undergraduate on matriculation.—J. H. N.] Qu.: How will you induce to do so a body consisting of irresponsible individuals, numbers of them coming up from the country to vote, and then returning, voting too by ballot? The Legislature could only take away our charter if we were obstinate, and it would virtually be taken away by yielding; for the admission of Dissenters would be a repeal, not of one, but of all our statutes.

The feeling in Oxford against the admission of Dissenters is shown in the following letter to his friend Mr. Bowden. After details of the universal stir the letter goes on:

May 2, 1834.

The list is followed up by a second declaration, of which I hope to send you copies, from members of Convocation. The undergraduates have got up a petition to Parliament with from 900 to 1,000 signatures. I suppose the Heads of Houses will move with a University petition in due time. The Parents' and Guardians' list has begun. We are now circulating model petitions. I enclose specimens. Do what you can with them. We have other measures in prospect.

Mr. Bowden writing with some objection to the 'Parents Declaration,' Mr. Newman announces at once:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

I am too much hurried to argue now about the Parents' Declaration; but, though feeling the force of what you say, do not repent it. Curious enough, Rose writes down to praise *it* and condemn the plan of petitions. I trust all will be well; we have 460 names in about four days.

T. D. ACLAND, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Bologna: May 11, 1834.

My original intention in writing was to thank you for your book (the 'Arians'), of which, I believe, I was the only diligent peruser in Rome. Bunsen happened to be very busy when it arrived, and Pusey [Mr. Philip Pusey] was not in a theological mood; so it was made over to me, and I let some of my friends have a bare sight of it. It is impossible for me to express the pleasure it gave me for many reasons. 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 before 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 in 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.[1] I thought, after all, that poor Coleridge was not so bad a fellow, if well used; and deter-

[1] Early in the following year there occurs the following sentence in the '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.'

mined to speculate no more, but to practise the caution which you subjoin by a diligent application to the practical duties of life. I have often—how often!—wished that it had been my lot to have been at Rome the same winter as you. . . . Bunsen took your book with him; he was much struck with the beginning, and with the economy. I don't know whether you will succeed in shaking him in his strong Protestantism. He says the Council of Nice was the beginning of Popery, of adding an authority to Scripture. . . . Wiseman has desired me to draw your attention to a German work by Möhler, on Athanasius and his times. Very Roman Catholic, I believe.

The following form of approval of Mr. Newman's sermons (the writer's name not given) stands among his letters:

REV. —— —— TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Post Office, Bath: May 11, 1834.

I have perused with much satisfaction the volume of Sermons lately published by you, and take the liberty to ask whether it would be convenient to compose some [as Manuscript Divinity!—J. H. N.] and upon what terms [!].

TO HIS SISTER, J. C. N.[1]

May 18, 1834.

As to Berkeley, I do not know enough to talk, but it seems to me, while a man holds the moral governance of God as *existing in and through his conscience*, it matters not whether he believes his senses or not. For, at least, he will hold the external world as a *divine* intimation, a scene of trial whether a reality or not—just as a child's game may be a trial. I have tried to say this in the 'Arians,' ch. i. § 3. I conceive Hume denied conscience, Berkeley confessed it. To what extent Berkeley denied the existence of the external world I am not aware; nor do I mean to go so far myself (far from it) as to deny the existence of matter, though I should deny that *what we saw* was more than accidents of it, and say that

[1] Then visiting at Stowlangloft.

space perhaps is but a condition of the objects of sense, not a reality. As to Reid, I used to know something of him some twelve years since, when I was preparing for standing at Oriel. He is a Scotchman who pretends to set Plato to rights. I have no business to talk of writers I have not studied; but your Scotch metaphysicians seem to me singularly destitute of imagination. . . .

I talked to you about Hoadley because Rickards's great ground against us is that language about the Eucharist which was allowable in the Fathers, is dangerous since the Popish corruption. To this Keble answers, and I think well, that Hoadleyism has introduced a new era, and that Protestantism, though allowable three centuries since, is dangerous now.

You will do a good work if you talk over Rickards and make him take in and recommend the tracts, but I cannot retract one single step from what I have said in them. I cannot say with truth that I repent of any one passage in them. If it were all to come over again (I do not think I should have the courage, for attacks make one timid, but) I should wish to do just the same. If he says anything against the 'Week-day Lecture,' do not *argue*, merely speak of Hoadleyism, and get him to read Bishop Cosin; *not as if* Bishop Cosin was a defence of us, but as containing a *true view*. A book like his gradually imbues the mind with the truth, so that, when it comes back to what offended it at first, it is no longer startled.

REV. E—— B—— TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

May 27, 1834.

I often think that Christians are remiss in not acknowledging the great debt of gratitude they owe to those who have first planted in them the seeds of that faith, the fruit of which we know is more valuable than the whole world. This, my dear sir, is, I confess, my case as regards you. I have often thought that, if I had been enabled to do any good, what encouragement I should receive from knowing it, and it is upon this principle that I have determined thus freely to acknow-

ledge that I owe to you more than I can repay, and bless the day that brought me under your tuition at Alban Hall, and under your ministry at St. Mary's. I often feel I wish I could myself become a learner again at the feet of some Christian Gamaliel, that I might return at some future period to instruct others with more judgment and power than at present.

REV. H. W. WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

May 27, 1834.

I have been for some days on the point of writing to you, excited thereto by reading some of your old letters of last year, the kindness of which prompted me almost irresistibly to write, if it were only to say how very highly I prized it. To-day I was delighted by the unexpected sight of your handwriting . . . I have loved you like a brother: and my saddest feelings have been often in thinking that, when in the events of life I am separated far from you, you will perhaps, disapprove or misunderstand my conduct, and will cease to feel towards me as you have done; or that our minds will grow asunder by the natural progress of change which goes on in this changing world; and, therefore, every such mark of continued kind feeling warms my heart. How wonderful will it be hereafter if we attain to a state where souls can hold intercourse immediately, and where space makes no division between them! My dearest father used repeatedly to say that one great idea of the happiness of Heaven in his mind, was that there there can be no misunderstandings, and jealousies, and suspicions, such as are so common here even among good men.

The proceedings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as has been shown in one or two preceding letters, were now occupying the attention of Mr. Newman and his friends, certain changes in the management which indicated a desire to meet the liberal tendencies of the day, exciting their suspicion or disapproval. The following letter from Mr. Bowden describes the proceedings at a monthly meeting:

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

June 4, 1834.

I attended yesterday the Christian Knowledge Monthly Meeting. About 150 persons were present. . . A report was read of the Standing Committee respecting the Tract Committee . . . the only other matter of importance was the annual report of the Committee of General Literature; at the conclusion of which the Bishop of Gloucester rose and said: 'Well, now the only thing to decide is, what *donation* we shall make them this year. Last year we gave them 1,000*l*. Shall we—I do not know what to say—I speak timidly—shall we double the grant, and this year give 2,000*l*.?' and this, at a late hour of the day, and when two-thirds of the members had quitted the room, was about to be passed *sans phrase!* I, among others, rose and suggested postponement for consideration. After much talk on this point, the sense of the meeting was taken; and, the show of hands being nearly equal, a division took place, when there appeared: for postponement 27, against it 24. The question stands postponed accordingly till the first Tuesday in July. I want you, therefore, to furnish me with whatever information you can. . . 'The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties' I am aware of, and should I find that still upon the catalogue, I shall not fail to expose it.

I had some talk with Joshua Watson. He said: 'I believe you are in correspondence with Pusey. I wish you would ask him what we are to do with our University petition, which lies at Rivington's and which has about 200 names.' He afterwards, upon the principle that 'all Newman's friends should know each other,' introduced me to Rose, with whom I had only time to shake hands.

Rev. A. P. Perceval to Rev. J. H. Newman.

June 7, 1834.

I will give what assistance I can to your Tract Committee. If you receive subscriptions tell me. I have another paper, 'A Catechism on the Eucharist,' nearly ready, which I will send you

and, if you like to have a few plain sermons, I will look out some for you—but *on this condition*: that if anything strikes you as better otherwise, you will either alter it or send it back to me for revision; for I will not conceal from you that I think many of the first tracts you sent out wanted a careful consideration, and the pruning knife; but I suppose you were glad to publish them as fast as you could get them, and afraid of damping the ardour of your contributors. . . .[1]

Considering the enormous difficulty in getting tracts into circulation that have to make their way without the sanction of an accredited Society, it may be matter of surprise that the 'Tracts for the Times' succeeded in gaining attention at once. Mr. Bowden did his best, working with great intelligence, but of course without experience. Mr. Turrill, the first publisher, failed to satisfy necessary requirements, and leading publishers were almost unpersuadable on the point.

Thus Mr. Newman writes pathetically to Mr. Bowden:

I find Parker here has an insuperable objection to selling the tracts, which he says are not in his way. When you see Rivington, will you suggest the possibility of his throwing them into other channels? for what Parker feels, I suppose, other booksellers will.

Probably they never got into circulation through ordinary trade machinery. They were read by thinkers and talkers, they were widely distributed, and universally discussed; but at a vast expense of money, trouble, and worry to the writers, and with real difficulty to the readers, who could rarely procure them through the ordinary channels. No doubt it was the influence of what has been described as 'that wonderful personality,' already known by report and widely felt beyond the circle to whom Mr. Newman was known even by sight, which overcame obstacles that under ordinary circum-

[1] For answer to this letter see p. 57.

stances would have been insurmountable. Mr. Newman thus relieves his mind on this subject, in a postscript to a letter bearing the date June 10, 1834:

I am full of disgust of all sorts. I am quite put out about the tracts. That they have done good I quite feel, but such large sums have been subscribed for their printing that I wish to do as much with them as ever I can.

REV. H. F. LYTE[1] TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Oxford, June 12.

May I beg your acceptance of the accompanying little volume? Wilberforce mentioned to me yesterday that you had been so kind as to give him some of your admirable tracts for me.

ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

June 16, 1834.

. . . Mr. Lyte has a particular wish to be introduced to you. He is a person of very considerable attainments, an excellent speaker, and a most valuable help to keep mischievous people harmless. In a singularly difficult parish he has for ten years past given himself up to the duties of it with a patient perseverance and good management which have placed him very high in the opinion of all who know him.

The following letter shows how securely Mr. Newman's friends might reckon on his sympathy and thoughtful counsels in their private difficulties, however his time and interest might be supposed to be absorbed by the demands and anxieties of the 'Movement':

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. F. WILSON.

Oriel College: June 15, 1834.

You must not be at all surprised or put out at feeling the difficulties you describe. It is the lot of all men who are by

[1] Author of the hymn 'Abide with me.'

themselves, on first engaging on parochial duty, especially of those who are of an anxious turn of mind: I felt so much of it on starting that I should compassionate you very much unless I recollected that after a while the prospect before me cleared, as doubtless it will with you, through God's mercy. It certainly is very distressing to have to trust one's own judgment on such important matters, and the despondency resulting is made still more painful by the number of little, unimportant matters which must be decided one way or other, though without any good reason to guide the decision, and which in consequence are very fidgetting. You will not get over all this at once; yet in time all will be easy, in spite of whatever you may have to urge about your own disposition.

So much then generally, though you tell me not to speak in that way. Then as to your coldness which you complain of, I am sorry I can give no *recipe* here. I can only say that I have much to lament in that way myself; that I am continually very cold and unimpressed, and very painful it is; but what can be done? Would we could so command our minds as to make them feel as they ought! But it is their very disease that they are not suitably affected according to the intrinsic value of the objects presented to them; that they are excited by objects of this world, not by the realities of death and judgment, and the mercies of the Gospel. Meanwhile, it is our plain *duty* to speak, to explain and to pray, even while we find ourselves cold, and, please God, while we thus do what is a plain duty, perchance He may visit us and impress us with the realities of the subjects we are speaking upon. Certain it is (looking at things merely humanly) the oftener you go to a sick person, the more you are likely at last to get interested in him. How can you expect to feel anything the first or second time, when you as yet know nothing of his state? Interest will grow upon you, as you ascertain his state of mind. It is an irrational despondency and an impatience to complain because nothing comes of your first visit. Be sure also that what he is to get from you is not communicated all at once—nay, not in words. What he will first gain will be the sight of your earnestness . . . and will thence be

impressed with the reality of that which makes you earnest, your coming day by day to him, sacrificing your own ease, &c. . . .

A passage in the 'Apologia' throws light on the allusion in the following letter:

> At that time[1] I was specially annoyed with Dr. Arnold, though it did not last into later years. Some one, I think, asked in conversation at Rome, whether a certain interpretation of Scripture was Christian? It was answered that Dr. Arnold took it; I interposed, 'But is *he* a Christian?' The subject went out of my head at once; when afterwards I was taxed with it, I could say no more in explanation than (what I believe was the fact) that I must have had in mind some free views of Dr. Arnold about the Old Testament—I thought I must have meant 'Arnold answers for that interpretation, but who is to answer for Arnold?' ('Apologia pro Vita sua,' p. 33.)

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. H. Froude.

June 15, 1834.

. . . Was it not a strange mishap that, much as you abused me for making you a cat's paw, yet when the time of danger came, you should get out of the way and leave innocent me to trouble? So it was; only think how mildly I have always spoken of Arnold, and how bitterly you; never did I use a harsh word against him, I think, except that once, and then at Rome, and with but one or two friends. Yet even from Rome those few words are dragged forth, and I have to answer for them, in spite of my very great moderation and charity as touching him. In the next place, my tracts were abused as Popish—as for other things, so especially for expressions about the Eucharist. Here, as you well know, it was you who were apt to be unguarded—not I.

I could tell you much, only it is renewing sorrows and nothing else, of the plague the tracts have been to us, and how we have removed them to Rivington's. That the said

[1] In 1833, when Mr. Newman was in Rome.

tracts have been of essential benefit it is impossible to doubt. Pamphlets, sermons, &c., on the Apostolic Succession are appearing in every part of the kingdom; and every other Sunday we have a University sermon on the subject. . . .

H. Wilberforce engaged to marry Miss S. last December—was afraid to tell me, and left Oxford without; spread abroad I had cut R. for marrying. Yet he has not ratted, and will not (so be it). Marriage, when a crime, is a crime which it is criminal to repent of.

I have in writing my prediction, given in to the Provost four years since, that if our system of tuition were stopped, the classes would fail; and I referred him to the fact that when Tyler, Keble, and Whately ceased to take private pupils, the series of honours stopped in 1823. Now observe Eden came up the term before, Bliss the term after I was appointed tutor; they are the two first new honours of *our* series. Rogers took his honours two years since; he was the last of my pupils, and the last of our (Classical, *i.e.* in College) honours. Nothing is doing now. Men, like young [James] Mozley, who might have been anything, are doing nothing. Well; Denison [the tutor] now wishes to *found scholarships* (from the Fellows' proceeds, I believe) in *order to encourage reading*. Qu.: Should not the tuition money supply the fund? [N.B. October 17, 1860.—I believe from that time till now, and in spite of the scholarship scheme being carried out, Oriel has never regained its place in the class list.] Since schemes are going about, I have a scheme of my own [about the Bosworth lecture]. At present it is useless. Oriel is famous for its careless divinity in the schools. Balliol has catechetical lectures. It is highly desirable then to endow Bos, make the men attend the lectures, &c. &c.

June 21.

I have long come to the conclusion that our time is not come: *i.e.* that other *persons* can do the day's work as well as or better than we can, our business being only to give them a shove now and then. You send home flaming papers, but after all I fall back to what I said last year on your articles about the *Præmunire*. Not that it is not right (very right) to

accustom men's imaginations to the prospect of changes; but they cannot realise *the arguments*, they are quite beyond them. I see this in the case of some of the tracts compared with others; and (I am sure) recalling the memory of my own feelings in past years, I can quite understand it. This is *our gain*, and I intend to make use of it. . . .

Meanwhile let *us* read, and prepare ourselves for better things. I am sitting in the Bodleian, collating manuscripts of Dionysius, &c., and intend to be happy. I reflect with some pleasure that some of our most learned men lived and acted in most troublous times, as Usher, Hammond, Taylor, and in primitive times Clement of Alexandria, Dionysius, and Origen. Surely our intervals of repose (so be it) will be many, and give room for much reading and thinking.

The edition of Dionysius I am engaged on opens a wide field of reading; it will appear in Latin, and is written therefore for myself chiefly, and the *genius loci*; but still I hope it may be of use elsewhere. In Germany they eagerly read everything; one may suggest views. Again to *have* edited respectably such a work gives one a solid influence, built on a foundation which no one can shake, because no one can criticise. It is a *κτῆμα*, removed from the profane populace, and the more 'magnificum' because it is unknown. So that even for our purposes it is not without its use; and abundantly useful if it bring me acquainted with the history of the early Church.

The Bishop of Lincoln [Kaye] has, in a letter to Rose, criticised my account of the *Disciplina Arcani*; and he thinks lightly of my learning, which truly *is* little enough, but yet, I think, enough for my purpose, and far more than he thinks. Because I have given conclusions without noticing objections, and their answers, he thinks me ignorant of the existence of the objections. My present notion is that, in the course of time, I must publish a series of dissertations in a second volume [of the 'Arians']: for example, 'On the *Disciplina Arcani*'—'On the Primitive Church's Notion of the External World,' &c. &c.

As to Rose, he is a fine fellow, certainly he is, and com-

plains he has no one all through London in whom he can confide. Oh, that you were well enough to assist him in London! You are not fit to move of yourself, but you would act through Rose as spirit acts on external matter through a body. He has everything which *you* are without, and is so inflammable that not even muscles are more sensitive of volition than he would be of you. I wish he were not so passionate. I and Keble have had a quarrel with him; so has Sewell—*amantium iræ*, I trust. I want to tell you as a *deep secret* that the successor of Sanctus Thomas [*i.e.* Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury], being indisposed, took up a work on the Arians, which quite took, and fidgeted him. Thanks to Ogilvie and Rose, he is much more decided this session. But every one says, if bad times really come, he will be a confessor, then a martyr.

It is now a year since I have been anxious to begin a weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper, but as yet I have not moved a step. I think I shall begin with Saints' days first. What I *have* done is to have a Wednesday evening's service, beginning in April with the long days, which is followed by a lecture extempore on the Creed. Next year I may take some lives—Hooker, Ridley, Bull, &c. I am quite fluent, although I never shall be eloquent. I at first drew above a hundred, chiefly University men, though they fell off. Further, I think I mean on St. Peter's day, *i.e.* next Sunday, to announce my intention of reading the morning service daily in the chancel while and whenever I am in Oxford, *according* to the injunctions of the Church, whether people attend or not. I shall have a desk put up near the altar, facing the south, from which I shall read the Psalms and Lessons, kneeling, however, towards the east. It seems to me that the absurdity, as it appears to many, of Tom Keble's daily plan is, his praying to *empty benches*. Put yourself near the altar, and you may be solitary. I see this agrees with a notion of yours. I am the more eager to begin this service because the Provost pointedly refused to let me keep open the chapel at Christmas [N.B.—though I was Dean]. I have waited long enough to show that I am not acting from 'irritation.' I shall go on through

the term; in which I think there will be no impropriety towards the College [N.B.—*i.e.* in not attending College chapel], it having been formally ruled by Jenkyns that the Dean had no more to do with the chapel than another Fellow. I gave up my part of the chaplaincy [*i.e.* College chaplaincy, which was divided between several Fellows] in a quiet way to Eden, on his going into Orders. It seems very desirable that you or I should be Dean; in that way we know the men.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

June 16, 1834.

. . . As you suppose, I have seen Keble's Installation Ode in the papers, but I shall much prize a copy. It is worthy of its author. I can give you a strong proof of the intensity of my admiration of it. I found yesterday that I knew it by heart, and I do not think that I shall ever forget it.

Rev. George Ryder to Rev. J. H. Newman.

June 18, 1834.

. . . Have you seen Gobat's 'Abyssinia'?—a missionary sent out by the Church Missionary Society, who has been telling that Church in our name that baptismal regeneration is one of their most grievous errors; that a Church has no right to anathematise any but those who do not love the Lord Jesus; that regular fasts are very self-righteous wicked things. Pray tell me if you belong to the Church Missionary Society. The book has been out about three months, I believe. Gobat was in Abyssinia from February 1830 to February 1833. The book is prefaced by a history of the Abyssinian Church by Professor Lee.

Rev. R. F. Wilson to Rev. J. H. Newman.

June 22, 1834.

I have been much surprised to find an injunction in the preface to the Prayer Book, to the effect that all priests and

deacons are to say daily the morning and evening prayers, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or other urgent cause. Do you consider this binding? I have thought not, for (1) I read in the next clause that the incumbent in every parish church or chapel is to say the same in his church, a practice which has been long discontinued. . . (2) I find so many of the Rubrics no longer acted upon, and in the endeavours to enforce which you would not be supported by your Diocesan; (3) no allusion is made to it in the Ordination Service.

F. Rogers, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

June 24, 1834.

. . . I was rather amused, and very much bored, by the debate on the Dissenters' admission. Herbert made a gentlemanly speech, well worded and well delivered, and with tolerably good sentiments on the subject, and was very much complimented on all hands, by Peel, Goulburn, Spring Rice, Wood (the mover). The object of the opposition appeared to me to be to secure the independence of the colleges, and in that they certainly succeeded. The mover, a Unitarian, said, in answer to Peel, that he intended the Dissenters should be compelled to attend College Chapel! It was repeated over and over again by the Liberals, that they did not intend interfering with the present religious discipline and education; and the Tories went on still assuming that they *would* interfere, and expatiating on the evils of so doing. It is really quite amusing how completely one or two clever pamphlets give the tone to the arguments on the different sides of the question. I think we were remarking it generally some time since, and certainly the members of the House of Commons are not exceptions to the general rule. . .

Mr. Newman's protest to a friend against the uses to which Westminster Abbey was about to be applied has been given in a previous letter. Mr. Bowden writes after the event:

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

July 3, 1834.

The Dean of Westminster seems to have had a sort of guilty consciousness about the festival. It took so well that much interest was made for a continuation of the concerts, and he, not wishing to make the Abbey quite an ancient concert-room, took the only way of putting an end to solicitations by setting about demolishing the fittings-up with an absurd rapidity. The last chorus, I hear, was scarcely concluded when the work of demolition began. The departing audience, I know, found their way impeded by the upholsterer's carts intended to receive the trappings, and a few hours sufficed to put the Abbey *hors de combat* for any further concerts. I went the other Sunday morning; *there was no service at all that day*; the church was shut up for a Sunday, St. Peter's Abbey for St. Peter's Day. The week-day service, at least, as at St. Paul's, has also been suspended for some days, in consequence of the engagements of the choir at the concert rehearsals, &c. This I heard the other day in the church itself, whither I went to show it to John [his son] as a special favour.

Rev. Isaac Williams to Rev. J. H. Newman.

July 2, 1834.

Copeland says you talked about a daily service, which I was very glad to hear of, if it would not be too much of a tie upon you. But I think the only ground on which it can be sustained, and without disappointment, is that the Rubric commands that we should read the service, and if we are bound to do so, it may be done at church as easily as elsewhere.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. F. Wilson.

July 3, 1834.

. . . Allow me to say it is a very bad way to say 'I don't agree with *what I believe* is your opinion on this point,' with

out specifying what that fancied opinion is. It often happens that the speaker is not well instructed in what one's view is, and there is no means of explaining this. As you are somewhat given to this, I propose to name it the 'Wilson fallacy.' . . . I had an instance of it the other day in a letter from Acland. He maintains that my 'metaphysical views' (!) agree with Coleridge, which he is rejoiced to find. Then he adds, 'But Wilson gave me such an idea of your severely practical doctrines as to make me quite afraid of you,' or words to that effect.

As to the number of persons you can visit [pastoral visits], it depends on many circumstances; for example, you are a bad walker. When I was at St. Clement's, I could visit sixteen people without inconvenience, taking half one day and half another; but then they were almost next door to each other.

As to the injunction to read the Church service daily, it is curious you should just now have mentioned the subject. After many months' deliberation I have taken advantage of the Long Vacation [when the College Chapel is closed] to begin daily morning service at St. Mary's; how it will succeed is still to be seen . . . The whole question of the Rubrics is a melancholy one. Things are so bad that one keeps silence.

The following lines, it will be seen, were transcribed from a letter as a sort of act of parting from an old friend, and are inserted here for the sake of the tender recollections they awake in the transcriber, with whom early friendships were very sacred things.

REV. S. L. POPE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Whittlesea: July 5, 1834.

. . . I am aware that my composition is faulty. I believe the fault lies somewhere in my early training, when I learnt so much French and Italian, and the English was neglected.

[*July* 4, 1860.—I have kept whole a few letters of this dear friend, so simple, so affectionate, so true, so cheerful.

Most of his letters I must destroy as of no interest except to me.—J. H. N.]

July 1 of this year (1834) is signalised in the notes by the following entry:

Declined marrying a couple, the lady being unbaptized.

When questions of principle were once started and an opinion formed, it was Mr. Newman's nature to act. The marriage of Dissenters had given rise to such a question. He was asked to marry a parishioner, a Dissenter with whom he had held conversations on her religious opinions and on the rite of baptism; thus he could not act in ignorance of the fact that she was unbaptized. To his Mother he writes:

July 8, 1834.

You will like to hear what I have to say [about the Jubber matter]. Till the last hour I have felt to be one man against a multitude. No one, apparently, to encourage me, and so many black averted faces, that unless from my youth I had been schooled to fall back upon myself, I should have been quite out of heart. I went and sat twenty minutes with Mrs. Small [the old dame schoolmistress at Littlemore] by way of consolation.

However, I had taken courage to send Keble my letter to the Bishop, and to Pusey a notice I mean to put into the paper, and within the last hour I have had both their opinions. I could not hope that they would be favourable, but they are both quite so, and I think you will like to hear them.

Pusey says: 'I like your letter very much'; he adds, 'I am glad of what you have done, and trust it will do good, "through evil report and good report."'

Keble says: 'I hope such a distinct and conscientious protest against one of our crying grievances may have a good effect. It is much to be hoped that no controversy *immediately* connected with the present case may arise, and I hope, too, the Bishop's answer (which I have no doubt will be as *evasive*

as he can make it) will not be such as to make you think further measures immediately necessary.'

I seem as if I could bear anything now. I felt that I could not have done otherwise than I did. Yet it is very distressing to be alone. I do not know that it is inconsistent to say this, much as I think I agree with Keble and Pusey. In new cases and sudden emergencies the most accordant minds differ in judgment.

I am more pleased at these letters than I can say. I had taken my vexation as a sort of punishment for my many sins, and did not expect thus to be comforted.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: July 13, 1834.

Perhaps you have seen in the papers the Jubber affair. The only thing that annoyed me was that I was represented to have spoken rudely, which was not the case. As to refusing marriage to unbaptized persons, we must make a stand *somewhere*. Things are rolling downhill so gradually that, wherever one makes a stand, it will be said to be a harsh measure. But I am determined (please God) that, as far as I am concerned, the Church shall not crumble away without my doing in my place what I can to hinder it. I had had conversation with this man before on the subject of his daughter's baptism; I did not *seek out* the case, and it was a new one in St. Mary's. I had no time to refer to the Bishop. I never can be sorry for what I have done; nothing can make me sorry, though existing Church authorities should declare against me. Keble and Pusey have both taken my part, and I care not at all, I think, what odium comes on me so that I make my protest.

J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

July 14, 1834.

. . . About your learning German. [Bowden gave me a set of books for this purpose as early as (?) 1823.] I scarcely

recommend it—not but that you would soon obtain proficiency enough to read it *if you gave yourself up* to the study for a few weeks. But how are you to do this? Your time is too precious to be spent in *indirect* labours for the Church.

With regard to the Jubber business, I saw the story in the 'Times,' and at once concluded that the rudeness was an unfounded charge. Rose dined with me the day on which it appeared. He said that he did not well see his way while the law recognised no marriages but Church ones. I thought it highly desirable that the anomaly should be shown, and that the point should be brought to an issue.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. A. P. PERCEVAL.

July 20, 1834.

[I have no copy of this. I have transcribed it from Perceval's letter to Arnold, 1841.]

As to the Tracts, every one has his own taste. You object to some things, another to others. If we altered to please every one the effect would be spoiled. They were not intended as symbols *ex cathedra*, but as the expression of *individual* minds, and individuals feeling strongly; while, on the one hand, they are incidentally faulty in mode or language, on the other they are still peculiarly effective. No great work was ever done by a system, whereas systems rise out of individual exertions. Luther was an individual. The very faults of an individual excite attention; he loses, but his cause, if good, and he powerful-minded, gains. This is the way of things; we promote truth by a self-sacrifice. There are many things in ——'s tract which I could have wished said otherwise for one reason or other, but the whole was to my mind admirable, most persuasive and striking.

[This letter was in answer to a letter of his of June 7, 1834, which I have transcribed elsewhere. On the outside of it I have made a memorandum, as was my custom, 'Answered July 20, 1834,' which agrees with the above. I don't know who the —— is. In Perceval's letter there is no allusion to any particular tract.—J. H. N.]

REV. H. W. WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

July, 1834.

. . . By the way, I saw your name in the papers in connection with the Dissenters' Marriage Question. . . I met Sir Robert Inglis yesterday, who talked over your act, and seemed much to applaud it. Jacobson told me that he had no doubt you were acting quite conscientiously, as your brother had done; but he thought there had been as much want of judgment in the one as in the other, &c., but that perhaps you did it only to bring things to a crisis that you might force some alteration about the marriage of Dissenters. I urged the obvious reasons, and asked whether *he* could conscientiously use the service if he knew the party was unbaptized. He said no; but by going into the church, in the present state of the law, a person virtually undertook to fulfil all the functions which the State required of him, of which this was one.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. S. RICKARDS.

Oriel College: July 30, 1834.

Thank you for a sight of Lady W.'s letter. Since you have let me see her opinion of me, I suppose the best return I can make is to let you know my opinion of her. And I am led first of all to express my thanks at her benevolent intention of having me shown up in some Review or other, which is not the less benevolent because it is impracticable in *the way* she wishes. I mean it would be easy to get some party or professedly eclectic Review to lash me, but that would not answer her purpose. On the other hand, a Church Review, such as the 'British Critic,' though it might not agree with me, would know enough of Church theology to find it was a very difficult thing to convict me of running counter to the great stream of our divines. *Sit anima mea cum Hammondo* and such like. This is, indeed, a very curious feature of her remarks. She knows (apparently) nothing of the Church of England *as such*. She jumbles *us* with what she calls

is not the 'Protestant' doctrine. Now I should frighten good people if I were to say I disown the word 'Protestant,' yet in the sense she uses it I do disown it. I protest as much against Calvin as against the Council of Trent, whereas Protestant in her sense is a crooked stick, bent on one side. The word Protestant does not, as far as I know, occur in our formularies. It is an uncomfortable, perplexing word, intended to connect us—and actually connecting us—with the Protestants abroad. We are a 'Reformed' Church, not a 'Protestant.' I care not a whit for the Diet of Augsburg. Calvin is no guide to me, not even as an authority, and as for Bucer I wish he had never crossed the sea. That the Puritanic spirit spread in Elizabeth's and James's time, and did sad havoc, tainting even good and wise men, is certain. Blessed is he who is not corrupted by his age, who keeps his garments white and clean! Who can do it except, so to say, by miracle? Even Hooker, I should think (I speak under correction), but gradually worked his way out of his Puritanic education, but he *did* do so. The spirit of Puritanism has been succeeded by the Methodistic. (Of course, I do not use the word reproachfully, but historically.) We, the while, children of the Holy Church, whencesoever brought into it, whether by early training or afterthought, have had one voice, that one voice which the Church has had from the beginning. As far as I can make out, the good and holy men of every age have not much differed from each other—Hooker and Taylor from St. Bernard, St. Bernard from St. Chrysostom. Meanwhile, the Church of Rome apostatised at Trent. It is too much to say that we, the children of Ridley and Laud, are innovators, introducing opinions, and open to warnings such as Lady W. gives us. Show me I am an innovator, and without question I will be silent. Then she need not speak of *consequences* of my doctrine, and I will be silent in that. But if I but speak as the Church has ever spoken, let her, if she will, still 'protest,' but let her quite understand her position, as external to the Church, as herself being one of, on the whole, an innovating party. Whether right or wrong, she, not I, must show cause why she says what she says.

But doubtless the torrent of the day is so much with *her*, that I must consent to be in an apparent minority, and to rest on the scenes of past years, from 'the upper room' in Acts i. to the Court of Carisbrooke or Uxbridge. Doubtless I have made up my mind, as every one must who tries to stand against the torrent, to be misunderstood and called names. She may be quite sure that not a word has she said by way of accounting for my holding what I hold, but I could have said more plausibly before her; I could have made out a more specious story against myself, have spoken of reaction, &c. But, after all, what is the fact? That, however I came to hold what I hold, I hold it with such men as Hammond and Wilson, and therefore I am consoled, as well as prepared, for the names Pelagian, Papist, or anything else—*μὴ γένοιτο*.

I would wish to ask Lady W. whether she uses such words as Pelagian historically or not. If she does, let her tell me what Pelagius's doctrine was, and show I agree with it; if not, it is indirectly *assuming* that I have so committed myself as to fall under the expressed censure of the Church, which is unfair. Next, I observe that it is inconsistent in her calling me a Pelagian and yet spiritually-minded. Let her be quite sure that when I think a person a heretic, I shall never call him religious. A spiritually-minded heretic may exist in the 'Protestant' world, but not in the Church.

I conceive a clergyman is likely to have seen as much of persons in distress of mind as Lady W.

To conclude, I doubt not you have before now given my Lady a hint on the confident way in which she, a lay person, speaks of Christ's ministers. At first I was amused at the way in which she laid down the law, but on second thoughts it seemed a more serious thing. It is part of the evil of our present system, which puts great people about the Church, and, if they are religious, makes them little Queen Besses. She may be quite sure that, if she comes into collision with me, I shall take some *quiet* opportunity of hinting this to her. I write *currente calamo*, having no time for a very finished letter.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: *August* 10, 1834.

Pray give yourself no great trouble about the German Athanasius. When I shall have an opportunity of correcting my 'Arians' is, of course, very uncertain, and of distant date. I fancy I shall continue fidgety till I have learned a smattering of German, but that, of course, is of a date still further removed. You see we stand a chance of being inundated with German divinity, and they have (I believe) written some useful books, too, in my line; both which reasons make me anxious to understand them.

I have been engaged in editing Dionysius since I wrote to you.[1] It is not a very laborious business; most of it was done to my hand, and I have now managed nearly to break the neck of it; so I shall almost lay it by and take it up from time to time, or keep it quietly in hand. I thought it was good to take something easy as a beginning. If you say, Why edit books at all? I answer I have great fears of being superficial. Nothing is a greater temptation in writing such a book as the 'Arians' than to take facts and Fathers at second hand; and I wish to withdraw myself as much as possible from it.

The last week I have taken up the subject of the Anglican Convocation, have rummaged out of the library a certain number of pamphlets, and have begun reading and writing. I have long plagued my friends on every side to undertake and get up this passage of history, which seems to me very important now; and, failing, have at length begun myself. . . . I have a visitation sermon to preach at home, and was unwilling to be away any part of the time, but shall take some of the 1689–1780 pamphlets with me afterwards. I go to J. Keble's for a week.

I took your hint about Popery immediately, and wrote the tract called 'Via Media,' which appeared the beginning of this month, though I am diffident whether it will answer your

[1] Mr. Newman had agreed to Dr. Burton's request to edit Dionysius for the University Press.

aim. I am quite prepared for the charges of both Popery and Pelagianism, nor do I see how to escape them. In my view of the matter, the flood of Puritanism is pouring over the Church, as Liberalism over the world; and any one who believes this and makes a stand will be sure to incur the reputation of those heresies which are the contrary of the fashionable ones. There are multitudes of men who shrink from styling themselves Calvinistic, and yet accuse all doctrine which is short of Calvinism of Pelagianism; again, who call themselves Churchmen, and speak in a sentimental way about the Church (as Cunningham), yet call any man a Papist who begins to act as if he loved it. And now I believe the Saurinians, Peculiars, or in whatever other name they rejoice [Evangelicals], having, after long labour, made progress, and seeing the goal before them, are much irritated at the thought of being thrown back again. Mr. Wilks, of the 'Christian Observer,' seems to pant for the comprehension contemplated in 1689, has schemes for removing the Popery of the services, bringing in Dissenters, and is both frightened and angry at the 'British Magazine,' the Oxford proceedings, &c. How is it possible one can escape? I do not expect, though (of course) the more protests (as you say) one puts on record against the imputations cast on one, the better.

As to my marriage business. I suppose the hubbub is at an end. I have gained my point; so let those laugh who win: no one can rail away the protest I have made. I *could not* avoid it. I did not hunt out the parties. I never should 'ask questions' for conscience sake. I knew the young woman was unbaptized. I had had some months before conversation with her father about it; so had Williams: and she would not be baptized. One of the sons had inquired about baptism with some secular purpose. None of them seemed to have a notion of its religious character. It was not a question of Dissenter or Churchman; not a question *who* baptized. She was not baptized at meeting-house or church. I could not have taken on me the responsibility, against the wish and spirit of the Church, to commit an act which might have made me the instrument of encouraging persons in a

fatal delusion—the notion that baptism was a mere ceremony. It was not a question of infant or adult baptism. I had no time to ask the Bishop. Indeed, I am quite easy, thank God.

To his Mother.

August 21, 1834.

I have just seen a paper, the 'Times' of the 19th, which contains a letter from a Dissenter about my refusing to marry. To my surprise he says it has been always considered that the law is with *me*. And he mentions cases of clergymen who have acted as I did. However, his own view is that the law says nothing either way, which, you know, is what I have thought all along. He refers to another letter which had appeared in the 'Times' on the subject. So, I suppose, a sort of discussion has been going on. He writes temperately, and does not seem to be angry with me, though he complains of the system. I am very glad people have been brought to attend to the subject.

Mr. Newman's feeling for places was part of his strong memory from a child. Wherever he had lived, thought, formed friendships, enjoyed or suffered, the scenes in which events ran their course remained sharply imprinted on his mind, to be revived, often to painful acuteness, at the sight of them. In writing to his Mother, it was natural to him to describe his feelings more freely than to the closest friend: So to her he wrote on revisiting Alton[1] while the impression was still vivid:

To his Mother.

Alton: September 20, 1834.

I left Stevens this morning and got here about two o'clock. As I got near the place I many times wished I had not come. I found it so very trying. So many strong feelings, distinct from each other, were awakened. The very length of time

[1] Mr. Newman's father on leaving London had settled with his family for a few years at Alton. His children always regarded the place with

since I was here was a serious thought, almost half my life; and I so different from what a boy, as I then was, could be: not indeed, in my having any strong stimulus of worldly hope then which I have not now—for, strange though it may seem, never, even as a boy, had I any vision of success, fortune, or worldly comfort, to bound my prospect of the future—but because, after fifteen years, I felt, after all, that I was hardly the same person as to all external relations, and as regards the particular tempering and colouring of my mind.

And then the number of painful events, and pleasant too, which have gone between my past and my present self. And, further, the particular season at which we lived here, when I was just entered at Oxford, so that this place is, as it were, the record, as it was the scene, of my undergraduate studies and opinions. The Oxford reminiscences of that time have been effaced by my constant residence there since, but here I am thrown back upon those years which never can come again.

There are many little incidents stored in my memory which now waken into life. Especially, I remember that first evening of my return from Oxford in 1818, after gaining the scholarship at Trinity, and my Father saying 'What a happy meeting this!' Often and often such sayings of his come into my mind, and almost overpower me; for I consider he did do very much for me at a painful sacrifice to himself, and was so generous and kind. . . .

All these various thoughts so troubled me as I came along, and the prospect opened clearer and clearer, that I felt quite sick at heart. There was something so mysterious, too, in seeing old sights, half recollecting them and doubting. It is like seeing the ghosts of friends. Perhaps it is the impression it makes upon one of God's *upholding* power which is so awful—but it seemed to me so very strange that everything was in its place, after so long a time. As we came near, and I saw Monk's Wood, the church and the hollow on the other side of the town, it was as fearful as if I was standing on the grave of some one I knew, and saw him gradually recover life, and rise again. Quite a lifetime

time I was here. I wished myself away from the pain of it, and then the excitement caused a reaction, and I got quite insensible and callous, and then again got disgusted with myself and thought I had made a great fool of myself in coming here at all, and wondered what I should do with myself now I was here. Meanwhile the coach went on and I found myself at the Swan.

In the Long Vacation of 1834, Mr. Newman pays a few days' visit to Mr. Golightly, then just settled at Godalming, and, writing to his sister, describes his house:

September 25, 1834.

. . . But I ought to tell you something about Golightly's house. It has the advantage of being close to the church, of being in the town in front, and behind in the country most entirely; of having a quiet garden with a pretty prospect and fine trees, a most extensive homestead—buildings, courtyards, and offices without end—of having eight windows in front (it is not high), a quadrangle, and numerous hiding-places for troublous times (G. is going to make one behind a chimney, hot!) It has the disadvantage of being an old, ramshackle, up-and-down place, with innumerable floors, staircases, closets and windows, white wainscoting and black doors, old daubs of family portraits, low ceilings, small windows, and ?ark rooms, endless draughts, and enormous chairs. The soil ;andy and dry; but there are low meadows with the Wey ›ugh them just below the house, ditches of filthy mud, and a ›phitic pond, all which must be very disagreeable in winter. ?his house is close to the Workhouse; the people are not very interesting, and the incumbent would certainly soon quarrel with our friend were he not soon going away for his health.

G. is very merry and sportive. I am very well, but people seem to think me very thin, and I certainly think I am.

The following thought, or feeling, is more characteristic of the writer's temperament than of his teaching. Addressing the same sister after going over a house splendidly fitted up

he could put into words his personal objection to show and state, and all that might minister to self-indulgence, which no change of circumstances could change in him.

I confess I could not (I think) live in so beautiful a place. I should destroy the conservatory, and turn the inner-drawing-room into a chapel. *Natural* beauties I feel no grudge against; but artificial, whether exotic plants, foreign gems and marbles, rare viands, statues and paintings, seem as out of place as to be waited on by slaves. I think the principle of objection to both is the same.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO HIS SISTER JEMIMA.

Tunbridge Wells: October 2, 1834.

I dined with the Dean yesterday, who is a kind unassuming man. . . He has no *views*, and in consequence is like a ship without a rudder. Since I have been away I have read Butler's 'Book of the Roman Catholic Church,' Marsh's 'Comparative View,' and Faber's 'Romanism' almost, and have more of a view. To *become* a Romanist seems more and more impossible; to unite with Rome (if she would let us) not impossible; but she would not, without ceasing to be Rome. Somehow my own confidence in my views seems to grow. I am aware I have not yet fully developed them to myself. There are opinions as yet unknown to me, which must be brought out and received, inconsistencies, too, perhaps to be set right; but on the whole, I seem to have a grasp of a system, very comprehensive. I could go on a great way with Rome, and a great way with the Evangelicals; nay, I should not despair of religious Dissenters. I think our system will be very *taking* from its novelty, its sublimity, and its argumentative basis. I see persons struck and puzzled at it. Such is M. Bunsen, who, when I first had some words with him, looked at me with interest, as one who was on ground which he had once occupied. I am conscious to myself I easily bring a person to a stand, and to say: 'Really I have not

effect would be produced is another matter.) I attribute this, not to any powers of argument which I have (for, if I had my will, I never *would* argue, and I suppose, on the other hand, one *likes* to do what one can do well), but simply to my having got hold, somehow or other, of an imposing *view*, call it right or wrong. I should not be surprised (though *sorry*) if an Apostolical School started up at Cambridge, as the Shelleian, Utilitarian, &c. As to the Evangelicals, I have been much struck with a most sensible account of the state of India, just received here from Mr. Tucker, in almost every word of which—it is full of practical and doctrinal matters—I agree. Though he is a Calvinist, I do believe our differences would in India almost be a matter of a few words. He gives a most exciting account of his field of labour, without intending it. At this moment, could I choose, and have all circumstances and providences at my disposal, I would go as an independent Bishop to his part of India, and found a Church there. This, you will say, is an ambitious flight. I am sure some one ought to be sent as Bishop; but the State, the State! we are crippled. I can fancy the day coming when India might be a refuge, if our game was up here.—Love to my Mother and Frank.

. . . P.S. There is a lady here who plays most beautifully. I think I never heard such a touch—why, I cannot make out, for she has not long fingers. Your touch is very good; but I thought it required long fingers to be brilliant. So you must set yourself to rival her. It would be interesting to *examine* the causes of expression, which you might easily do. *Strength* of finger is one thing, certainly. This lady is not brilliant in the common sense—that is, smart and rattling—but every note is so full-toned, so perfect, that one requires nothing beyond itself. This in Beethoven's effective passages produces a surprising effect. I accompanied her last night, and am to do so again to night.

Rev. J. H. Newman to his Mother.

October 7, 1834.

Mrs. B. is a warm, young, amiable person; full of feeling—

to. I went with her to visit a nunnery near, yesterday. Whether they sympathised in my appearance or not I cannot tell, but they treated me with a confidence which, my friends tell me, was unprecedented. Not only did I go all through the schoolgirls' dormitories, but one of the nuns introduced me to her own cell. I liked everything but the gloom. The cleanliness of every part of the house was exquisite; but the bed in the cell had black curtains and a green baize coverlet. This looked dirty as well as dismal. In consistency the sheets ought to have been black too.

The following letters are taken from the Life of Archbishop Whately:[1]

ARCHBISHOP WHATELY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN, B.D.

Dublin: October 25, 1834.

My dear Newman,—A most shocking report concerning you has reached me, which indeed carries such an improbability on the face of it, that you may perhaps wonder at my giving it a thought; and at first I did not; but finding it repeated from different quarters, it seems to me worth contradicting for the sake of your character.

Some Oxford Undergraduates, I find, openly report that when I was at Oriel last spring you absented yourself from chapel on purpose to avoid receiving the Communion along with me, and that you yourself declared this to be the case. I would not notice every idle rumour, but this has been so confidently and so long asserted, that it would be a satisfaction to me to be able to declare its falsity as a fact, from your authority. I did, indeed, at once declare my utter unbelief, but then this has only the weight of my opinion, though an opinion resting, I think, on no insufficient grounds. I did not profess to rest my disbelief on our long, intimate, and confidential friendship, which would make it your right and your duty, if I did anything to offend you, or anything you might think materially wrong, to remonstrate with me; but on your general character, which I was persuaded would have

made you incapable, even had no such close connexion existed between us, of conduct so unchristian and inhuman. But, as I said, I should like for your sake to be able to contradict the report from your authority.—Ever yours, very truly.

R. WHATELY.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO ARCHBISHOP WHATELY.

Oriel College: October 28, 1834.

My dear Lord;—My absence from the Sacrament in the College chapel on the Sunday you were in Oxford was occasioned solely and altogether by my having it on that day in St. Mary's; and I am pretty sure, if I may trust my memory, that I did not even know of your Grace's presence there till after the service. Most certainly such knowledge would not have affected my attendance. I need not say, this being the case, that the report of my having made any statement on the subject is quite unfounded; indeed, your letter of this morning is the first information I have had in any shape of the existence of the report.

I am happy in being thus able to afford an explanation as satisfactory to you as the kind feelings which you have ever entertained towards me could desire; yet on honest reflection I cannot conceal from myself that it was generally a relief to me to see so little of your Grace when you were in Oxford, and it is a greater relief now to have an opportunity of saying so to yourself. I have ever wished to observe the rule, never to make a public charge against another behind his back; and, though in the course of conversation and the urgency of accidental occurrences it is sometimes difficult to keep to it, yet I trust I have not broken it, especially in your own case, *i.e.* though my most intimate friends know how deeply I deplore the line of ecclesiastical policy adopted under your archiepiscopal sanction, and though in society I may have clearly shown that I have an opinion one way rather than the other, yet I have never in my intention—never, as I believe, at all spoken of your Grace in a serious way before strangers; indeed, mixing little in general society, and

over-apt to open myself in it, I have had little temptation to do so. Least of all should I so forget myself as to take undergraduates into my confidence in such a matter.

I wish I could convey to your Grace the mixed and very painful feelings which the late history of the Irish Church has raised in me—the union of her members with men of heterodox views, and the extinction (without ecclesiastical sanction) of half her candlesticks,[1] the witnesses and guarantees of the truth and the trustees of the Covenant. I willingly own that, both in my secret judgment and my mode of speaking concerning you to my friends, I have had great alternations and changes of feeling—defending, then blaming, your policy, next praising yourself and protesting against your measures, according as the affectionate remembrances which I had of you, rose against my utter aversion of the secular and unbelieving policy in which I consider the Irish Church to be implicated. I trust I shall never be forgetful of the kindness you uniformly showed me during your residence in Oxford, and anxiously hope that no duty to Christ and His Church may ever interfere with my expression of it. However, on the present opportunity I am conscious to myself, that I am acting according to the dictates both of duty and gratitude, if I beg your leave to state my persuasion that the perilous measures in which your Grace has acquiesced, are but the legitimate offspring of those principles, difficult to describe in few words, with which your reputation is associated—principles which bear upon the very fundamentals of all argument and investigation, and affect almost every doctrine and every maxim on which our faith and our conduct depend. I can feel no reluctance to confess that, when I first was connected with your Grace, gratitude to you and admiration of your character weighed strongly upon me; and had not something from within resisted, I should certainly have adopted views on religious and social questions such as seem to my present judgment to be based on the pride of reason, and

[1] By the Irish Church Temporalities Act (passed August 14, 1833) two archbishoprics were prospectively abolished, and the Suffragan bishoprics reduced [illegible] consolidation from eighteen to ten.

tending towards infidelity, and which, in your own case, nothing but your Grace's high religious temper, and the unclouded faith of your mind, have been able to withstand. I am quite confident that, however you may regret my judgment, you will give me credit, not only for honesty, but a deeper feeling, in thus laying it before you.

May I be suffered to add that your name is ever mentioned in my prayers, and to subscribe myself, your Grace's very sincere friend and servant,

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

S. F. WOOD, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Temple: Saturday, November 1, 1834.

I was truly pleased to hear from Rogers that you returned to Oxford in such good health and spirits.

I have enjoyed very comfortable health, and have had many blessings to be thankful for. For the last month, owing to the emptiness of London and a delightful freedom from interruption, I have been able to follow other studies more congenial than the law, giving to the last as much attention as duty enjoins. I have chiefly been attending to our own history as regards Church matters.

As not alien to this matter, I will just mention how much I have been interested by your two 'Via Medias,'[1] as containing a more systematic exposition of your views than I was before possessed of, and as accounting, to my mind at least, for the mode and form in which your 'Parochial Sermons' exhibit Divine truths. You will be interested, I think, by my referring you to a passage in the preface to the third volume of Burnet's 'History of the Reformation,' p. 13, ed. Clarendon, beginning at 'I cannot conclude' to 'Roman Communion.'

REV. W. SEWELL TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Exeter College: November 1834.

I am going to Harrison's this evening about 8 o'clock to chat over with him the subject of Subscription.

I have just heard that the Heads of Houses meditate bringing forward the abolition of it even this term. Surely something ought to be done. Could we meet this evening at Ch. Ch.?

Mr. Newman, writing some notes at the back of Mr. Sewell's letter, concludes with the following sentence:

There seems to be a general foreboding that religious quarrels and party divisions will be the consequence of such relaxation; and, whether this occurs or not, it is certain that the prospect of religious indifference will impose it as a duty upon such as feel a value for Divine truth, to make every feeling and influence secondary to their determination to support the view they believe to be Scriptural against all, &c.

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

November 10.

You will have heard that the Heads of Houses have decided by a majority of one to displace the Articles from undergraduate subscription. I will gladly join in any measures which can be adopted to fight the battle efficiently in Convocation.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: November 10, 1834.

The Heads of Houses have to-day by a majority of one decided on introducing a measure into Convocation, to remove undergraduate subscription to the Articles. What they propose to substitute for it I have not yet learned. Two measures are talked of: either a simple declaration that the person to be matriculated would conform to the discipline and worship of the place, which, in fact, is bringing us to Cambridge; or this with the addition that he does not dissent from the Articles. Burton has gone over. Pusey is staunch the other way. Sewell is staunch, and Harrison *annis non animo minor*. We all seem to agree that we would go as far as this, viz. to allow of an additional sentence in the Epinomis

we are *misunderstood* (which is the ground taken against us), then let us *explain* ourselves; to *alter* would be implying we are wrong. Pusey has drawn up a sketch of an explanation; it runs as follows:—

'The University supposes that those who, coming for her instructions, subscribe the Articles, thereby profess, according to their different attainments, that they receive these Articles as believing them to be true, either from their own conviction or at least upon the authority of the Church. She would not, however, wish altogether to exclude those of a scrupulous conscience, who might hesitate to state this of themselves, and yet knew of no opinion which they held opposed either to the discipline or doctrine of the Church of England.'

P.S.—Rogers heard from Froude yesterday. He says nothing about his health, but is evidently home-sick and lonely.

In Froude's 'Remains,' p. 374, we find the letter probably spoken of, beginning in the half-fretful, half-humorous atural to an expectant, suffering under the intolerable ncident to distant correspondence in those days. Froude :

September 25, 1834.

the time you get this, it will be near a year since I ıeard a word about you. . . . Of N. I heard as *late* as ıber 15, 1833. I have just referred to the rascal's letter. s to K., C., and you, and the M.'s, &c., I am in utter ınce on which side the Styx you are all residing.

y the same post seems to have come some direct letter essage to the N. here spoken of, which elicits the follow- elf-justification and tender remonstrance:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

November 12, 1834.

am not surprised you should be so unjust to me, for I

we expected you here with the Bishop of Barbadoes till the middle of May, and therefore did not send letters. When we found him here without you, we instantly began to write; by accidents which we could not help (*e.g.* the box was a fortnight on the road to Dartington), it was August before it was off. However, you had news of Oxford up to the minute of its going.

In the vacation I worked hard at Dionysius Alex., and then at subjects connected with the Anglican Convocation, the fruits of which are beginning to appear in the ['British'] Magazine, though they are not satisfactory. Since that I have got into controversy with a Parisian Abbé, whom Harrison, arabicising with De Saci, fell in with. The war is to be on the whole Romish question, and I have been reading Laud, Stillingfleet, &c.

Keble's father has taken to his bed, and is so ill that Keble does not leave him. This keen weather makes his illness very serious. I suppose we shall have a good ele[c]
Perhaps Vaughan of Ch. Ch. will stand; a clever [m]
friend of Denison's, a connexion of the Provost's.

Novembe

Vaughan is going to the law, yet last Long Vacation, of Oxford, took up his abode here, and attended daily at St. Mary's. Rogers says that he is *his own forming*.
was elected Vinerian Scholar unanimously last Wednes

I am so angry with you, I cannot say. Have we n
you a full box? That up to September 29 you h
received it, is as hard for us to bear as for you. W
you not have a little faith? I was week after week s
'Now the time's nearly come for the box to arrive,' &c.
I long to see you again if so be! I suppose all this
your good. You want a taming in various ways. It
wean you from your over-interest in politics. You a
tainly *ἀληθῶς πολιτικός*, and I miss you continua
advice; but of course one is fond of what one does w
you see you are being taught to unlearn the worl
ecclesiastical as well as the worldly world. A strange t

came across me about you some six weeks ago, when I saw a letter from Tucker of C. C. C., giving an account of his prospects in India. He is not at all an imaginative or enthusiastic man; but really a religious spirit has sprung up among military men at our stations; and having no angel to direct them to Joppa, they have turned Evangelicals. The various sects there have a leaning towards the Church, and the men of colour are forming centres of operation. My thought was, if your health would not let you come home, you ought to be a bishop in India. It quite amused me for a while, and made me think how *many* posts there are in *His* Kingdom, how *many* offices, Who says to one, Do this, and he doeth it, &c. It is quite impossible that, some way or other, you are not destined to be the instrument of God's purposes. Though I saw the earth cleave, and you fall in, or Heaven open and a chariot appear, I should say just the same. God has ten thousand posts of service. You might be of use in the central elemental fire; you might be of use in the depths of the sea.[1]

The tracts now form a thick volume. We have put a itle-page and preface to them, and called them 'Tracts for 1833–4.' I think you will like them as a whole. You go too fast yourself. Williams has been so unwell, we were going to send him out to you, but he has lately mended. I have just

[1] In vol. ii. of the *Parochial Sermons* there is a passage which throws light on this ardent, confident strain, prompted as it evidently is by the failure of hope in his friend's recovery for service in this present scene:

'Moreover, this departure of Christ, and coming of the Holy Ghost, leads our minds with great comfort to the thought of many lower dispensations of Providence towards us. . . . This is a thought which is particularly soothing as regards the loss of friends, or of especially gifted men who seem in their day the earthly support of the Church. . . . Doubtless "it is expedient" they should be taken away; otherwise some great mercy will not come to us. They are taken away perchance to other duties in God's service, equally ministrative to the salvation of the elect as earthly service. Christ went to intercede with the Father; we do not know, we may not boldly speculate; yet it may be that saints departed intercede, unknown to us, for the victory of the Truth upon earth . . . they are taken away for some purpose surely; their gifts are not lost to us; their soaring minds, the fire of their contemplations, the sanctity of their desires, the vigour of their faith, the sweetness and gentleness of their

engaged with Rivington to publish another volume of sermons. The first volume was nearly sold off in the course of nine months—1,000 copies.

I have not dared all along to indulge the hope that I should be favoured with having you here again; but now really the prospect seems clearing. I do not like to say so lest I break a spell. Rogers's eyes are little or not at all better. Gladstone is turning out a fine fellow. Harrison has made him confess that the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession is irresistible.

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

November 17, 1834.

We have now, I suppose, peace for a time, which is a great blessing. I conclude, namely, although I have heard nothing from authority, that the idea of substituting a Declaration is at an end. The Queries [they were *Pusey's*], especially one of yours, seem to have done the work. Keble, I suppose will not want any copies now.

[N.B.—To avoid confusion 'Declaration' in these letter means sometimes (1) the Lay Declaration of January 1834 following up the Address to the Archbishop; (2) *as here*, the Declaration proposed as a substitution for Subscription of the Articles, in the case of Undergraduates at Matriculation (3) the Declaration of Parents or Guardians against the admission of Dissenters in the spring of 1834; (4) the Declaration of Adherence and Concurrence in spring of 1834.]

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

November 23, 1834.

Do you know I am hungry to hear about you, and whether your health stands in the midst of your occupations. My father tells me your sermons are talked of in all directions. I have not seen the two last Nos. of the 'British Magazine' which is a sort of letter from you, *quoad* 'Lyra,' and 'Letters on the Church of the Fathers.'

I really believe that an external inflammation which I have been keeping up for some time on my chest touches the internal disorder. . . . I have entirely left off meat; my dinner is toast and a basin of very weak chicken broth. Breakfast is my chief meal, and consists of a vast joram of milk and arrowroot. It is an odd thing, milk never used to agree with me, but I find that by putting a good lot of cinnamon into it I can digest any quantity. I find I must not take exercise so as to put me out of breath, as that increases my cough; yet the more I take the stronger I get; so that I am in a dilemma, which I shall cut by borrowing one of the Bishop's horses instead of walking.

I am perforce as idle as possible; my chief occupation being to keep thoughts out of my head. In this respect I find my friend Sanctus Thomas of infinite use. Dawdling over translations, and picking facts out of allusions, just keep one going for the time, without supplying any materials to brood over.

If you see Keble, congratulate him on the Yank edition of the 'Christian Year,' which has gone on Oakeley's plan of putting the fine passages in italics. It is amusing to see the selection which he [the Yankee editor] has made.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Dr. Hampden, Principal of St. Mary Hall.

[This letter was the beginning of hostilities in the University.]

November 28, 1834.

The kindness which has led to your presenting me with your pamphlet encourages me to hope that you will forgive me, if I take the opportunity it affords to express to you my very sincere and deep regret that it has been published.

Such an opportunity I could not let slip without being unfaithful to my own serious thoughts on the subject.

While I respect the tone of piety in which the pamphlet is written, I feel an aversion to the principles it professes, as

And also I lament that, by its appearance, the first step has been taken towards an interruption of that peace and mutual good understanding which has prevailed so long in this place; and which, if ever seriously disturbed, will be succeeded by dissensions the more intractable, because justified in the minds of those who resist innovations, by a feeling of imperative duty.

[The pamphlet was Hampden's application of his Bampton Lectures to the question of Subscription in Oxford.]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

December 1, 1834.

The Duke did not advise us to alter the Matriculation Statute, I really believe. He said a Commission was coming down, advised us to set our houses in order, and among other things *asked* whether a stiff Declaration would not do instead of Subscription, since our 'Parliamentary friends' were puzzled at our present state. Under colour of this the Hampden party pushed forward for a change. We have defeated them for the present by a strong protest; but I doubt not they will be meddling and fidgeting again.

REV. C. P. GOLIGHTLY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Godalming: December 3, 1834.

I am rejoiced to hear that Pusey is restored again to health and usefulness. I cannot tell you what an influence Pusey's writings and character have had upon me. So many interesting pursuits open upon me that it requires constant self-denial to keep myself in anything like a regular line of reading.

The subject of the following letter is of so private and personal a nature, that the only reason for inserting it here is that one passage in it throws a light on Mr. Newman's habits of devotion, shown in the habitual remembrance in his private

prayers of his friends, and those in any way concerned with his daily round of duty and intercourse:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

December 17, 1834.

Somehow I was taken by surprise by your letter this morning. Thank you for your account, which is very consoling; and that not merely for the time. Such seasons remain, and expand upon the memory, and are afterwards quite fragrant, a foretaste of what shall be. It has been my privilege to think in prayer of your now happy sister, morning and evening, up to this day. What a blessed thing it is to *have* died, if prepared! Who knows what is in store for him in that last cup!

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

About Christmas, 1834.

I would not have had these two sermons left out for more shillings than I can well spare [Nos. 372, 373. They are Easter Monday and Tuesday, in vol. ii. 'Parochial Sermons.'] The view is most true and seasonable, I think; perhaps it will want a little more *developing*, which you can give it in subsequent sermons at your leisure. Of course you must not mind being attacked. I trust you will not over-exert yourself in any way.

[N.B. The following are some of Keble's remarks or emendations on particular passages:

No. 372.—'Barren orthodoxy; technical subtlety, and the like.' See a letter of Hannah More's to H. Walpole, in which she speaks with *bitter* contempt; thus, 'Constantinopolitan' metaphysics, or some such expression.

No. 373.—'How does the authority of the Psalms ste with their opinions, except at best by a forced figurativ terpretation?' There was a lady here who once fairly s me, 'Don't you think it would be better to have so

more *spiritual* than the Psalms?' Concerning the Sermon on the Mount, see Bickersteth's 'Scripture Help,' one of the most popular of these tracts. 'Moreover as to religious journals:' about religious journals, is not Bishop Wilson's the best mean, who, instead of exactly recording his thoughts, wrote down prayers or texts, having more or less reference to them; thus keeping a sort of journal in cypher? and by the very act of devising the cypher a little withdrawing the mind from itself. Something in the nature of a journal is a kind of medicine to many persons.]

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December, 1834.

A comfortable Christmas to you, dear Newman, and much success in all your good undertakings; in which I wish I could be more a *pars major* than I am; but then you see, I am I, and you are you.

Well, but as to Perceval's paper. I am rather in the mind that he should send it to the 'British Magazine' . . . as to the Sermon, it is clear, true, and edifying; but query, is it enough out of the common to warrant publication? I presume the passage for the sake of which he thinks of printing it is the statement about Melchizedek. . . I cannot find it either expressed or necessarily implied in Scripture, that Melchizedek had long before performed the *self-same* service, &c., and from the little I have as yet read, I am not able to satisfy myself that such was the tradition of the Church.

My difference with the Archdeacon [Froude] was not very serious. I thought, and still think, that private representations to the Bishops are better than public ones.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December 26, 1834.

seem disappointed at not hearing from me. If I were , I ought to be glad; for I am sure I have been dis-

appointed enough at having packet after packet arrive for a whole year without tidings of you or Keble. The last packet was the one corresponding to that I came out in.

My father's letter was a dismal one altogether. He tells me, Isaac is far from well, and Sir G. and Lady Prevost obliged to leave England. Also that my poor sister P. has just sailed for Madeira to escape the winter for fear of an affection just like mine. . . Also that Mr. Keble [J. K.'s father] is supposed to be on his death-bed. About you personally I hear nothing.

As for myself, it really seems as if I were going to have respite. Every one says, and I cannot help observing, that my looks are greatly altered for the better . . . but the pertinacity of my trifling ailment has sometimes seemed to me like a warning that fate has put its hand on me for the next world.

I find the less I do the better I am, and so on principle resist doing a good deal that I am tempted to. One of the Bishop's horses has contributed much to my recovery, as well as amusement. To my great satisfaction I have found that just beyond the range of my longer walks there is a range of real fine scenery that I had not a dream of.

Οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα.

I start sometimes between three and four, and come back between six and seven, in which interval the thermometer averages between 78 and 76, and there is generally a roaring wind from the sea.

Rev. B. Harrison to Rev. J. H. Newman.

January 3, 1835.

Here is the Abbé[1] again at his former tricks. I have written to him at once telling him that it would never do to take your letter piecemeal; and begging him to insert your letters as a whole, in numbers as closely consecutive as possible, and

[1] *Le Protestantisme aux prises avec la doctrine Catholique: correspondance avec deux ministres anglais.* Par l'Abbé Jager. Paris, 1836. Vide *Apologia*, p. 64, ed. 1882.

then give us his reply as a whole. I have argued fairly out with him the endless confusion into which the controversy will be brought, if we are to have half a dozen answers awaiting a reply, while there is one long letter lying by him which is to be taken bit by bit, to the utter ruin of its meaning as a complete argument. I hope this may produce some effect; if not, I shall be sorry for my friend and ashamed of the 'Univers's' tactics. . . .

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 1835.

. . . I am sorry to hear such poor accounts of you and Isaac. Keble says you are overworked. So does Christie; yet I would not have you leave any of it except the Deanship.

On one or two points I am inclined to grumble at you. You seem to be finessing too deep. Why publish poor Bishop Cosin's 'Tract on Transubstantiation'? [N.B.—Froude would not believe that I was in earnest, as I *was*, in shrinking from the views which he boldly followed out. I *was* against Transubstantiation.—J. H. N.] Surely no member of the Church of England is in any danger of overrating the miracle of the Eucharist. . . .

I have also to grumble at you for letting Pusey call the Reformers 'the founders of our Church,' in that excellent and much to be studied paper on Fasting. . . .

So much for fault-finding; with this fault, I think the tracts otherwise as good as could be; and some of them (inconsistently enough) are quite as strong the other way; for example: 'Rites and Customs of the Church,' the hit at the end of which could only have emanated from one pen. The same with an unsigned letter in the 'British Magazine' on the term Catholic. 'Centralisation,' too, is capital: the simile of the 'hero of romance' is equivalent to a signature.

I am amused to see among your sermons the Naples one and the Dartington one. I can see the train of thought that suggested the latter—*ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν μόρσιμον ἦν* to bear wit-

ness to the same truth. [N.B.—It is the sermon [1] on the Pool of Bethesda. When I was down at Dartington for the first time in July 1831, I saw a number of young girls collected together, blooming, and in high spirits, 'and all went merry as a marriage-bell.' And I sadly thought what changes were in store; what hard trial and discipline was inevitable. I cannot trace their history, but Phyllis and Mary Froude married, and died quickly. Hurrell died. One, if not two, of the young Champernownes died. My sermon was dictated by the sight and the foreboding. At that very visit Hurrell caught and had his influenza upon him, which led him by slow steps to the grave. He caught it sleeping, as I did, on deck, going down the Channel from Southampton to Torbay. Influenza was about, the forerunner of the cholera. It went through the parsonage at Dartington. Every morning the sharp merry party, who somewhat quizzed me, had hopes it would seize upon me. But I escaped, and sang my warning from the pulpit. Observe how the letter goes on.—J. H. N.] Since then I have never been well, and then came my poor sister's business, who, by-the-bye, is now at Madeira.

[N.B.—Twice in my life have I, when worn with work, gone to a friend's house to recruit. The first time was the above, in 1831; the second in 1852-3, to Abbotsford. I there, *à propos* of nothing, and with such little consideration that I am aghast how I *could* have done it, urged on Hope Scott that the families of literary men did not last. It is to me incomprehensible how I *could* have been so *gauche*, or what I was thinking of. Since then the owner, young Scott Lockhart, is dead, Mrs. Hope Scott, her infant son and a daughter. And the Duke of Norfolk (who, with his family, was in the house) is at this minute hanging between life and death; [2] so I am a bird of ill omen.]

In your 'Arians' I think you do not account satisfactorily for [N.B. *i.e.* the existence of—J. H. N.] the Eusebian party. To my mind you are especially strong in the chapter on the Variation of Ante-Nicene Statements.

[1] 'Scripture a Record of Human Sorrow,' *Parochial Sermons*, vol. i.

[2] That is at the time this retrospect was written.

Whewell's book [N.B. Which ?] is very well done, certainly ; but every new step in science will, in all probability, weaken his argument, which would have been still stronger than it now is before the discovery of Newton's Law.

REV. ISAAC WILLIAMS TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 16, 1835.

Copeland has written to me about the curacy of St. Mary Magdalen being offered to him, which it seems to me very desirable that he should take. The only circumstance which seems to render it questionable is your having offered him St. Mary's, but I should think his place would be much more easily supplied at the latter, and I consider it quite a favour on your part your offering it to him. [This, I suppose, bears on the offer of the curacy to H. Wilberforce in 1834. Williams was retiring from it, from ill health, and going to Rome with Froude. Copeland had the first offer. It accounts for my hesitation to H. W. and my ultimate drawing back when, I suppose, Williams got better.—J. H. N.]

The sermon criticised in the following letter is that entitled 'Christian Zeal' ('Parochial Sermons,' vol. ii. St. Simon's and St. Jude's day). The sentence Mr. Keble questions is the following (p. 388) :[1]

The Jewish Law, being a visible system sanctioned by temporal rewards and punishments, necessarily involved the duty of a political temper on the part of those who were under it. They were bound to aim at securing the triumph of religion here, realising its promises, enjoying its successes, enforcing its precepts with the sword. This, I say, was their duty, and as fulfilling it, among other reasons, David is called 'a man after God's own heart.' But the Gospel teaches us to walk by faith, not by sight, and faith teaches us so to be zealous as still to forbear anticipating the next world, but to wait til the Judge shall come.

[1] The references given are to *Parochial and Plain Sermons*

The words 'among other reasons' were probably inserted in deference to Keble's criticism. The poem in the 'Lyra' is probably that entitled 'David and Jonathan' (p. 20):

> He doom'd to die, thou on us to impress
> The portent of a blood-stained holiness.

Rev. J. Keble to Rev. J. H. Newman.

January 1835.

I hope I put you to no inconvenience by keeping this sermon half a week. I have now read it twice over, and say, print it by all means. [No. 370, vol. ii. Sermon 31.—J. H. N.] It is very likely, I should think, to do good. The only marks I have made on it are these: (1) Are you not a little hard on David? I thought so in the 'Lyra,' whoever wrote that about him; and is the expression 'after God's own heart' rightly limited to one point? See something in Isaac Walton's 'Complete Angler,' who rather refers it to his thankfulness. (2) Would not Nehemiah be a good additional instance? . . . . Where you say 'direct [positive] unbelief is not so bad as lukewarmness' [see p. 383], had it not better be '*positive wrong* belief,' or something equivalent? Lukewarmness, I suppose, in one sense is a sign of unbelief.[1]

I am glad you think the notion of the Saints' Day lectures will do. I very much wish we had begun with the Prayer Book year—that is, with St. Andrew—and I strongly urge having them prospective; for the 'Ember Weeks' coming out *before* the time gave great satisfaction to several. I shall endeavour to get something ready forthwith, either for Candlemas or St. Matthias, and send it up by the 20th to you, if I can.

P.S. From something in one of your notes I fear you are in London yourself for advice; pray send me one line at your leisure.

[1] The sermon as printed has 'positive misbelief is a less odious state of mind than the temper of those who are indifferent to religion, who say that one opinion is as good as the other, and contemn or ridicule those who are in earnest.'

REV. DR. PUSEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

1835.

Do you think we should confine ourselves to this single subject of Suffragan Bishops? or that we should address the Bishop, not the Archbishop; or could you ascertain sufficiently for your purpose that entering upon the other subjects would not embarrass him, or would you like any one else to write this part and only not write it yourself, as I had rather not write about tithes, because I do not feel an immediate interest about them?

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.[1]

London: January 18, 1835.

I have seen a good deal of Rose the last ten days. The Church might gain from the ministers at this moment anything she chose; yet I dread the Archbishop. Rose and I settled that Suffragan Bishops were highly desirable, and *he* said he thought they might be obtained by mere asking. Also we excogitated the use of a judicial power in the Church. As to the *Præmunire* question, on which Perceval is vehement and Keble excited, I persist in saying what I said a year and a half since—it is not the time. Such articles as yours and Perceval's are useful as keeping up a protest and as gradually enlightening people, but they do not tend immediately to practice.

Our mare's nest [*i.e.* project] was as follows: The abandonment of State prosecutions for blasphemy, &c. . . . and the disordered state of the Christian Knowledge Society, where books are taken cognisance of and condemned, render it *desirable* that there should be some really working Court of heresy and false doctrine. Again, such a Court would stop the mouths of those who wish for the revival of Convocation (at least very much), for this would be one part of its [Convocation's] office. Further, it was for this very work (the condemning books) that Convocation was stopped; so that it will virtually be a return to what then was. The chief advantage of

[1] Written during his visit to Mr. Bowden in town.

this would be its practical curb upon the exercise of the King's power; for, if a Maltby were appointed, nay before his appointment, his works would be censured by this Court, and the Archbishop strengthened to refuse to consecrate. The whole Church would be kept in order. Further, it would give rise to a school of theology, the science of divinity, councils, &c.; the theological *law* of the Church must be revived and ecclesiastical law, moreover. The effect of this upon the divinity of the clergy would be great indeed. At present you hear Nestorianism preached in every other pulpit, and the more I think of these questions the more I feel that they are questions of *things*, not *words*. Lastly, how to introduce this change? Rose thinks that a clause might be slipped into the Ecclesiastical Commission Bill, merely dispensing with the fees necessary for prosecuting in Bishops' Courts. But, again, how to hinder vexatious prosecutions? The best expedient which struck us was that, though any one might prosecute, he must lay the case before, or be open to the veto of, certain functionaries such as the Divinity Professors in the Universities. There is a fine scheme for you, which is but an air castle after all.

I could say much, were it of use, of my own solitariness now you are away. Not that I would undervalue that great blessing, which is what I do not deserve, of so many friends about me; dear Rogers, Williams, *ὁ πάνυ* Keble, and the friend in whose house I am staying (whom I wish with all my heart you knew, as *apostolicorum princeps*, Bowden), yet, after all, as is obvious, no one can enter into one's mind except a person who has lived with one. I seem to write things to no purpose as wanting your imprimatur. Perhaps it is well to cultivate the habit of writing as if for unseen companions, but I have felt it much, so that I am getting quite dry and hard.

My dear Froude, come back to us as soon as you safely can, and then next winter (please God) you shall go to Rome, and tempt Isaac (who is very willing) to go with you. But, wherever you are (so be it), you cannot be divided from us.

The subject of the *Præmunire* had occupied Hurrell Froude's mind and his father's. A letter from Mr. Keble to Mr. Newman, written January 1835, begins with an allusion to this subject, on some point of which it seemed he differed from Archdeacon Froude:

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January, [Before the 20th.—J. H. N.] 1835.

I heard from Archdeacon Froude this morning. I do think him remarkably sweet-tempered to write to me so in his own defence.

Now as to the Spiritualities that I think it possible for us to gain. In the first place, I am more and more of opinion that this dissolution will be a failure, and that the Parliament returned will presently put in the Whigs again.[1] But suppose it otherwise.

1. I see very little difficulty in getting rid of Dissenters' marriages, only let such persons as we decline to marry, or such as decline to be married by us, get their names stuck on some Meeting House door, and duly register their intentions before a magistrate. . . . However, as we very well know, very few of our brethren would act on the new law, and refuse to marry in such cases. Still it would be a great relief for the few who think with us, not to be acting against any civil law by our refusal. And there is such an equity in it *prima facie* that I should hardly think it could be refused. How to secure people against clandestine marriages is another thing.

2. Burials are a more difficult point, for the heretics will not be satisfied without the consecrated ground; but, on the whole, I am inclined to think the profanation less that way than as it is at present, for now we profane the ground and the service too. I should think certain hours might be fixed on, and certain portions of the churchyard, which would

[1] Which was the case.

perhaps lessen the offence, I mean the profanation, though I am aware it would not satisfy them.

3. I should like very much a short Bill empowering Bishops as such to receive and invest in their names, as Bishops of the diocese, such sums as the faithful might from time to time contribute for Church purposes, *i.e.* to send curates here and there as might be wanted—in short, the old plan of Church offerings; so that when a new church is built no special endowment should be needed. It would be a step towards the old plan, which *must* be reverted to, if we don't mean it all to be redistributed at pleasure. I think this would be a step towards making Church property a spirituality—that is, an offering—and therefore I make bold to mention it here. Perhaps no law is needed in the matter, but I really wish something of the sort were done.

I very much like Archdeacon Froude's view about nominations without *Præmunire*, increasing the real influence of the King; and should like him to point it out in a pamphlet. For I confess to you that I look on the *Præmunire* as a national sin which we ought to get rid of, if possible, though practically no further good might come of it. I can hardly enter into your view of keeping it up as a grievance which it is convenient to have to complain of. [N.B.—I suppose I protested about the last sentence above.—J. H. N.]

It would seem that Mr. Newman wrote to Mr. Keble to ask what his words had been that excited this criticism, and Mr. Keble sent him a copy of the passage he asked for. In his subsequent transcription of letters he adds the following explanation of his meaning:—'I should think it *certain* that the King could secure, out of three to be presented to him, one mere Erastian or Latitudinarian; thus the Church would be in a still worse plight. It would have nothing to complain of.'

[N.B.—I said nothing about keeping the *Præmunire* in *order* to have a grievance, but that Perceval's new scheme would be one which, being our own, we could not complain of,

though it worked as ill as the *Præmunire*, whereas of the *Præmunire* we had a right to complain, for it was a tyrannical measure imposed on the Church against our will.]

Rev. J. Keble to Rev. J. H. Newman.

January 21, 1835 (*Fairford*).

I send this, the fag end of what I sent to the printer yesterday: (1) that you may not think me quite perfidious; (2) that you may revise the other part, if you think it worth while; (3) that you may judge what title had better be given to the set, perhaps 'A Village Sermon for such a day.' It would not pledge us to find one every month; and I own I am so much of a Conservative as rather to dislike giving 'definite pledges'; and I want to know how you are, but I do not wish to bother you. Perhaps Bowden would be so kind as to send me a line.

We go on here much as we did; my father, in some respects, going downhill.

I have been looking over a good deal of friend Jenkyns' 'Cranmer,' and am more and more satisfied that Hooker wrote many things in order to counteract in a quiet way the ultra-Protestantism of the said Cranmer and his school.

I see that cathedrals are to be robbed, and we poor curates enriched at the expense of you beneficed men. This, I suppose, it will be right to submit to, on the principle of loyalty to the King; at least there is a paper of Hammond's which seems to imply as much. But I really do think one might make a push for a Suffragan or two with a chance of succeeding. But on this I hope to attack Rose quite independently of your worship. Therefore I give you no message to him.

I long to get up a turmoil here against what they are doing at the S. P. C. K. I can see that it is wrong, though I don't very well know what it is. But if, as I understand, they have adopted all Tyler's 'Literature and Education,' one really *ought* to make a stir.

I think this ministry will stand for the present, but that before long we shall have the old splitting about some sort of

emancipation again. [N.B. This was on the whole fulfilled in the case of Sir Robert Peel and the Corn Laws.] Meanwhile, I suppose we must be up early and late, spreading abroad our principles. I want to hear of Froude again.

The 'Chronological Notes' contain the following entries:

January 7, 1835.—Went to town to Bowden's for advice.

January 9.—Called on Rose at Lambeth. Introduced to Master of Trinity [Wordsworth].

January 12.—Dined at Rivington's, meeting Rose and Boone.

January 18.—Went to Margaret Chapel; introducing Wood to Bowden.

January 27.—Returned to Oxford, having gone entirely for my health.

In looking back on this visit, Mr. Bowden again comments on his friend's power of cheerfully falling in with the thoughts and ways of congenial family life:

February 4, 1835.

I cannot tell you how much Elizabeth and I miss you. It is curious how in three weeks we established in our minds the impression that your presence with us was the *rule*, and your absence the *exception*, so that it seems now a strange thing to us to be without you.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

February 5, 1835.

I am sad about the Commission (of Archbishops, &c.) which seems to me a new precedent in the history of the Church. I only hope they will be quick. There is a talk in different parts of this kingdom of petitions from the clergy to strengthen the Premier against the Archbishop! so that speed is everything. I cannot help thinking that a pamphlet from you on the Catholic and heretical spirit would be very seasonable.

You might say something on the practical (so to say) tendencies of the day, and of the English character; the looking

for some tangible use of usages, &c., and considering everything as a theory which is not seen; our impatience of general views; on the difference between abstract grounds and grounds of principle; in what sense conscience is abstract.

Mr. R. F. Wilson writing to Mr. Newman on the question of Subscription at matriculation, with suggestions for some alterations, then turns to a rumour current at the time:

February 5, 1835.

. . . You speak of Pusey's and Sewell's exertions in the cause. Would it not be a good thing when anything very satisfactory of this sort appears, which could be sent in form of a letter by the post, to give it circulation among out-members of the University, and so keep them alive to what is going on?

May I inquire the truth of a statement I heard respecting you the other day, made to account for Arnold's ill-concealed bitterness in his sad, and to me inexplicable, appendix xi. of his last volume, that on his last dining at Oriel you rose and left the hall immediately that he entered?

[N.B.—I need hardly say that it was a simple lie.—J. H. N.]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. S. RICKARDS.

Oriel College: February 9, 1835.

We feel much indebted to you for your handsome contribution towards our expenses, which we are happy to believe have not been incurred in vain. I trust the stimulus we have been able to give to Churchmen has been like the application of volatile salts to a person fainting, pungent but restorative. High and true principle there is all through the Church, I fully believe, and this supported and consecrated by our great writers of the seventeenth century; but from long quiet we were going to sleep. Not a month passes without our hearing of something gratifying in one part of the kingdom or another. I am quite surprised when I think how things have worked together, and this in minute ways which none knows but

myself. If it be not presumptuous, I should say the hand of God was in it.

I suppose Knox is tempted to say what he says about schism from a wish *to see* what is good in everything. This he seems to be seeking in other cases: and it does not argue that he would, if interrogated, have defended what happens to have been overruled for good. Yet he is not to be excused altogether, certainly to judge from the little I have read of his letters.

He is a remarkable instance of a man searching for and striking out the truth by himself. Could we see the scheme of things as angels see it, I fancy we should find he has his place in the growth and restoration (so be it) of Church principles. Coleridge seems to me another of the same class. With all his defects of doctrine, which are not unlike Knox's, he seems capable of rendering us important service. At present he is the oracle of young Cambridge men, and will prepare them (please God) for something higher. Both these men are laymen, and that is remarkable. The very stones cry out. Wesleyans and Socinians are made children to Abraham. In the last century Dr. Johnson is another striking instance and in another line, taking the gloomy side of religion, as they have taken the mystical. Nothing is so consoling as to see the indestructibility of good principles; again and again they spring up, and in the least expected quarters. Ken and his party were scarcely disappearing when Butler was raised up to carry on the spiritual succession even from among the Dissenters.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

February 20, 1835.

Let me begin by expressing the good wishes appropriate to the anniversary on which you will receive this; anticipating for you as much earthly happiness as can be the lot of a fearless champion of the truth in these evil times, and an ample portion of that true happiness which no evils of the

counted by anniversaries. . . What a wonderful drama is going on if we could but trace it as a whole, and know the multiplied bearings of each varied scene upon our nation and our Church! However we can see our own parts, and that must for the present suffice us.

The little ones have not forgotten you. John repeats to me the stories which you told . . .

Rev. R. H. Froude to Rev. J. H. Newman.

March 4, 1835.

Favus distillans labia tua,[1] as some one said to John of Salisbury. What can have put it into your head that your style is dry? The letter you sent me in the box was among the most amusing I ever received.

I have now made up my mind to come back the packet after the next so as to be in England the middle of May, and am not wholly without hope that the voyage may do something for me. The notion of going to Rome with Isaac is very gratifying. I must learn French for it though, for I have no notion of trusting 'providence,' as I did last time.

March 28.—The sun has already got almost to his full strength, though the earth is of course beginning to collect its stock of caloric—and the experience of last year assures me that the less I have of it the better.

A preceding letter of Mr. Keble's touches on the question of Suffragan Bishops, which shows it a question already in the minds of the movers of the Movement.

The pamphlet bearing the date March 12, 1835, on 'The Restoration of Suffragan Bishops,'[2] has been reprinted in the author's works in the volume entitled 'Via Media.' Some passages from it will be given in the appendix.

[1] *Song of Solomon*, iv. 11, Vulg.

[2] The Rev. J. B. Mozley writes on March 11, 1835:—'Newman's pamphlet on Suffragans will be out immediately. It is astonishing the speed with which he composes; and that when he has a dozen other things hanging on his mind at the same time. It is certainly a good illustration of Rose's maxim, that those who have most to do are the fittest persons to take in hand new work.'

ARCHDEACON GODDARD TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 18, 1835.

I received yesterday from Rivington's, and read with great pleasure this morning, your judicious and sensible pamphlet in regard to Suffragan Bishops. It was always a favourite measure of mine; but in the various instances in which during the last twenty years I have mentioned the subject to one or other of our existing bishops, I have found them universally averse to it, and, as in some instances I could trace, from motives of much too personal and interested a nature to be justified.

JOSHUA WATSON, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 21, 1835.

I have received a copy of your pamphlet ('Suffragan Bishops') with particular satisfaction. Not only for its powerful (though unavailing) advocacy of a principle for which according to my measure I had long been contending, but for the desire it allows me to express, of personal acquaintance with the author, whom hitherto I had the pleasure of knowing only through his works and his friendships.

REV. W. HALE HALE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 23, 1835.

. . . I have for several years very openly expressed my opinion that the restoration of the office of a Suffragan Bishop would be a remedy for by far the greatest part of the defects of our Church Establishment, and every day shows me more conclusively that, whether the dioceses be rearranged or not, the physical strength of twenty-six men is perfectly unequal to perform the necessary ministrations of the episcopal office among 13,000,000 of people. I hope your pamphlet will not be too late to do good, and that possibly it may be the means of appropriating to the use of the Episcopal order of Suffragans those prebendal stalls which, if so applied, will give strength and energy to the whole body of the clergy,

but which if applied to augment, as the term is, the incomes of the parochial clergy, will prove to be but a drop of water in the ocean, or as a penny given to pay the debt of a pound.

SIR ROBERT H. INGLIS TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

April 6, 1835.

I thank you very sincerely for your work on Suffragan Bishops; I have read it with great interest. You do not notice, but you must know, the objection entertained in high quarters to the institution of the order. It is this: the Suffragans never sat in Parliament. They could not be seated there *now*, because the House of Commons at this day would not permit a Bill to pass which might empower the King to create the additional number of Parliamentary sees. On the other hand, the presence of bishops, doing the other work of bishops without seats in the Upper House, would quickly raise the question 'Why should any of the order sit there at all?' One of our prelates said to me, 'In five years that point would be urged with tremendous force.' *Valeat quantum.* Personally I should not anticipate this result.

REV. S. R. MAITLAND TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

April 8, 1835.

I do think the Christian Church has been, and is, and always will be, and must be, adapted to meet every state of society and every variety of circumstances except only one. I pray God I may be mistaken in thinking that it *is* the case now—the time when nobody, or next to nobody, cares for it; or else those who might be looked to with the most confidence either fairly give it up or defend it on such odd principles, or no principles, that they are actually its enemies. . . It does seem to me that the plan which you propose [Suffragan Bishops] would, and, humanly speaking, only would, meet the present circumstances; but I have no hope that any measure so rational and Christian will be favourably entertained by any numerous body of men.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel: April 8, 1835.

I am glad to find that Spry takes my pamphlet even more kindly than Hale or Dr. Goddard. The 'British Critic,' if I may judge from peering through the uncut pages, throws cold water on it, but seems not to have read it; for it speaks of Suffragans *not* being a *restoration* at all in *our* Church.

Gladstone's speech raised in my mind your difficulty at once. It led me to three explanations. 1. That the reporters had not *understood* what was above their *captus*. 2. That he was obliged to speak in the language, or according to the calculus, of the Commons. 3. That we floored so miserably at the Reformation that, though the Church ground *is* defensible and true, yet the edge of truth is so fine that no plain man can see it.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: April 10, 1835.

I have the satisfaction of a number of notes in favour of my pamphlet [N.B. on Suffragan Bishops] and from persons I scarcely expected to like it; among others, Hale, Spry, Archdeacon Goddard, Joshua Watson, &c.

As to the Low Church party, we must aim at the 'rising generation.' One cannot expect to get over those whose minds are formed by long habit. But young men feel a disposition (bad enough) to rise against the system they have been brought up in, and I trust, the true one being suggested, will keep them from taking up with Liberalism &c. &c. instead of Peculiarism. I have the greatest encouragement this way, as far as my Oxford acquaintance goes.

I shall be glad to be introduced to your companion [N.B. Samuel Johnson, afterwards 'Radcliffe Observer']; he must be a rare person in his line.

REV. W. F. HOOK TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

April 11, 1835.

Our friend A. Perceval, I find, prefers the division of the dioceses to the restoration of Suffragans. I confess I agree with you rather than with him on this point, because I think it most important that there should be frequent intercourse between the people and the highest order of pastors, and this, under existing circumstances, can only be done by the re-institution of Suffragans. Of course we should all prefer the establishment of twenty or thirty new dioceses, but of that there is no hope.

The following letter relates to Blanco White's change to Unitarianism. He left the Archbishop's house and Dublin Jan. 9, 1835, for Liverpool:

REV. H. W. WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 25, 1835.

. . . But this morning's letter has made my blood run cold. I have hardly been able to think of anything else than poor dear Blanco. Is the extent of his defection certain? How and what have you heard of it? Pray tell me. How exactly it bears out the opinion you often expressed to me about his state of mind. . . Do you remember pointing out a black dog shaking all over nearly opposite St. John's Gate, and comparing him to it? and then going on to this subject. I never have seen a poor beast in the same state without remembering that conversation.

[N.B.—This must have been in 1830, I think, in the Long Vacation, near Ogle's house. The dog had the distemper. I meant that Blanco White's mind seemed to me so helplessly disorganised.—J. H. N.]

REV. W. SEWELL (EXETER COLLEGE) TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 31, 1835.

A little form was shown me this morning as a proposed horitative interpretation of the act of subscription, which

pleased me better than anything I have seen. It ran something in this manner:

'I, A. B., declare by the act of subscription that I *profess* nothing contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles.'

I think the word 'profess' very happy, and if the practice of subscription is retained, might not such a form obviate all objection?

Later on in the year the 'Chronological Notes' enter:

Breakfasted with Sewell and Harrison to talk over Bishop of Exeter's notion of an explanation of the subscription.

REV. EDWARD STANLEY (AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF NORWICH) TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 16, 1835.

I regret extremely that the error of a word quoted from your sermons should have escaped notice in correcting the press of the pamphlet I lately published on the Religion and Education of Ireland. In the third edition, to which I have annexed a preface, a copy of which I request you will do me the favour to accept, you will perceive that the mistake has been corrected.

[I don't recollect how the mistake had been brought home to him, but he did not correct it accurately and perfectly in his 'third edition.' Accordingly in thanking him for the pamphlet and the 'kind consideration which led to his note,' I was obliged to express a hope that he would not think me over-accurate if I observed that the mistake was not entirely corrected; though no one now could at all doubt about the meaning of the passage. I noticed this, 'that in a fourth edition it might be altogether set right.'—J. H. N.]

REV. ANTHONY BULLER TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

April 6, 1835.

If you knew the comfort it is to me to hear of your proceedings and your 'work and labour of love' (if I may use the

Scripture phrase), while everything, humanly speaking, seems darkening round the Church, you would feel yourself repaid for your kindness, I am sure, in the happiness you have occasioned. I hope that you will consider this as the genuine expression of my feelings, for I assure you I do feel most deeply thankful to you, as for other reasons so more especially for having been the means of guiding me (with many others, I hope) into the cheering doctrine of the Catholic faith. When I was going up for my degree I committed to memory the proof you gave us, in your lecture on the Thirty-nine Articles, of the doctrine of the Trinity, and though I little thought then of more than the immediate object I had in view, it has stood me in need since that time in many an hour when I have been almost tempted to abandon everything in despair, and to come in to the opinion incessantly dinned into one's ear, that when 'good men' have differed about these things we had better not trouble ourselves about them; which is as much as to say that the Bible is given to us as a sealed book.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev J. H. Newman.

Easter Monday, April 20, 1835.

As I should not like to find you in the midst of business [N.B. of the Oriel election] . . . I will name Monday the 27th, if you could procure for us lodgings for the week. My companion, I am sure, you will like. If Government continue the observatory erected by the East India Company at St. Helena, he will probably be appointed regular astronomer there; and if not, he is a likely person to obtain some other employment of the same nature somewhere or other. And a High Churchman, a true Catholic, thus fixed in a scientific position in a distant region might prove a witness for the truth of the most important description. I am anxious, therefore, that he should breathe for a week our Oxford air.

[N.B. This was the dear 'Observer Johnson.'—J. H. N.]

Ever since Mr. Newman had become vicar of St. Mary's he had wished for a church at Littlemore. When his Mother and sisters established themselves at Rose Bank, and undertook to visit the people and the schools at Littlemore, this design of their Vicar was made known to the people, and very eagerly seconded by them.

Miss Newman writes to her brother of a petition to Oriel set on foot by the parishioners:

April 23, 1835.

We send you the petition, and heartily wish it success, and you as little plague as possible. There are 295 names to it. *All* the St. Mary's householders (sixty-two or sixty-three) but one, who is not to be found. Everyone is full of hope and anxiety. One man said: 'If he could but live to be buried in Littlemore churchyard he should die happy.'[1]

[1] A visitor at Rose Bank at this period hears the question of a church at Littlemore discussed in the family circle, and writes to her mother:—

'They have already got 300*l*. and have not begun the regular subscription yet. Mr. Newman means to refuse money from unworthy persons: for instance, from one who is expected to offer to give, though he never goes to church. There is to be a sermon in St. Mary's in a week or two in which he means to exhort everybody "to give large sums," but he means to say that people may either give at the doors or the Bank, in order that no one may give unwillingly from shame, as he does not wish for money given from unworthy motives. I particularly enjoy hearing his grave authoritative way of expressing his feelings and intentions.'

. . . 'We are going to Oxford this afternoon to attend the Wednesday evening service Mr. Newman has in Adam de Brome's chapel during the summer months. Last year he began the practice, and it was reported all over Oxford that Mr. Newman was going to preach against the Dissenters. He, not aware of this report, had calculated twelve people at most attending, and had only prepared seats for so many, and was therefore not a little astonished to see the people pouring in, till the clerk and beadle could not find benches enough for them. I need not say they were disappointed in the subject.'

Again, on the same visit (May 31), after speaking of certain objections made by the Iffley authorities to a church at Littlemore, the letter gives the clerk's feelings on the matter:—'The clerk is equally opposed to the innovation. In the first place, he has buried one half of the parish, and he did hope to bury the other,' and besides he will lose double fees.

REV. C. P. GOLIGHTLY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

May 5, 1835.

I am very much obliged to you for your offer of Littlemore, and shall be very happy to accept it as far as I at present see. I have, of course, many inquiries to make. The curate, I suppose, would not be expected to reside there; and you would not send me about my business for anything short of heresy, *e.g.* if I were to become (not a Calvinist, for that I conceive, humanly speaking, impossible, but) a follower of St. Augustine; not that I have at present any leaning that way. I am very anxious that I should be in my next station a fixture. A rolling stone gathers no moss.[1]

REV. C. P. GOLIGHTLY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Godalming: May 26, 1835.

With so much business always on your hands I know that you are soon bothered, and that this letter will bother you; but in a matter of so much consequence to our mutual comfort I must run the risk of that.

Without further preface. Do you think that you are acting quite prudently in offering Littlemore to one of whose

[1] The author of *Reminiscences of Oriel* takes some share to himself in the first step of this affair, which ended so disastrously. It may be said that there was a certain humorous oddity in Mr. Golightly which blinded his friends to the possibilities of bitterness that lay beneath.

In 1836 (Mr. Mozley writes), 'when Littlemore Chapel was nearly finished, it occurred to me and some others that it would be a very nice arrangement for Golightly to return to Oxford and take charge of the Chapel and district, which then had no endowment. Of course we ought to have thought a little more about his theological views and his rather determined expression of them. Golightly entered into the plan with real enthusiasm, bought a good house in Holywell Street, and settled there. A single sermon dispelled the pleasant illusion. It was evidently impossible that he and the Vicar of St. Mary's could get on together. So there was Golightly, cajoled, betrayed, and cast adrift. It was a case of downright folly all round.'—Vol. ii. p. 112.

Mr. Newman's habitual trust in his friends as being his friends, which was one of his means of influence, certainly failed here.

A letter of this date speaks of a chance conversation with Mr. Golightly when the question of his taking the curacy of Littlemore was pending, and it reports him as pronouncing Mr. Newman an exceedingly *obscure* writer.

religious sentiments you know nothing except from casual conversation, and whom you never heard preach in your life? How do you know that you would like my sermons? You, indeed, are not likely to hear them; but supposing that some fine day Mrs. Newman and your sisters should, and then the next time they saw you say, 'O John! what a Peculiar you have got at Littlemore! He certainly preached last Sunday what we thought tantamount to the total corruption of human nature, and told us that we should search and examine ourselves as to whether we were "born again." In short, his sermons in tone and spirit are very different from what yours are.'

Now I certainly might express myself on these and other subjects in a way you might not like. I do believe most firmly that our Saviour's baptism is the baptism of the spirit *generally* (with possible exceptions I have nothing to do), and that congregations are to be addressed as St. Paul addresses the Corinthians: 'What! know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?' but then I perceive that the principle of Divine grace is in so many persons so apparently inoperative, that we are justified in calling upon them to examine themselves whether they have the Spirit of God or not.

Upon the corruption of our nature I am unwilling to say a word. You, I am sure, see that subject in a far more awful light than I do, and entertain feelings of deeper self-abhorrence than I have been enabled to attain. But I sincerely think that, whatever amiable dispositions towards our fellow-men have survived the 'wreck of Paradise,' our hearts are by nature wholly turned away from God, and that their language is, 'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of Thy ways.'

Again, if I am responsible minister at Littlemore, I should certainly wish to act upon my own plans; rather I should say that I could not engage to act upon yours, at least without knowing before I settle there what they are. You mentioned the other day baptism by immersion if parents would consent, and, I think, frequent communion. I would gladly adopt either of these; but could you name any others?

Now, I think, my dear Newman, that on so important a subject we cannot be too plain with one another. I shall have occasion to be at Oxford again for a day or two in about a fortnight. Would you like me to put into your hands two or three of my sermons?

I offer you every satisfaction. No two persons who think for themselves think alike on all subjects. But the question is, do our sentiments sufficiently coincide for you to feel justified in entrusting part of your parish to me? Now, if, when I am established at Littlemore, you come to an opposite conclusion, you would probably think it your duty to turn me out—which I should not like; nor should I like staying if you disapproved of my ministry. I should much like to be your curate if you take me with your eyes open; but I have written this letter to be sure whether they are.

As Mr. Newman read Mr. Golightly's letter over a second time he added explanatory recollections:

[*July* 25, 1860.—I dare say I did not accept his offer of reading his sermons—and in neglecting it I was imprudent. The event showed it. But in my defence I will say (1) that there is not one word of this letter to which I objected at the time, nor afterwards. (2) I had always liked my curates to have full swing . . . Mr. Gower, who was thought of before Golightly's proposed coming to Littlemore, was an Evangelical. (3) I did not at all fancy that G. meant to say that he *did* deny Baptismal Regeneration—indeed, he said in the above letter distinctly the contrary; but I understood him to mean that my sisters would *say* he did, because his tone differed from mine. Moreover, in a letter of August 10, 1831, *contrasting* himself with his friend B., he says, 'I believe *he* does not consider Regeneration always to accompany Baptism administered in infancy'; and in another of October 12, 1832, he so identifies himself with Pusey and myself as to comfort himself in the prospect of a solitary living near Oxford by the thought that 'the B. coach will bring me into Oxford in —— hours, and you [] and Pusey are future the

favourite divine was Hammond, whose sentiments on the point of Baptismal Regeneration cannot be questioned. I thought then his feeling was a mere scruple, and I turned off from what, if I had been more prudent and less impatient, I should have examined more deeply. It will be observed, too, in the foregoing letters that he 'spelled' for the curacy and suggested the idea to me. What occurred in the event I recollect well enough in the general, and shall ascertain in its details when I find the letters on the subject. He began in the course of 1835, if not before, to speak against passages in the 'Arians' publicly, and I *suppose* he had something to do with H.'s attack on me at the end of that year. I had not a dream in consequence, as far as I recollect, of retreating from my prospective engagement.

Pusey published his tract on Baptism under date of St. Bartholomew, St. Michael, and St. Luke of the above year, 1835. Golightly, I think, preached somewhere in Oxford—not at Littlemore (where there was no church as yet)—against Pusey. Pusey brought the matter before me, and said, 'It will never do for you to take him as your curate.' He was *not*, I think it will appear, *yet* my curate, and I, in consequence, put an end to the prospective engagement. This must have been in the spring of 1836. He never got over it. We were never friends again. He brought the above letter against me. I write this from the memory of twenty-four years ago, not having yet come upon the correspondence which accompanied the breach.

P.S.—It will be observed that Golightly's letter is dated May 1835. Now it was in the beginning of that year that I had the correspondence with ——, and Golightly had heard of it. Now since the difference arose from my thinking they had not been candid with me, it was not unnatural that Golightly should resolve that *he* should not be wanting on that score. I suppose at that time, too, I was somewhat frightening people by my statements of doctrine; for (towards the end of 1835, I think) H. made a sudden and, as I thought, very strange attack on me. I speak from memory, for I have

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Bristol, May 17, 1835.

Fratres desideratissimi, here I am, *benedictum sit nomen Dei*, and as well as could be expected. I will not boast, and indeed have nothing to boast of, as my pulse is still far from satisfactory.

[R. H. F. made his appearance in Oxford on Tuesday, May 18. The day after was the Convocation in the Theatre, when the proposed innovation of a Declaration of Conformity to the Church of England, instead of Subscription to the Articles, was rejected by 459 to 57. It was the last vote he gave. The following letter must have been sent to him to Dartington. He left Oxford, never to return, on June 4. During this time Bowden was in Oxford; it was the first and last time of his seeing R. H. F.—J. H. N.]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

May 1835.

We hope to have in Oxford all sorts of people on Wednesday. You have pamphlets to read without end if you wish to be idle. Eden has written a splendid pamphlet; C. Marriott has had a hit the same way. If you like bitterness, we are on the high road towards it. I wish it had so happened you could have been here on Wednesday; there will be Ryder, H. Wilberforce, Wilson, Acland, Bowden, Woodgate, Cornish, Bliss, Rickards, &c. Keble is not yet married. Dornford most likely leaves us. Blencowe is married. I am very well—as well, perhaps, as ever; and at most, please God, have only the prospect of I know not what, years hence. But this is as it shall seem fit; perhaps I am exaggerating. Rogers is likely to remain here another year. Best and kindest respects to your father.[1]

[1] It happened to the Editor, passing the coach office in company with Mrs. Newman, to see Froude as he alighted from the coach which brought him to Oxford, and was being greeted by his friends. He was terribly thin—his countenance dark and wasted, but with a brilliancy of expression and grace of outline which justified all that his friends had said of him. He was in the Theatre

REV. HUGH J. ROSE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

June 9, 1835.

I ought to have written to you long ago, to say that I am delighted with your 'Home Thoughts,' and think them most important.

But I wish to submit this to your judgment. As you will certainly seem to good Protestants to leave our Church in an awkward condition at the end of your present paper, would it not be well to give the answer which you are about to do to the difficulty, along with the difficulty itself—to give, in short, No. 3 with No. 2?

I have not had the grace either to thank you for your *very satisfactory* letter about Vincent [of Lerins?] I say *very satisfactory* because I fully agree with your view.

In the course of this summer I am very anxious—as I have done with Church Reform, I hope—to bring forward some notice of the following subjects:

Instruction of the laity, and the proper means of remedying our grievous errors and deficiencies on that point. Books—as whether these are the means; and if so, what books?

Religious societies and their evils. The *want of faith* in God's promises and in *appointed means* which makes us rely on these disorderly ones.

Excitement as a means of propagating religion, and its certain mischief.

Clerical education.

Establishment of libraries of sound standard books in all small towns, for the use of the clergy, that those who wish to read may have opportunities and means. I wish you would give me any hints, or helps, or suggestions on any of these matters; and suggestions, too, of other subjects of importance.

I have it in mind also, as I hear such clear accounts of the great efforts made by the Romanists in the Midland counties, to reprint good old tracts which may put the question on its four legs; for our good clergy are sadly to seek in the great

next day, entering into all the enthusiasm of the scenes, and shouting *Non placet* with all his friends about him. While he lived at all he must *live* his life.

points, viz. Church authority, &c. Can you tell me any works which you recommend? Do you think the plan a good one?

There is a book on Convocation by a Mr. Kempthorne of Gloucester, with which he seems to have taken much pains; if you see it or would see it, and give me a few lines on it, I should be very thankful.

I wish to deal kindly by him.

Cardinal Newman warns the Editor against perpetuating the bitterness of controversy. 'If, for example,' he writes, 'the Hampden controversy is touched upon, let it be on its ethical side.' The following letter on this controversy seems to satisfy this requirement:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. S. RICKARDS.

June 1835.

I am disposed to agree with you that a plain and broad view has not yet been taken of the question. It is always the way when one is in the midst of a struggle. On first hearing of the point in dispute, a plain man generally takes a plain view, but in a little while he as much forgets it as a man descending into a valley which he has to cross, loses sight of his original landmarks. In saying this I do not mean that his second view is necessarily wrong—far from it (though it may be so, if passion, interest, &c., come into play); but it is minute and particular, perhaps partial, and does not do full justice to the subject, and he does not recover his original calm vision of things till he has retired from the contest, or it has died away some time. However, I do not know that these secondary views are less useful to others. Few men like a plain, common-sense view, and the particular comes more home to the peculiarity of their own minds or opinions, one man being caught with one idea, another with another. Thus I consider the view of the letter to the Archbishop about Hampden and his school to be very true, but influential with those only or chiefly who are apprehensive of the consequences of the first steps of change. 'Self-protection' is an object

with those who are afraid of their own minds being unsettled —in the present conflict of opinions a growing class. I say all this in vindication of the character of the pamphlets, while I admit your criticism also, by way of showing the hopelessness of any of us supplying your desideratum. Any one who lives at a distance, like yourself, is more likely to fulfil it, if you would turn your thoughts that way.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Dartington: June 11, 1835.

I got home Friday evening before dark very comfortably. . . . My poor sister is perfectly cheerful and free from pain, but daily declines in strength. Indeed, she is now very visibly weakened since I first saw her. It is impossible she should live many days. She is quite aware of her state, and seems to be as composed and almost happy as if she was going to sleep. . . .

There is something very indescribable in the effect which old sights and smells produce in me here just now, after having missed them so long. Also old Dartington House, with its feudal appendages, calls up so many Tory associations as almost to soften one's heart with lamenting the course of events which is to re-erect the Church by demolishing so much that is beautiful: 'rich men living peaceably in their habitations.'

I have hardly coughed all to-day, and am beginning to have my wind easier, and people do not look so horribly black at me as they did.

On my way from Oxford, Keble talked a good deal about Church matters, and particularly about the ancient Liturgies, and my analysis of Palmer, which had put the facts to him in rather a new point of view.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

June 20.

People complain everywhere of the difficulty of getting at the Oxford Tracts. I suppose the change of publishers has

caused this, but it keeps them out of circulation most provokingly. I see everywhere that 'the harvest is truly ready.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

June 22, 1835.

I want your view of the extent of power which may be given to the laity in the Church system, *e.g.* the maintenance of the Faith is their clear prerogative. Qu.: What power may they have in synods? Judicially? In legislation? &c. I have heard from Acland (June 11), and he wants to know whether Churchmen might not admit (what the Liberals are bent on) a subsidiary system of education to the Church system for Dissenters. To answer abstractedly, I think they might; but I doubt not irreconcilable differences would arise in the detail. The Church must not reconcile itself to it, yet must claim to have control over it.

Think of this, please, and answer me; and do not say 'the whole system is rotten,' and so dismiss the subject. We must take things as they are, and make the most of them. Acland wants to be allowed to acknowledge a system 'inferior, secondary, partial, local, temporary; the State saying that education *ought* to be based on Religion, and Religion on the Church; that this is what alone it considers to be National Education; but that it is willing to give some assistance to a secondary system in the hope of giving it a *good direction*.' And then follows the question which has especially led me to mention the subject to you. Would you attempt a sort of Scripture School, which, without actively opposing the Church, should endeavour to teach children on the foundation of the Bible without inculcating the peculiarities of the Church, as it is distinguished from those bodies which do not on the one hand deny its creeds (the Socinians) or deny that it is a Church at all (the Romanists), *e.g.* Kildare Street?

I was taken with the influenza and could not finish this. On second thoughts I gave up all Acland's plan as a mare's nest, and wrote him word so. At the same time I should like your opinion whether there is any way in which, under colour

of giving a pure Scripture education, we might yet inculcate our notions. The difficulty is this—*are* our notions so on the surface of Scripture that a plain person ought to see them there, at least when suggested to him? Or, again, *how far* is the unpopularity of our notions among readers of Scripture, to be traced to Protestant blindness and prejudice?

Mr. Froude in the following letter talks, in his vein, of the hold his friend was gaining over ardent and impressible spirits. Those who remember the early days of the Movement will recal similar examples of the effect of Mr. Newman's writings, on persons open to religious impressions.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

July 2, 1835.

I have heard from my sisters and the Champernouns of the efficacy of your opuscula in leading captive silly women. One very curious instance I heard the other day of an exceedingly clever girl who for the last two or three years has been occasionally laid up with a very painful illness, and suffered severely. Nobody that she lives with can have acted as channels for infecting her, as they are all either commonplace sensible people, or Evangelical, or lax. But she has got it into her head from your sermons, &c., that there is a new party springing up in the Church which she calls 'the new men,' and has been pumping my sisters about you, and whether your notions are spreading, &c. I have no notion how far she has distinct views, but they say she has been working the Dartmouth Evangelicals with your sermons, and made one of the parsons knock under. I have also heard of a learned lady (a very good and sensible person by-the-bye) poking away most industriously at your 'Arians,' and saying that her views had been much cleared by it. Also another who has been much distressed at a report that the 'Lyra' is not going on. . . .

P.S.—As to the laity having power in Synods, I don't know enough to have an opinion.

In answer Mr. Newman writes:

July 1835.

What you say about our opuscula is very encouraging. I am astonished to see how they take. As to my sermons, Williams has lately been inquiring in London, and been told they are selling as well as they can sell, and when he pressed to know which volume most, they would not tell, only answer they both were, &c. I do verily believe a spirit is abroad at present, and we are but blind tools, not knowing whither we are going. I mean, a flame seems arising in so many places as to show no mortal incendiary is at work, though this man or that may have more influence in shaping the course or modifying the nature of the flame. I have, at present, some misgivings whether I have not been too bold in the June Magazine on the subject of Monachism. You saw it, and it is only my confidence in this unseen agitator which bears me up. I doubt whether I am not burdening my well-wishers with too heavy a load when I oblige them to take up and defend these opinions too.

You see the ground taken, as far as I am concerned, by our *fautores* in many quarters, is that of my not being a party man or peculiar in any sense. Now some one has told me that, in defending Monachism, I have become peculiar. I can but throw myself in answer upon the general Church, and avow (as I do) that if any one will show me any opinion of mine which the Primitive Church condemned, I will renounce it; any which it did not insist on, I will not insist on it. Yet, after all, I am anxious about it, and shall draw in my horns.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

July 7, 1835.

They say the poor Duke is certainly for Lord Radnor's Bill [the Welsh Bishoprics], which is marvellous, considering its infringement of corporate rights. But perhaps the Corporation Reform Bill is to destroy that argument. His friends here are very angry with him. It is said he has

Archbishop. This I do not believe for an instant, but it shows how strong the opinion is of his opposition to us. Would you believe it, he wrote down to the Heads to say the majority of residents was against the Act of May 20; and even now our Provost goes about declaring it, though the number who voted on that occasion (even if 57 were not too small in itself to be a majority) has been ascertained and found to be 30 for the change and 111 (I believe), and but for accidents 10 more, against it. There would have been no petition at all to Parliament against Lord Radnor but for the resolution of the M.A.'s, who signed a paper (about 70 signatures) to the Vice-Chancellor, begging him to call the Heads together for the purpose of concocting one.

I have not yet spoken of your tract; your passages about the Reformers do not distress me at all. I am sure the more we can (conscientiously) praise them, the better; and if another finds himself able to do so more than I, I am desirous to avail myself of his ability. I shall put it (the tract) into Keble's hands. . . .

Rev. B. Harrison to Rev. J. H. Newman.

July 14, 1835.

. . . I have thought that it would perhaps be best for your and Pusey's tracts [on Baptism] to state your views positively and doctrinally this month, and any illustrations or subsidiary arguments might follow as occasion requires or objections are made. And I suppose your two tracts would probably be at some length, Pusey's especially, and therefore you would not want a third to swell your budget for August. And I should like to have seen your tracts; and writing here should feel rather writing in the dark, not knowing how far it might agree with the line your arguments were taking.

[N.B.—Pusey's tract on Baptism, here referred to, was published, I think, on August 24, 1835. My projected tract on Baptism became in consequence sermons, namely those of vol. iii. 18, 19, 20.]

A clerical connexion of mine has been selling his copy of

Bishop Beveridge's works, because his curate, who had borrowed them, had exalted his ideas of the Sacraments since he had taken to read Beveridge, being convinced that they had been too low hitherto. And this was not to be! Mumpsimus was still to be Mumpsimus.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

July 16, 1835.

My chapel (Littlemore) was begun yesterday, and the first stone is to be solemnly laid next week. It is to be roofed in by the end of October. The two builders ran against each other 663*l.* to 665*l.*, the architect beforehand reckoning on 650*l.*; so I hope I have got it at about the right sum. This takes in everything of fitting up except the bell. The Society [Oriel College] gives us 150*l.*[1]

In answer to this letter, Mr. Froude writes an urgent invitation to join him at Torbay, giving all details of route, fares, &c. 'I am sure the lark will do you good, and the money (2*l.* 15*s.*) will not be grossly misspent.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

July 20, 1835.

I should like of all things to come and see you, but can say nothing to the proposal at present, being very busy here, and being in point of finances in a very unsatisfactory state. I am at present at Dionysius and the Abbé, whom O that I could dispatch this vacation.

Acland has sent a fifth Cambridge man to me [Mr. Sterling]. I am somewhat anxious lest I have gone too far in confessing monastic doctrines.

[1] On July 21, 1835, the first stone of Littlemore Church was laid by Mrs. Newman. In a pocket-book diary kept by her is this entry:—'July, Tuesday, 21st. A gratifying day. I laid the first stone of the church at Littlemore. The whole village there. The Hackers, Thompsons, Keble, Eden, Copeland. J. H. a nice address. Prayers, Creed, and Old Hundredth Psalm.' Mr. Newman's address to the parishioners on this occasion will be found in the Appendix.

Mr. Newman did not go to Torbay. His next and last visit to Froude was to Dartington, September 15. The following letter relates to a controversy going on between Mr. Newman and the Abbé Jager just mentioned [see 'Chronological Notes,' July 25, 1835:—'My controversy with the Abbé Jager'], of which there are no details given in the correspondence.

REV. B. HARRISON TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

July 17, 1835.

I am sorry to find that the Abbé has disquieted you so much, but you must console yourself with the reflection that, according to Palmer's account, your letter deprived him of sleep several *nights*. You must in return expect some troublesome days. . . . I think we might keep him quiet while we answer him, as he has kept us quiet these *five* months. Do not think about the annoyance of translation while you answer the Abbé. Can you not let your pen go on, as though it were to be printed as it is written? His unfairness, shallowness, and ignorance will, we must hope, be respectively corrected, deepened, and enlightened by contact with the 'Anglican Church'; so pray write.

VERY REV. DR. WISEMAN TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

London: July 28, 1835.

Your kind offer when I had the pleasure of seeing you in Rome emboldens me to present to you my friend the Rev. J. Maguire [June 12, 1862:—late V.-G. of Westminster], who is desirous of visiting Oxford, and whom I hope before long to follow on the same interesting errand.

[*June* 13, 1862—viz. the errand of visiting Oxford. I believe Dr. W. professed to come and consult the libraries. He never did come in those years, as far as I know. Among my transcripts of my letters to Bowden there is an explanation on the subject addressed through him to Mr. Joshua Watson.]

REV. R. C. TRENCH [Now Dean of Westminster.—J. H. N. 1860] TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

July 30, 1835.

May I, on the ground of a very brief acquaintance, ask your acceptance of one of the accompanying volumes, and also take the same or a still greater liberty with Mr. Keble? But I feel under so many obligations both to yourself and him, that I am unwilling an opportunity should go by that would allow me to acknowledge, even thus slightly, how considerable I must ever account these obligations to be.

Some fortnight elapsed before the volume was acknowledged; but the reader will prefer—in slight disregard of chronological order—that letter and answer should, in this instance, be read together.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. C. TRENCH.

August 17.

I ought before now to have acknowledged for Mr. Keble and myself your very kind and acceptable present, which I now do with many thanks. It gives me pleasure by means of it to be allowed, if I may so express myself, to make your familiar acquaintance, it being the peculiarity of the poetical gift, that it opens to others the writer's mind unconsciously, without alarming his own retired and delicate feelings.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Paignton: July 31.

Frater desiderate. Speak not of finances, since all the people here are ready to subscribe for you: as for the Abbé, you can work him here as well as anywhere.

It is exquisitely pleasant here—a hot sun with a fresh air is a luxury to which I have long been a stranger. If you were to stay here a fortnight, you might get on with your controversy

and be inspired for the novel. I give out in all directions that you mean to write it, and divulge the plot.

There is nothing in the papers before the Editor to show that any ground whatever in fact existed for the 'novel' Froude here talks of. In the postscript to 'Callista,' the author speaks of being stopped at the fifth chapter, 'from sheer inability to devise personages or incidents.' Was the attempt to express the feelings and mutual relations of Christians and heathens in early Christian times already an idea in the author's mind? The letter continues:

I forget whether I told you how much my father was taken with the historical part of your 'Arians,' and particularly its bearing on the present times.

As to your question about the laity in Convocation, I told you I had tried hard to think it admissible, but that Bishop Hicks, in his 'Constitution of the Christian Church,' has convinced me that in spirituals each bishop is absolute in his own diocese, except so far as he may have bound himself by ordination oaths to his Primate—so that not only the laity but Presbyters are cut out. . . . As to your monasticism articles in the 'British Magazine,' my father read the offensive part in the June one, and could see nothing in it that any reasonable person could object to; and some persons I know have been struck by them. I cannot see the harm of losing influence with people when you can only retain it by sinking the points on which you differ with them. Surely that would be *Propter vitam vivendi, &c.* What is the good of influence, except to influence people?

Rev. H. J. Rose to Rev. J. H. Newman.

July 31, 1835.

I wish very much you would talk over with Palmer the feasibility of the scheme for a Church history which Maitland has suggested. I do not see any difficulties which are so

formidable as to make us think it should be lightly abandoned; and every day convinces me of the urgent necessity of doing something on this head. We are perishing from ignorance. People are beginning to see the importance of the subject, and Waddington will have possession simply for want of a better.

Again, for our own country, Short's book is getting into all hands, when it ought not to be in any. I have just been looking at it again: and really can see no reason why any given pert Liberal of five-and-twenty might not write the text any day between sleeping and waking, or just after dinner, or at any other time when people live without thinking. It is really too bad to be destroyed by such books, and yet we deserve it if we do not exert ourselves. I am ready to give up my time to such an undertaking, conjointly with others.

Rev. J. H. Newman to his Mother (*then on a course of visits.*)

Oriel: July 31, 1835.

My dear Mother,—Your letter was very acceptable, and I wish I could answer it as abundantly; but somehow I find it so difficult to bring together in my memory in a quarter of an hour everything I might say if I had a day to do it in.

I have not yet been able to get to Iffley (or to call on Ogle, except once, when he was out). Something has occurred every night, and the days have been too hot. I am examining for Confirmation three evenings a week now;[1] and yesterday a person made his appearance as an avant-courier of Dr. Wiseman of Rome, who is to be here for some weeks. He is a Mr. Maguire, a Roman Catholic priest. He dined with us and had a good deal of conversation.

The Church will make no show for a month—they say the digging stone will take nearly that time. I am going to give them another spot to dig upon to expedite matters—namely, the corner, which we may set aside for a school-room. Which

[1] A candidate for confirmation recalled, forty years after, her vivid recollection of these examinations.

corner had it better be? Please to answer this. I shall have above fifteen candidates for Confirmation, some very interesting ones.[1] When I am employed in that sort of work, I always feel how I should like a parish with nothing but pastoral duties. One great advantage of a large parish is that *one can do nothing else*. Nothing is so hampering to the mind as *two* occupations; this is what I have found both at St. Clement's and when I was Tutor at Oriel. As it is, my parish is not enough to employ me, so I necessarily make to myself two occupations—which, though necessary, is to me distracting. Some people can work better for a division of duties. Some persons cannot attend to one thing for more than two hours without a headache. I confess for myself I never do anything so well as when I have nothing else to do. I would joyfully give myself to reading or again to a parish. However, as to a large parish, there seem to me in the present state of things two special drawbacks: one, the amount of mere secular business laid on a clergyman, attendance at vestries, &c.; the other, that really at the present day we are all so ignorant of our duties, that I should be actually afraid myself, without a great deal more learning, to undertake an extensive charge. I find daily from reading the Fathers how ignorant we are in matters of practice. *E.g.* I mean the kind of mistakes, though not so flagrant, of the poor fellow who re-baptized a whole set of Dissenters. Hooker does a good deal for one, but even to master Hooker is no slight work. I do really fear that, for the want of knowing what is right and what is wrong, the best intentioned people are making the most serious and mischievous mistakes.

I sent off to Harrison, on Monday last, the first part of my second letter to the Abbé, which is all I shall do till it is printed. I am now at Dionysius, and cannot tell what time he will take me. Rivington, in answer to a letter of mine, has written to say he means to give up the tracts. I cannot say quite that I am sorry, for what is done is done, and we shall make two volumes of them; and I shall be saved the trouble in future. I shall devolve on Keble or others the editorship,

rooms, which are quite cool. . . . I hope I shall have a good account of my Aunt's health. Ever yours dutifully,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

August 3, 1835.

. . . By-the-bye, talking of Hildebrand, Rose and Maitland have a grand design in contemplation, viz. that of writing an ecclesiastical history. Nothing is settled yet; I only know they are looking out for about a dozen men to divide the eighteen centuries among, and have asked Keble, Palmer and myself. It immediately struck me what a great catch it would be for them to get hold of your 'Hildebrand'; but they do not yet know their own plans. One notion they had was merely to translate Fleury, but I doubt if that would answer.

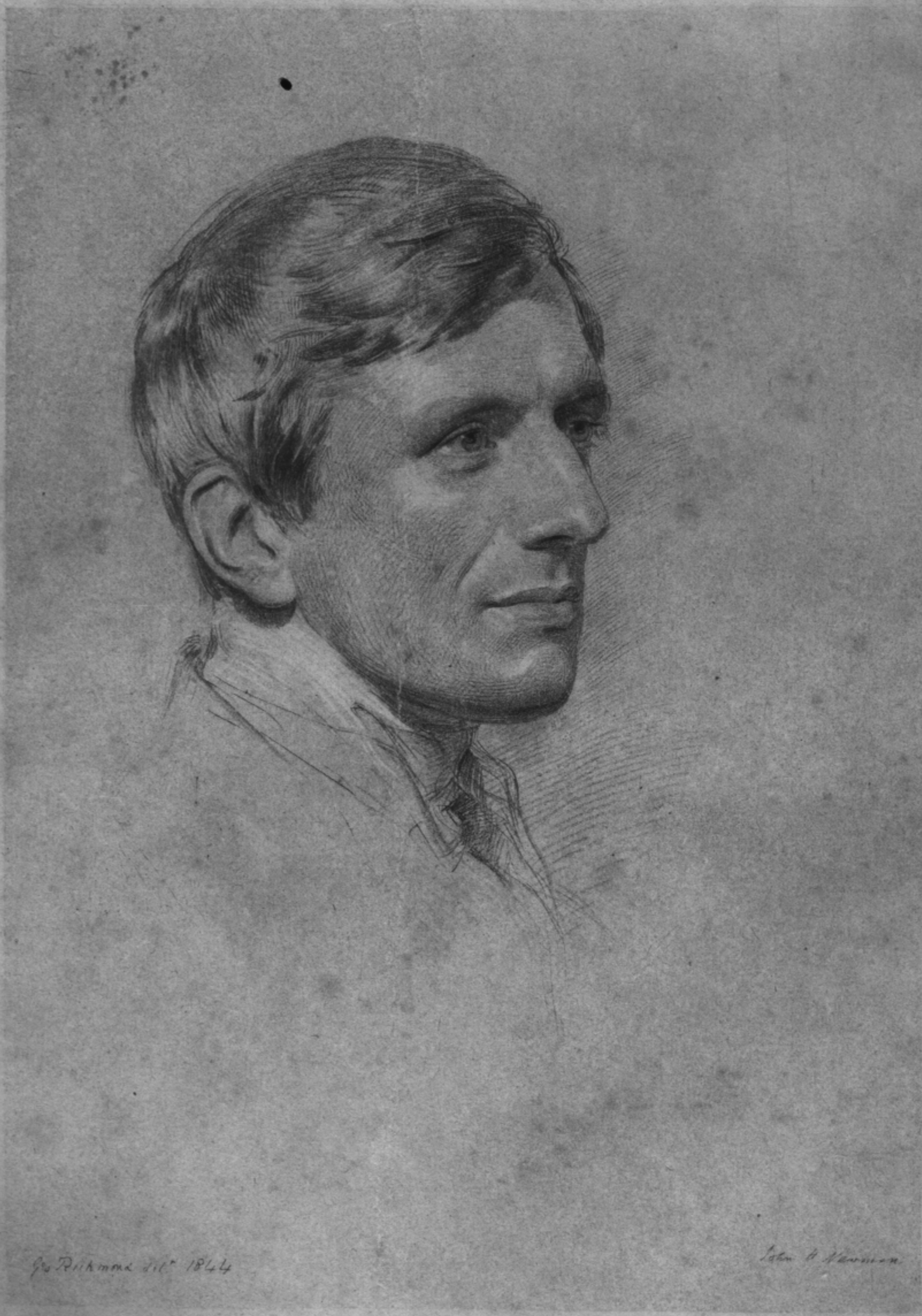
Rivington has written to say he wants to give over the tracts, so I suppose we shall end at once. This, I fear, will interfere with the 'Ruined Chapel,' 'Richard Nelson,' Part V., and others, but I do not know for certain yet.

We have had a number of Cambridge men here, one after another—not, I trust, without benefit.

J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

London: August 4, 1835.

. . . I am grieved about the tracts. If you can, you should try to have a few more, so as to make a decent second volume in point of size. If you could go on till October, it would be well; then each volume would include, would it not? the tracts for a year, and it would look like a definite time for stopping. At any rate, do not close abruptly, or, as it were, fly from the field. March off with drums beating and colours flying in a farewell tract, recapitulating your motives for publishing the series, expressing your hopes *quod bene vortat*, and perhaps alluding to future exertions. Make it appear that the work which you had undertaken has been accomplished, not given up. . . .



Geo Richmond del.t 1844

John H Newman

John Henry Newman

from a drawing in the possession of H. E. Wilberforce Esq.

For various reasons, publishers could not give, or preferred not giving, easy circulation to the tracts, at this stage. Correspondents complain of not being able to get them from the country booksellers. It needed the impulse of zealous sympathy or violent opposition, and some bulk in the tract, with the author's name attached, or at least acknowledged, to raise the sale into a business standard of importance.

REV. DR. PUSEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hopton: August 6, 1835.

I shall be ready to obey your summons to meet Professor Wiseman when you please, only I suppose it must be next week, as Saturday is, I think, still a fast day with them.

REV. HUGH JAMES ROSE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 8, 1835.

. . . Many thanks for your letter as to the history scheme. My main reason for wishing a translation or modification of some already existing book is, that it ensures, not, indeed, the *best thing*, but something tolerable within a given time. With respect to original works, no one can doubt the superior interest which they would excite. But it is impossible to foresee when you could get *anything* whatever done, and we are *perishing* day by day for want of it. If eight or ten persons *could* be got together for original work, still they could not work in the same dogged way as at a mere *correction*, *improvement*, *alteration*, *retrenchment*, &c.—for the plan should allow of all these with half a dozen et-cæteras more—of an existing work. I know, for example, of myself, that in *history* I am never easy till I have full security that I have ferreted *out all*. . . . Such an operation is always *indefinite in length*, being, moreover, only the commencement of the yet more material work of arranging one's ideas, &c.

Perhaps the two plans could be combined. That is, anyone who felt that he had got, or could get at once, the

materials for a particular part, and that he should work more unfettered with his own material, might be considered as a most valuable labourer, because for the part he undertook he would act *alone*, while others who want *discretion* and *guidance* would find it in the text which they would improve by their corrections.

All that I would say, however, is *let something be done*, for the want is a crying one. What do our students, what do our clergy, read? What is there to recommend to them but Mosheim and Milner, and Milner and Mosheim? Yet does not every day's debate in Parliament show the importance of the thing, and tell us, trumpet-tongued, that as we sow we shall reap—that deserved ruin is the fruit of wilful negligence and ignorance of the history of the Gospel?

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO HIS SISTER JEMIMA.

August 9, 1835.

. . . I think I shall go down to Froude for ten days. I am very unwilling to do it, but it is so uncertain whether he will be able to come to Oxford at all, that I think I ought to secure seeing him before he goes abroad. . . . Dionysius gets on slowly, as he is taking me, as I expected he would, into a consideration of the Apollinarian Controversy, which requires a good deal of reading. This it is which makes me so unwilling to leave Oxford, for I foresee I shall just be in the very heart of my investigation, with all manner of critical points and delicate arguments in the balance, and a number of half-unravelled threads in hand when I am forced to break off. . . .

Poor Blanco White's book has at length appeared: that is, his first book. I suppose after his death there will be a second. It is as bad as can be. He evidently wishes to be attacked. I hope as far as possible he will be let alone; it will do him most good. He is not contented till he is talked about, and he has a morbid pleasure in being abused.

Writing from Dartington soon after to his sister, there is

an allusion to the beauty of that country, which recalls his vivid impression on first visiting it, and shows the same reluctance to its charm:

This country is certainly overpoweringly beautiful and enchanting, except to those who are resolved not to be enchanted.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

August 9, 1835.

Rogers and another friend, by way of supplement, have offered for your acceptance Du Cange's Glossary, and the book is now in your room, or rather has been there above a month.

I shall bring with me a lot of sermons to try to put together a third volume, and shall get you to help me. At present I am hard at Dionysius, *i.e.* at the Apollinarian Controversy. Afterwards will follow the Nestorian, and by the time I have finished I shall have materials (I suppose) for a volume on the Incarnation to accompany the 'Arians.' Nothing but some object would enable me to rouse myself to such subtle speculations (though in these times, surely most necessary, unless we are to be swept away, creeds, Church and all), and Dionysius answers this purpose: *e.g.* in a certain creed given to the Council of Antioch, A.D. 264, occurs the word *πρόσωπον* as applied to the *σύνθετον* or union of the *δύο φύσεις* in our Lord. Now I think to be able to prove that it was not so used till A.D. (say) 392. You see what investigations this must lead to.

I conceive that I have entirely beaten you as regards the Abbé, for you have brought the matter to this issue. The Abbé, so far from contesting the point, I think, would be obliged to grant that tradition (prophetical) had no innate self-sanction, for (in the Latin theory) the *Church in council* (or otherwise) *gives* that sanction; *till then*, this or that tradition has no authority at all. The Bible, then, has a sanction *independent* of the Church; the (prophetical) tradition has none. Therefore, when asked why I make a distinction between the word written and unwritten, I answer that, *first*, on the face of the matter, the Scriptures came with a *claim*;

tradition does not. By-the-bye, I am surprised more and more to see how the Fathers insist *on the Scriptures* as the Rule of Faith, even in proving the most subtle parts of the doctrine of the Incarnation. As to Vincentius Lirinensis, he *starts* by making tradition only interpretation.

The tracts are defunct, or *in extremis*. Rivington has written to say they do not answer. Pusey has written one on Baptism very good, of ninety pages, which is to be printed at his risk. That, and one or two to finish the imperfect series (on particular subjects) will conclude the whole. I am not sorry, as I am tired of being editor.

Palmer will finish his work in two volumes by the spring. It is to be a book of *Law*—that is, the rules of the Church, with proofs, answers to objections, examples, cases of casuistry, &c.; in fact, one of the very things we want. Keble is going to introduce into his own Prolegomena a sketch of Hooker's doctrine, which will do the same service in another way. It would be much if we could cram all our men in one and the same way of talking on various points, *e.g.* what the Church holds about heretical baptism, about ordination before baptism, about the power of bishops, &c. [N.B.—See my preface to 'Prophetical Office.']

This is a strong point of Romanism; they have their system so well up. A Mr. Maguire, a Roman priest, dined with us the other day, who was an instance of this, and it astonished people, so. . . . What disgusted us in Mr. Maguire was his defending not only O'Connell, but Hume. In fact, I suppose he does not see the difference between the dog and the hog, and *we* are but dogs in his eyes.

As to our prospects, I expect nothing favourable for fifteen or twenty years; that is, *we* shall perchance grow, but it will be a while before three hundred men lap water with their tongues.

REV. R. F. WILSON TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 12, 1835.

Thank you very much for your last gratifying and satisfactory letter. Rogers has been with me for a few days, to my

great satisfaction. Really I ought to be very thankful that my inconvenience [N.B. the weakness of his eyes] is so slight compared with his. I fear I should not bear it with such a cheerful unpretending patience as he does. Though a very cheerful, he is no light companion. He has left so many of what Acland would call 'views' as quite to bewilder our crass wits unsharpened to scholastic subtleties. If my friendship with him had been shorter than it is, I should wonder at the quantity of matter he seems to collect and digest, though unable to read. But I have ever remarked he is one of the shrewdest listeners I ever saw. His countenance will tell you that, wherever interesting conversation is going on about him. Among other things he assured me you are not bored by receiving letters, when not unnecessarily pressed for answers. I considered you in some sort as forming the centre of a system of certain opinions and men; and to know the one and communicate the others, there must be intercourse of some sort. Supposing there was an order in Oxford for a few martyrs, how could you tell whom to summon as a fit subject for the faggot or the block, unless you had some notion of our present bodily adaptation for the different exhibitions? Again, in case of a call for a tournament with some fiery ecclesiastic, how could you tell whether D—— still retained his jackboots and good broadsword, or whether long inaction had not disqualified him for adventuring such a forlorn hope?

. . . I am afraid that one object which I should be anxious to accomplish there [in Oxford] cannot be effected. I mean the seeing and being made acquainted with Keble. Rogers tells me he is about to move shortly to a living in Hampshire. I wish Keble's was a parish to need a curate and that he would take me. That might be even better for me than if I had been a Fellow of Oriel.

There was one piece of information which Rogers gave me, about which I must say a word. He seemed to think that you were doing more than your strength would bear. Now, excuse me, my dear Newman, I would not willingly say that which is unbecoming in this matter, but let me make one

remark. You occupy at present an important position (how or why is another consideration), you are looked to as a point of union by many whom it might be difficult to bring into cordial co-operation without you. You know how many little circumstances are required to bring about any cordial union among men widely scattered, or upon the same spot, when there is no point of centralisation. Do not, therefore, run any great risk of incapacitating yourself for promoting those views which you yourself entertain, by pressing things forward, the effect and benefit of which upon the minds of others must at best be doubtful and slow. 'Festina lente' is a good motto for those who look towards great and important ends.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

August 23, 1835.

I am sick of expecting a letter; for the last week I have every day made sure of one, and been disappointed. I cannot help fearing you are not well.

The more I read of Athanasius, Theodoret, &c., the more I see that the ancients *did* make the Scriptures *the basis* of their belief. The only question is, would they have done so in another point beside the *θεολογία*, &c., which happened in the early ages to be in discussion? I incline to say the Creed is the faith necessary to salvation, as well as to Church communion, and to maintain that Scripture, according to the Fathers, is the authentic record and document of this faith. It surely is reasonable that 'necessary to salvation' should apply to the Baptismal Creed: 'In the name of,' &c. (*vid.* He who believeth &c.). Now the Apostles' Creed is nothing but this; for the Holy Catholic Church, &c. [in it] are but the *medium* through which God comes to us. Now this *θεολογία*, I say, the Fathers do certainly rest on Scripture, as upon two tables of stone. I am surprised more and more to see how entirely they fall into Hawkins's theory even in set words, that Scripture proves and the Church teaches. I believe it would be extremely difficult to show that tradition is *ever* considered

Scripture. It seems that when a heresy rose they said at once 'That is not according to the Church's teaching,' *i.e.* they decided it by the *præjudicium* [N.B. prescription] of authority. Again, when they met together in council they brought the witness of tradition as a matter of fact, but when they discussed the matter in council, cleared their views, &c., proved their power, they always went to Scripture alone. They never said 'It must be so and so, *because* St. Cyprian says this, St. Clement explains in his third book of the "Pædagogue," &c.' and with reason; for the Fathers are a witness only *as one voice*, not in individual instances, or, much less, isolated passages, but *every word* of Scripture is inspired and available.

I must (so be it) come down to you before vacation ends, to get some light struck out by collision.

Did I tell you that I have prevailed on Keble to publish about a dozen of University Sermons?

Froude in his answer to this letter argues as follows:

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

. . . You lug in the Apostles' Creed and talk about expansions. What is the end of expansions? Will not the Romanists say that their whole system is an expansion of the Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints?

F. ROGERS, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 27, 1835.

I want much to hear a little about Froude and yourself. I hear rumours of a visit of Dr. Wiseman to Oxford. What has become, or what is going to become, of that?

I went to visit W. lately. He acquires a certain weight and respectability by being rather the organ of the Oxford High Church party. . . .

We dined with his Rector, and I can much more realise to myself a Radical ἦθος than I ever could before. I never

better off; but any remarks I made (which were few) were honoured with that short, civil, final answer which makes rejoinder out of the question: W., he, and myself, being the only three persons at table. Accordingly I came home, thinking him without exception the greatest prig I had ever had the honour of being despised by. I trust he is not a specimen of a class. [N.B.—This is the very reason why I have extracted this; because he was a specimen of a class. I fell in with him once, and can quite understand the above description of him.—J. H. N.]

Do you know that Acland's friend Sterling is the man who told W. at Bonn that a new Arminian party was springing up in Oxford, who held Laud's doctrines of Church government, and would inevitably destroy the Church if they gained power.

How did you get on with him and Trench? and what is your judgment of the Cambridge Neophytes on the whole? I hear Trench was much struck by the truth of your saying that *fear* was what Cambridge wanted.

By the way, is not Interpretation of Scripture a subject which you ought to take up? It seems to me that neological interpretation is pretty much in the place where Locke's toleration system was, when he brought it out, or sooner. You have with you on that point people's preconceived opinions; and soon, unless prevented, I should have fancied that intellectual people, and consequently more or less the mass of candid people, would have got semi-neological habits of viewing things, which, I suppose, would leave you nothing to build a Church system on. Is not the impressing right canons of interpretation likely to furnish soon the surest check, if not turn, to march of mind? And will not every year add to the difficulty of impressing them on well-meaning unthinking persons?

I have been excessively amused by seeing parts of your letter to the Abbé [N.B. Jager]. I cannot say how much I laughed. I did not read any of the real controversial part. . . .

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO HIS AUNT MRS. ELIZABETH NEWMAN.

Oriel College: August 1835.

My dear Aunt,—I am always reproaching myself that I do not write to you, but every day brings its own business, and I have so many letters of business to write as to find time for none else. And then, you see, *writing* is my employment. I scarcely have the pen out of my hand for half an hour together, except at meals and walking, whereas writing is a recreation in many professions. . .

At present I am busied with examining points of doctrine connected with the subject of my book on the Arians, which carries me forward into a very large field of reading, principally in the Fathers. The immediate object to which I am making this subservient is to an edition of the fragments of St. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, in the middle of the third century. But I have far graver objects in view. I mean, one must expect a flood of scepticism on the most important subjects to pour over the land, and we are so unprepared, it is quite frightful to think of it. The most religiously-minded men are ready to give up important doctrinal truths because they do not *understand their value*. A cry is raised that the Creeds are unnecessarily minute, and even those who would defend, through ignorance cannot. Thus, *e.g.*, Sabellianism has been spreading of late years, chiefly because people have said 'What is the harm of Sabellianism? It is a mere name,' &c.' I am sorry to say that the editor of Mrs. More's letters has been ill advised enough to allow letters to appear in which she, in the freedom of private correspondence, speaks slightingly of the Constantinopolitan Fathers (who composed the Nicene Creed, as we now use it). Well, what is the consequence? We just now have a most serious and impressive warning if we choose to avail ourselves of it. Poor Blanco White has turned Socinian, and written a book glorying in it. Now in the preface to this book he says: 'I have for some time been a *Sabellian*, but the veil is now removed from my eyes, for I find *Sabellianism is but* Unitarianism in disguise.'

Now what would Mrs. More, or rather her editor, say on hearing this? on seeing that her scoffing at the Creeds of the Church had been a strengthening, so far as it went, of a system of doctrine which ends in Unitarianism? It is most melancholy to think about. What is most painful is that the clergy are so utterly ignorant on the subject. We have no *theological* education, and instead of profiting by the example of past times, we attempt to decide the most intricate questions, whether of doctrine or conduct, by our blind and erring reason.

In my present line of reading, then, I am doing what I can to remedy this defect in myself, and (if so be) in some others. And it is a very joyful thought which comes to me with a great force of confidence to believe that, in doing so, I am one out of the instruments which our gracious Lord is employing with a purpose of good towards us. I mean that I believe God has not (so I trust) abandoned this branch of His Church which He has set up in England, and that, though for our many sins He has brought us into captivity to an evil world, and sons of Belial are lords over us, yet from time to time He sends us judges and deliverers as in the days of Gideon and Barak. I do verily believe that some such movement is now going on, and that the Philistines are to be smitten, and, believing it, I rejoice to join myself to the army of rescue, as one of those who lapped with the tongue when the rest bowed down to drink. And in saying this I do not take anything to myself personally, because Scripture has many warnings to us that those need not be highest in God's future favour or fullest in grace who even are His chief instruments here. Solomon's history is quite proof enough that the builders of the Church are not necessarily His truest servants, though they are on the right side, but may be surpassed by those who seem to do little towards the work. And Barak's history gives us another lesson akin to it, which I think of general application—'The Lord delivered Sisera into the hand of a woman'—and surely it is the prayers of those who have especial leisure for prayer which do the Church most service. Do not, my dear Aunt, let us lose the benefit of your continual prayers, as I am sure we do not, that God would be pleased

for His dear Son's sake to make us useful to Him in our day, that we may not lose or abuse our opportunities or gifts, but may do the work which He means us to do, and that manfully; that we may have a single aim, a clear eye, and a strong arm, and a courageous heart, and may be blessed inwardly in our own souls, as well as prosper in the edification of the Church. I am quite sure it is by prayers such as yours, of those whom the world knows nothing of, that the Church is saved, and I know I have them in particular, as you have also mine, my dear Aunt, every morning and evening.

Ever yours affectionately.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO HIS MOTHER.

August 28, 1835.

I had a surprise last week. Mr. Stone's son called on me to say that he wanted my leave for Mr. Perkins of Ch. Ch. to marry him in my church, to a young woman of my parish. On inquiry, I found it was the other Miss J., and in great dismay I asked him if she was baptized, as I had asked about the other last year. He said *yes*, Mr. Perkins himself had baptized her at St. Clement's two or three days before. This was as pleasant a relief as I ever had. The other sister, Mrs. P., is soon to be baptized, if she is not by this time, and they both are to be confirmed next week. This makes me think Rogers right in saying he used to see Miss J. at my Wednesday evening lecture this year, which I did not believe.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel College: August 30, 1835.

. . . We are expecting Dr. Wiseman now, as his avant-courier said he would come when September began. The said courier was a Mr. Maguire, a Roman Catholic priest of the College of St. Edmund's, near Ware. . . . He would not allow that Dr. Wiseman was desirous Sir R. Peel should remain in power, which is what some one told me. He was on his way to Mr. Stonor. I can fancy we shall be honoured with

the peculiar hatred of these people, if we are ever in a condition to show fight. I see in him the very same spirit I saw in Dr. Wiseman, the spirit of the cruel Church. I believe he would willingly annihilate the English Church. Keble and I puzzled him; whether we enlightened him, I doubt.

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, &c.; confessed he has heard my opinions exaggerated.

Dionysius is nearly done—*i.e.* as far as it can be till I read more. I have used up all the documents on the Apollinarian Controversy, and have written an account of it with references. And I think of going to the Valentinian Heresy next. Already it has thrown some light (in my own opinion) on the question of the Ecthesis, &c.

I am at present proceeding with the Abbé, and have cleared up my own ideas on the subject much. This, indeed, is my only recompense; for I do not for an instant expect the Abbé will ever give me fair play. I hope this is a recompense, for I have little to show this vacation in point of work done. The time seems to have slipped away in a dream. Perhaps it would be as well to go down to Froude, were it only to adjust my notions to his. Dear fellow, long as I have anticipated what I suppose must come, I feel quite raw and unprepared. I suppose one ought to get as much as one can from him, *dum licet*.

It is a curious thing that your notion about canons of Scripture interpretation has been running in my head, and in my second volume of Sermons I attempted indirectly to give rules for it: *e.g.* sermon for Epiphany, St. Philip and St. James, &c. And the other day I had a letter thanking me (you need not tell this) for the second volume *on this very ground*, that it put Scripture quite in a new light. Also, it was my object in my Wednesday lectures this year. However, when I talk with you, I shall see how far I have got your meaning—which I am not certain I have in full. Run down to H. Wilberforce (Harrison is going) and I will meet you there. I dare say there is a farmhouse near, where we can lodge. Think of this, and write to Harrison about it.

REV. B. HARRISON TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

September 3, 1835.

I called at the Stamp Office on Monday and saw Bowden. He tells me that Rivington gives up the tracts after next month. Have you settled what is to be done? Is it not a pity to give them up? They seem to supply a channel of communication, by a system of pipes let on, with many holes and corners, along which gas, or what not, may be laid as occasion requires. Or are the pipes unhappily few? Could you not strengthen them by a little more *originality*?

Rose wants books like Knox, Jacob Abbott, &c., discussed in the Magazine. I suppose you will not do anything of the kind till the *Theological* that is to be comes out. . . .

. . . Pusey read Knox very attentively, I know.

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

September 4, 1835.

Many thanks for thinking about me as to the early monasteries. I had hoped ere this to have been able to have read something about them, but the vacation is now nearly past; so all I can do is to keep clear, of the subject. There is, however, one point for you to clear, as it leads to much depreciation of them, and, if well founded, rightly: viz. they are thought to have neglected the means of grace. Is there any notice of their being able in their solitudes to obtain them?

My first thought about the tracts was, 'Well, if they are brought to an end by outward means out of our control, Newman will have time for more solid productions' (this I wrote to you). My second, regret that they must be given up, and a sort of feeling that their being protracted by means of my 'Baptism' tract beyond what we intended or wished, so as just to fill up the remainder of this year, was intended to give us a breathing time, and yet enable us to carry them on. They were lengthened out against our will, so that we could not break them off when we would.

Then, again, seeing that it would be a relief to you to suspend them for awhile, I thought, perhaps, that they might have done their work, and they might be resumed less offensively under another name: *i.e.* that we might gently let down the persons who have ignorantly declared against them. But I fear those persons have too far committed themselves, and are too ingrained with moderatism; and being older than ourselves, and some vain and accustomed to rule, they are the less likely to give way; and our society may very probably, and, in proportion as it has any influence, will, I suppose, be more obnoxious than the tracts.

Again, it is an object to follow up the blow. What think you of continuing the tracts, not binding yourself to monthly productions (which is worrying) nor again to quarterly (which might require too long ones), but producing them on the first of several months; if ready, well—if not to wait for the next? You might take the advantage, I mean, of Rivington's monthly circulation, when you had anything ready, and when not, not fash yourself about it.

Something to stem the tide of the American Dissenting divinity would be very useful. You need not bind yourself to produce a volume in 1836, or that the volume should be of a certain thickness.

I mean, in my preface, to enter a protest against Mr. S.'s [Mr. Stanley, afterwards Bishop of Norwich] quotation and characterisation of the 'tracts,' &c. I should like to see the pamphlet.

Rivington has just begun printing my notes [to Baptism?] in earnest: so I suppose he means to bring them out in February.

A Christian newspaper has long been a desideratum of mine. Neither the 'Standard' nor 'Record' is this. With the 'Standard' an Established is an Orthodox Church. . . .

I think the tracts are very valuable as a rallying point. It keeps people in check to know that such opinions are held.[1] They have a half-consciousness that they are true, or likely

[1] The correspondence of this time contains protests from all Mr. Newman's allies against giving up the tracts.

to be so, and they cannot follow their own inclinations to sink down the stream peacefully as they would if there were no such bars. The leap is so much longer, and in proportion the more dangerous; and there may be from time to time some who will pause and examine whither we are all going.

Rev. R. H. Froude to Rev. J. H. Newman.

September 4, 1835.

. . . The tracts in their new form (if it is gone on with as Keble hopes) may become a sort of Apostolical review. There is no getting at them in any possible way. —— was down here giving out the dictum that before long every one will be compelled to take Arnold's ground, who will not go all lengths with us; for that there is no tenable medium. . . . I should not wonder if all Arnold's attacks on the priesthood, &c., made more converts to it than not.

Rev. S. Rickards to Rev. J. H. Newman.

September 9, 1835.

I have written a tract upon Infant Baptism, the great subject to which the state of our neighbourhood calls one's attention. If it be wanted, and likely to serve the purpose, I should rather have it among the series ['Tracts for the Times'] than by itself. In reading those of the tracts which I have, it has struck me that there is too close a resemblance between the titles of many of them, and that a larger range of subject would not at all shut out recurrence to the same great points again and again.

I actually found that one of the leading clergymen in Norfolk had formed a joint school with the Dissenters under the express condition that he should give up the Church Catechism. He acknowledged it to be quite true, and perhaps not to be defended; but he neither expressed sorrow for what he had done, nor professed any intention of retracting it.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

September 10, 1835.

I propose coming to you next week. Besides looking over sermons, I want to read you what I have written to the Abbé and to get up the controversy between Bossuet and Wake, and to write an essay against Erskine, Chalmers, Knox, B. White, &c., on the subject of Objective Religion.

We mean the tracts should formally take up the Popish question. If you saw my 'Home Thoughts,' No. 2 (not that there is much in it), you would understand my line very completely. The great principle is this, that one cannot go across country and make short cuts; you must go along the road. The said 'Home Thoughts' is to appear directly Rose finds room. I wish as much as you that Rose were unshackled; but recollect he has two unanimous masters, and that Βία and Κράτος could bend Prometheus himself.

Keble is delighted with Pusey's tract on Baptism.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

September 12, 1835.

We shall be ready for you whenever you come. —— and a young doctor called Hinkson, who has paid much attention to the stethoscope, examined my chest all over; and they both told my father they never examined a chest in which there was more complete freedom from bad symptoms. Yet they say the disorder in my throat is dangerous unless stopped. Dr. Yonge is decided that I am not to go abroad this winter. [On September 15 I got to Dartington. I left and took my last farewell of R. H. F. on Sunday, October 11, in the evening, sleeping at Exeter. When I took leave of him, his face lighted up and almost shone in the darkness, as if to say that in this world we were parting for ever. —J. H. N.]

REV. R. F. WILSON TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

September 23, 1835.

If you would deduct a little from your *μεγαλοψυχία*, you would understand my remark which you ingeniously interpret of your Wednesday lectures. I spoke of your overdoing your bodily powers by too close mental application, without expressing an opinion whether the matter on which that application was bestowed, or the particular manner of its bestowal in itself, was or was not desirable. So you need neither go to Hooker nor to Pusey to resolve the difficulty which I have occasioned you.

A letter of Mr. Newman's, dated October 10, says in a postscript, 'Wilson of Bocking is going to be curate to Keble, whose marriage is soon to take place.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO HIS SISTER HARRIETT.

October 10, 1835.

. . . Rationalism is the attempt to know *how* things are about which you can know nothing. When we give reasons for alleged facts and reduce them into dependence on each other, we feel a satisfaction which is wanting when we receive them as isolated and unaccountable, *i.e.* a satisfaction of the *reason*. On the other hand, when they stand unaccounted for, they impart a satisfaction of their own kind—namely, of the *imagination*. When we ask for reasons when we should not, we *rationalise*. When we detach and isolate things which we should connect, we are superstitious.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Dartington: October 10, 1835.

I am quite decided that I cannot be editor of the tracts if they come out once a month, nor would I recommend any one else to be. It is the way to make them mere trash. One is pressed for time, and writes for the occasion stopgaps. I am

conscious there are some stopgaps in the tracts already. . . . We shall be losing credit and influence if we so go on. As I was strongly for short tracts on beginning, so am I for longer now. We must have much more treatises than sketches. I say all this from experience. As to how often, whether quarterly or on certain seasons, I have no view at present; but I foretell ruin to the cause if the tracts go on by monthly driblets. . . .

Again:

October 28, 1835.

As to the tracts, I am quite undecided about their subjects till Pusey returns. He and Keble both being away puts everything wrong. My own difficulty about the Popery series is the arduousness of the subject, requiring as it does a profound knowledge of historical facts.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Southampton: Thursday morning, October 15, 1835.

I have just got here from Lyndhurst and find the Oxford coach full. Nothing therefore is left for me but to go up to London and try to get to Oxford in that way. Be so good as to make my excuses to 'College' for my non-appearance; it is the first time (I believe) I ever was away any day of an Audit (except when abroad) since I have been Fellow. I trust I shall be with you to-morrow.

Were not this so villainous a pen, I would try to add something to this. Dear Froude is pretty well, but is languishing for want of his Oxford contubernians. I trust I have been of use in this way in stimulating his spirits. So strongly do I feel this from what I see and hear of him, that I mean almost to make myself responsible for some intimate going down to him at Christmas. He is allowed to read now, which is a great comfort. I am to send him a lot of books. It is wonderful, almost mysterious, that he should remain so long just afloat; and as far as it is mysterious, it is hopeful—really it would seem as if he were kept alive by the uplifted

hands of Moses, which is an encouragement to persevere. However, so be it.

I have just parted with H. [H. W.], with whom I have been for two days. I met W. under his roof, who carries on him, amiable as I dare say he is, the impress of a man who has risen in the world; which thing is impossible in a man who has ever walked the air, and is lofty-minded. M. N. out-herods him, and is in manner a strange specimen of donnishness grafted on 'spiritual-mindedness.' Alas! but it is a shame so to talk. The Bishop was exceedingly civil, and hoped I would call at —— if I came that way.

Also I have been several days in houses with the Bishop of Exeter, who was exceedingly gracious, and begged to see me, or rather hoped it, at the Palace. Thus you see, on the whole, I have been in good society.

Valeas, carissime; best love to Christie and the rest.

The following letter illustrates the freedom, and even coolness, with which Mr. Newman's friends could enter upon what sensitive authors might consider delicate ground:

REV. R. F. WILSON TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

October 21, 1835.

As all your part in the proposed arrangement between Keble and me is now complete, I must thank you most heartily for the kind interest you have shown in bringing about this (for me) most desirable change. I hardly like even now to speak of it as certain. Indeed, until I have fairly taken possession, I shall not feel quite at ease.

Rogers tells me you are about to put forth a third volume of Sermons. You will not mind my saying that I am rather sorry for it, not for your sake nor for my sake, but for the sake of the principles which they will contain. What I mean is this: that I do not like there should be appearance that the principles which you profess should seem only developable under one form. Therefore I should have been glad if

another holding the same opinions had published a volume, and not you, that it might be seen how these same principles admit of variations in the filling up, mode of application, &c. &c., according as minds of a different order and constitution receive and apply them to practical subjects. . . .

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

Oriel: St. Luke's Day, 1835.

I did not arrive here till yesterday morning, to the great consternation of the College [*i.e.* the Provost.—J. H. N.]; which, as in A. Buller's case, misses those most who are most regular.[1] The coaches were full, so I have been obliged to come round by London, and, having business there, I did not regret it. Rivington will publish a third volume; and, please will you manage to get for me your father's leave to dedicate it in a few words to him?

Keble was married on the 10th and told no one. 'The College' [the Provost] has but heard from him that he *resigns his fellowship* on that day without a year of grace.

I engage to undertake and pledge myself to provide a visitor for you next Christmas. Rogers or Mozley [Tom Mozley] or Williams. But if no one comes I will come myself, which would be too great a pleasure, for I cannot put into words, or rather I do not realise to myself, how much the *genius loci* of Dartington Parsonage draws. I could be very foolish did I allow myself. All my own reminiscences of the place are sad, and I am almost debarred from them; and I seem to have no right '*alienigena*' to intrude elsewhere.

[N.B.—This feeling is expressed in the verses I wrote on my first visit to Dartington in 1831.

There stray'd awhile amid the woods of Dart.[2]

P.S.—I have never seen Dartington since I saw Hurrell there.]

The following letter from Froude contains a passage quoted in the 'Apologia.'

[1] See *Reminiscences of Oriel*, vol. ii. p. 121.

[2] Vol. i. p. 243.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

1835, *Dies Omnium Sanctorum*.—After all this delay I write without being able to report progress; but don't be hard upon me. I have been up to little more than thinking in my armchair or listening to a novel.

By dawdling over Blanco White's books, I think I have got more insight into his state of mind and views than I had at first, and shall be able to make great allowance for much that he says without any affectation of candour. . . . As to Sabellianism and facts, I fear you have been unable to cram me with your views. Your 'Arians' shows in a few lines what Blanco White declares that Sabellianism is—only Crypto-Socinianism, but how to say more about it I know not.

Don't be conceited if I tell you how much you are missed here in many quarters. Now you are gone I clearly see that a step has been gained. Even I come in for my share of the benefit in finding myself partially extricated from an unenviable position hitherto occupied by me—that of a prophet in his own country. . . .

Before I finish I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of the first 'Via Media' as you do. What good can it do? I call it uncharitable to an excess. How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us! Surely we should reserve 'blasphemous' and 'impious' for denials of the articles of the faith. [N.B. Here I find one illustration among a thousand of the meaning of my saying in the passage which Stanley, Faber, Whately, &c., have made so much of in my retractation in 1843, 'While I keep to our divines, I am safe, &c.' *That* was the answer I should make to such protests as this of Froude's.—J. H. N.]

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

November 15, 1835.

I was in a particularly do-nothing way the day I got your letter. I don't know whether you know the sensation of a

pulse above 100. If you do, I think you will admit it not to be favourable to mental exertion. So you see I can't count on myself or make promises, and wish much I was not committed at all. As to the review of Blanco White, it is an amusement to me, for which I am grateful to you; but being tied up about time, correcting the proofs, &c., are my bothers. I may, indeed, be up to businesslike work soon, and I hope I shall, but I am no prophet. So I have almost a mind to tell Boone[1] that I will let it stand over till the next.

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

November 15, 1835.

As to my undertaking the tracts for the next year, I really must consider it a little more seriously than I have done before I engage to do so. I see many and great objections (I don't mean discomforts to myself, but disadvantages to the cause) and no sufficient advantage to outweigh them. If you want an immediate answer, it must be in the negative; if not, we will consider it all over and over, when I come up to lecture. It must be either on the 1st or 8th of December.

John [F. Christie] is becoming, I hope, tolerably comfortable and tame at Hursley. I fear it was rather dismal for him at first. I expect Wilson some day this week.

The parish is for the most part quite unlike Bisley, rather settled on the lees, and I foresee that it would be an extreme uphill business to get up any right notion of Fridays there. If that could be accomplished, they are not, perhaps, ill disposed towards many other parts of the system: but Christie can tell you more about this than I can.

Whoever has the tracts, by all means let us have some circulars with instructions, how to deal with booksellers to procure something like agency in distributing them. We are lodging in the house of a Tory bookseller who has many symptoms of being a real good fellow.

As to a paper at your Society, I want to get Hooker clear out of hand before I engage on anything else.

[1] Then editor of the *British Critic*.

By-the-bye, why should not Pusey be editor of the tracts? If you give up, surely on every account he is the fittest person. As far as I can judge, I very much approve of their being anti-Romanist this year: but whether in that case I can be of much use in them, is another thing. I must read hard to be so.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. H. Froude.

November 17, 1835.

R. Williams, who went away last night, and is a very good fellow, gave me the frank before I knew of your change of place. Rogers talked of coming to you December 13 or 14.

I shall write to Boone to-night to tell him that you think you could not get the article done in time for January. I will take it through the press if you will trust me. Do not fuss yourself or think yourself *pledged*.

Denison is going to give up the tuition at Christmas. He has been five years tutor! He professes one especial reason has been his disgust at finding men *will* take private tutors. You recollect this was the very reason for our system, which I put on paper for the Provost before our controversy; the remarkable thing is that our view should have been proved to be correct in so short a time. Is it not remarkable that Denison, clever and popular man as he is, *has not got for the College one first class*? They say Utterton is soon to have one, but he is a private pupil of Rogers's—*the old succession*.

Keble was thrown from his horse, and broke a small bone in his shoulder, but is better. He will not be editor of the tracts. What we think of doing now is to make our centres sell only the existing ones, and suspend operations for awhile, if not *sine die*.

M. Bunsen has pronounced upon our views, gathered from the 'Arians'(!), with singular vehemence. He says that, if we succeed, we shall be introducing Popery without authority, Protestantism without liberty, Catholicism without universality, and Evangelism without spirituality. In the greater part of which censure doubtless you agree.

Wilson has sent me an extract from Mr. Peter Hall's Church Reform book where he speaks of the Oxford Tracts as being, with the 'British Magazine,' the organs of the 'carnal and worldly part of the Church,' who desire nothing but the loaves and fishes, and hate nothing so much as the Articles.

The Theological [meeting] commenced last week, Pusey reading a paper on the general subject. I follow on Friday next, with the 'Rule of Faith,' which I read you.

The Duke has sent down a letter to the Heads, saying we must either *explain* our Subscription or postpone our enforcing it to the B.A. degree, &c., and advising the Heads to carry it through at *whatever trouble or risk*. *Ne ille nos non intelligit.* The Heads have expressed and (it is said) written back their opinion that this is impossible. Phillpotts hindered his voting against us the past session only by rowing him and putting him in a passion, and, I suppose, by promising something should be done by next year (all this in confidence). Pusey and Co. have maintained a dignified position. They see no objection to the principle of an explanation, only wait to see it produced.

REV. J. F. CHRISTIE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December 3, 1835.

I rather think you may expect to be introduced to Mrs. Keble next week. Their house will not be ready for them till the latter end of it, by which time I suppose Keble will be vicar of Hursley. He ventured to have service in St. Andrew's, and has also indirectly informed people from his pulpit that he intends to have daily morning and evening service. Folks are rather astonished, I believe, but I expect he will have a larger congregation than yourself. Golightly will be shocked to hear that he gave but too much countenance to prayers for the dead in the same sermon; though he did not say that the wickedness of the Reformation times made the custom to be disused, as I hear some one else did.

Claughton has informed me of the result of the Balliol

election, and of the classes. Poor Oriel! I mean, as to the latter. As for Balliol, I confess I had some sort of lingering hope that James Mozley might astonish them, and his essay reconcile Jenkyns to the indignity of a third class. . . .

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December 10, 1835.

In the last five days I have written forty of the enclosed sixty-three pages. If the humour lasts I may do the rest in a jiffy. I have spent a week with Dr. Yonge. . . . I believe my other symptoms are what they were, neither better nor worse. Dr. Yonge was not satisfied with the effect of steel, and changed it for I know not what, three days ago, since which I am decidedly stronger. But the Bishop of Llandaff has *warned* us against confounding *succession* with *causation*. If Rogers will bring my Breviary I shall be obliged. I shall be delighted if Mozley comes with him. They will meet Wilson, though but for a day.

REV. R. F. WILSON TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December 19, 1835.

It was a great pleasure to me to meet poor Froude, though he looks sadly, and, without any abatement of those symptoms which must make his friends most anxious about him, appears weaker a great deal than when he was in Oxford. To me he was a more interesting person than ever, because I find that his peculiar way of thinking and manner of expressing himself, which I thought might only belong to him in health and strength, continue just the same. I saw also Rogers there for a day.

I wish I had Wood's power of arranging and dividing, and then I should have a chance of giving you in some order, what at present must come haphazard. I was not startled at all at Keble's way of going on, so far as that phrase means any reference to things to be done or lines of conduct. But so far as it may mean talking I was startled, and for this reason: I

knew as a fact that I was a stranger to Keble; I also felt strange and embarrassed with him. It was continually crossing me, 'Am I sufficiently acquainted with Keble to be admitted to opinions which I should feel disinclined promiscuously to report?' Does he, then, talk to any who come across him thus, or has he been told that I am shilly-shally, halting and vacillating, and therefore administers a kind of test to try my capabilities? This last seemed to me most probable, and therefore I responded by freely expressing my hesitation, ignorance, difficulty, probably disagreement also, wherever I thought they would tend to throw light on what he was perhaps anxious to know. And this brings me to account for my use of the word 'embarrassed' above. Ever since he first wrote to me I have had a strong conviction that you, in your kind readiness to promote my advantage and comfort, have not been fair towards Keble. If you had told him all you felt, he would not have written as he did, nor in consequence made me feel like an overrated article palmed upon him, which upon first inspection he would find out, and whose real quality, I say it honestly, I wished him to find out at once. Looking at myself, I do not swerve an inch from my original satisfaction; thinking of him, my spirit rather sinks.

I should gladly have said somewhat here about the class of persons who go further when not asked than when asked; but perhaps you would misunderstand me, as I regret to say you seem sometimes to do in my letters. It hurts me that you should treat me as if you thought me touchy, and indeed, so far as you are concerned, I do not think I deserve it. Why should you talk of feeling delicate towards me, as if I required the gentle handling which is used with frail goods under glass cases? However, though I do not write here of the idiosyncrasies which you suspect in me, I should be glad to talk with you on the subject. Moreover Mr. Norris is anxious to make your acquaintance. Are you coming to London between Christmas and the first week in January? You say you have no secret meaning, and, therefore, I have written as if there had been no exception, or rather objection, taken against me by Keble, and have only spoken of myself and my feelings. I will

answer for not taking ill any hint you might give me of any disinclination on his part.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December 21, 1835.

By Rogers's account things don't go exactly as they ought at Oxford. Golius (Golightly) has rebelled, he says, and Ben Harrison has jibbed; and the Theological meetings go flat, and old Mozley won't work. Harpsfield is the writer on the Breviary services whose name I could not remember. Rogers says that Sancta Clara is rich. Wilson, for your comfort, is much less tender in the finger's end than he was last spring, though I hear Keble does complain of his being rather soft.

I very much wish to hear of your putting into execution your plan of a campaign in London, and enlarging the basis of operations.

In a letter from Mr. Rogers to Mr. Newman, written from Dartington, where according to Mr. Newman's arrangement he was spending Christmas with Hurrell Froude, mention is made of Froude's manner to his sister.

F. ROGERS, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

I am excessively amused at the alternations of treatment Miss Froude is subject to from Hurrell and Mr. B. In fact, I can hardly help being in a constant half-laughter when anything is going on between Froude and his sister.

There is a note, added years after, by J. H. N. to this passage, which surely may be given here when the lady's brother (Mr. J. Anthony Froude) has indulged his own pen, in his paper in 'Good Words,' March 1881, in dwelling with such warmth of friendly feeling on the character and personality of the writer.

[N.B.—Mary Froude was one of the sweetest girls I ever saw. She was at this time engaged to Mr. B. He used to come with a great consciousness of his situation, much gravity, and great reverence for her. Hurrell, on the other hand, treated his sister, in a good-humoured way, as a little child, calling her Poll, and sending her about on messages, &c., to Mr. B.'s seeming scandal and distress. Mary Froude all the while was the very picture of naturalness and simplicity, receiving with equal readiness and equability the homage of the one and the playful rudeness of the other.—J. H. N.]

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. H. Froude.

Christmas Eve, 1835.

As to my drawing in my horns in the 'Arians,' I have already told yourself, I think, that I must, *i.e.* as far as my theory goes; for I have already said that *in fact* the Fathers did not deduce from Scripture, and the whole passage in the 'Disciplina' is founded on the hypothesis of Apostolical tradition co-ordinate with Scripture.

Get a pamphlet written by the Rev. Edward Stanley of Cheshire or Lancashire. [N.B.—Afterwards Bishop of Norwich.] I have not seen it, but am told it will amuse you. It is written to prove the propriety of coalescing with the Roman Catholics —O'Connell, of course—and it alleges the similarity of their Church and ours on the authority of the Oxford Tracts, &c. See what a face Rogers is making.

As to our being out of joint here—no! Golius [the Rev. C. Portales Golightly—J. H. N.] would not *goliare* or γολίζειν, *i.e.* be *golius*, unless he acted as he did. At present he goes about declaiming against my patronage of Clement of Alexandria [*i.e.* in the 'Arians' in his saying that the wise man ψεύδεται], my incaution, my strange sayings; so very unsatisfactory, such a pity, as hurting my influence, &c., which is such as to take a keystone for an excrescence, and insist on its removal. [N.B.—The best instance of this was my dear Pusey's suggestion from his brother Philip, in 1841, that

I should remove the last sentences of No. 90 as giving *offence*, whereas it was the very plea on which, and on which only, the tract was justifiable.]

As to the Theological, we only dread its working too rapidly. I hope it may fall off in numbers next term. Pusey talks of having the meetings weekly, with the hope of reducing the party. No, no; we are doing well.

Rev. R. J. Wilson to Rev. J. H. Newman.

December 30, 1835.

I am very glad to think that you have fairly beaten me out of my impression as concerning Hursley. Of course, I do not quite go along with you when you speak of my singular ingenuity in discovering covert meanings which were never thought of, and allusions wholly unintended.

Mr. Norris told me the other day that he had sent you a message by Copeland, inviting you to stay with him when you come up; so you see his suspicions of the Oriel school must be subsiding.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. H. Froude.

Oriel: January 3, 1836.

Happy new year to you and all of yours. What do you think of my getting into odium in this place as the advocate and agitator for self-supporting dispensaries? It is not in my line, but straws show how things are. I happened to be in the chair as Rural Dean in the absence of the Archdeacon, and among the townsmen I figure in consequence as worrying people with another crotchet. But it has opened a new view to me. I suspect the Dissenters here are hating me with a perfect hatred. I hear there is a large party of people who abominate me, others speaking more favourably. I have been told that I am a 'marked man; there is no question of it.' I am getting callous. I believe all this would have made me quite sick at one time, but somehow I wag on sluggishly. . . . Rose has written to me, but please keep everything

about Rose quite secret (he would not like me to make free with his name), protesting bitterly against Hampden's Moral Philosophy Lectures. He says they are worse than the Bamptons, and says the University will surely rue its indulgence some day. He is pressing me to go to London. I am so perplexed for time that it quite fidgets me.

The Heads of Houses are much annoyed at our Theological Society, and I have cold looks even from Wynter, Burton, Jenkyns and Brydges.

P.S.—Mozley [T.] cannot come to you. He is obliged to leave Morton Pinkney. His brother is going to marry my younger sister.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: January 10, 1836.

Since I wrote I have had so encouraging a letter from Rivington about the sale of the first volume of tracts that I almost determine to go on with them. The only question is, the chance of doing something with the 'British Critic,' which is a subject I will talk more about when I see you in London.

Did you see the description of a High Church clergyman in the 'Standard' the other day? My thoughts at once went to Pusey, as answering every point of it, especially the corpulence (!) It is a sign we are somewhat growing when a talk is made between 'Times' and 'Standard.' I am told the 'Record' in its summary of the year's events laments the growth of High Church principles among those who might have known (or who did know) better things. Does this allude to such men as Mr. Dodsworth?

Many thanks for your kind congratulations about my sister, received yesterday, which I trust and fully believe have good grounds. . . . Of course those who have wives must be as though they had none, and we know not what is to be. But, even though trouble were to come on the nation, friendships and affections are realities, and no worldly vicissitudes can sweep them away, not even death itself.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 12, 1836.

I hope *συγγνώμη* may be granted to Rogers and me, *ὡς ἀνθρώποις*, if a sense of the *γελοῖον* did for a moment overcome us as to the Dispensary case.

The Wellington Testimonial affair is really abominable, especially as you cried out against it from the first as doctrinaire. I have much less to say for *myself*, though I believe *I* took it up solely out of compliment to Keble. But it is too bad that the real culprits should have slipt their heads out of the noose, and got snugly off to Hursley [Keble] and Duloe [Ogilvie]. Keble and Ogilvie are certainly *the* persons whose names ought to be put forward. As for Ogilvie, it is just consistent with his other views; and Keble, in his capacity of poet, could bear the imputation of a little doctrinaireism more gracefully than most of his contemporaries. . . .

Rogers leaves us on Thursday, having been the greatest of acquisitions in the eyes of every one. What do you mean to do with your Erskine and Jacob Abbott?

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 14, 1836.

I suppose Christie has told you that I am ready to be on the committee [of the Theological Society?], and as soon as I have done the preface I shall try and set to work at a paper.

We have begun daily service with as little attendance as possible, but do not at all repent it, but quite the contrary, and already I think I see a disposition in some of the people to come into the idea.

I have heard from Froude, who seems to me to write in *pretty* good spirits; but I am sorry to find they think it necessary to confine him so. His being able to write is an excellent sign. What have you set him on now?

Thank you for sending me Wilson's letter. It shows him

in a most amiable light, as only a little too mistrustful of himself; and it shows me that I must get a little more skill to rule my tongue. You have all of you made much more than I meant of that little word of mine of his being *softish*. I only meant that he was not as disposed to hang all Whigs, Puritans, &c., as some might be; but this we charitably attribute to the bad company he has kept in London. I have no doubt of our suiting extremely well if he can be comfortable here.

About the Psalms we can talk when I come up. Good night, or morning rather; I could prose on with much satisfaction to myself; but it is really too late.

Your ever loving,
J. K.

REV. W. J. COPELAND TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

[*January or February*] 1836.

I see poor Burton is gone; he came to town for advice some four or five weeks since, and those who knew him well, though they said but little, looked very despairingly on his case. One could wish one could nominate his successor; but what a dream everything seems.

You will pronounce me more useless than ever, for I have done little more than collect, and I shall not be ready.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: January 16, 1836.

Thanks for the sight of your most instructive paper. [This, I think, was the Preface to his Hooker.—J. H. N.] Give me this essay as a tract and it would set up the tracts at once.

I think I am going on with them. On Monday I go to town and shall decide. The 'Standard' is calling us 'third part Papist and third Socinian,' and Mr. Stanley [afterwards Bishop of Norwich] calls us an active and important party. Rivington has sent down for reprints for some of the first volume, which he says is steadily selling, and the 'Edinburgh'

is preparing an attack. Now since many of these notices are made under the impression that we are crypto-papists, here is an additional reason for tracts on the Popish question.

FREDERIC ROGERS, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Bridehead: January 16, 1836.

I have left Froude, who professes to remain much as he has been, rather weaker than when you were with him from never being in the open air, but not worse than he has been from the beginning of his confinement. . . . I am afraid, too, he is not quite in such good spirits as he used to be. You ought to send Harrison down to him to take lessons on the subject of the Reformers; for certainly he has a way of speaking which carries conviction in a very extraordinary way, over and above the arguments he uses.[1]

Did Froude tell you that some good lady who has read you wonders how it is that you and Arnold should have any difference between you, your sentiments and general tone so perfectly agreeing?

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

Oriel: January 17, 1836.

You will say I surfeit you with letters. Please send up by your brother Anthony all spare copies of Pusey No. 1 on Baptism—also any of No. 2.

The 'Edinburgh Review' is going to attack us in form; on which Bowden observes that he desires it as much as Crœsus that the islanders would attack Sardis.[2] Not in the next

[1] Do not these words, as a definition of personal influence, throw a desired light on the weight and power attributed by all his friends to Froude's utterances? Apart from the language of eye, and smile, and voice, the reader feels and knows himself to be at a disadvantage.

[2] *Herod.* i. 27: 'When then the Greeks in Asia had been made tributary, it came into his mind that he would build ships and attack the islanders. And when all his preparations were made for shipbuilding, there came to Sardis, some say Bias of Priene, others Pittacus of Mitylene; and when Crœsus asked him if there was anything stirring in Greece, he spoke as follows, and so

number—it is to be very mild, candid, respectful, a review of the 'Arians'—I suspect, from Merivale.

January 22.—I am at Bowden's, Richmond. What do you think, *entre nous*, of the Evangelicals having raised 150,000*l*., and offered it to the Bishop of London for building churches, if he will join with them and bestow them on men of their own kidney?

January 28.—Rose, who, like a high-bred horse, is more scared and agitated at shadows than any one of his calibre should be, sees nothing but misery in it; which is increased by the same party having (unless it be two reports of the same story) the intention of buying and then selling again to proper persons the municipal advowsons, which will amount to about 95,000*l*. Now *I* say, we must not think of opposing them directly, except so far as may secure principles, if there be any left. Let them fill the churches with their people; our game is to convert these latter; and that I think in the long run we shall do.

Now for the 'British Critic.' I was to have met Rose at Joshua Watson's last Monday and again missed him. Time then having got on, I determined to open the subject to Joshua Watson, and most fortunately I did, for it turned out on the one hand that he was intimately acquainted with the affairs of the Review; had long supported it in a pecuniary way, and was the very person, therefore, to be consulted; and on the other hand Rose had had somewhat of a difference with Boone [the Editor] and would have been the very worst person to talk to—Boone having taken against and Rose having been

stopped the shipbuilding: "O king, the islanders are purchasing ten thousand horses, and intend to attack Sardis and thee." Then Croesus, supposing that he was in earnest, said, "Would that the gods would put it into the mind of the islanders to come against the children of the Lydians with horses." But the other answering, said: "O king, you seem to wish heartily that you could meet the islanders on horseback on the mainland, and you judge rightly. But do you suppose that the islanders, as soon as they heard that you were building a fleet against them, had any other prayer than that they might catch the Lydians at sea, in order to take vengeance on thee on behalf of the mainland people, whom thou keepest in slavery?" Croesus, they say, was highly pleased with the retort, and, as his adviser seemed to speak good sense, ceased from shipbuilding.'

seduced to take part with, Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, which, by-the-bye, may account for the latter's slowness as to the 'Home Thoughts,' which I offered yesterday to withdraw and put into the tracts; but he would not allow me.

Now I have a great deal to tell you about Mr. Stephen [Sir James Stephen]. I took the chance, after some hesitation, of calling upon him; he received me most exceedingly well, and made me fix my day for dining with him. I wish I could give you all his conversation, which was instructive. It is so hard to do so without seeming to bepraise myself; but, since I am conscious I have got all my best things from Keble and you, I feel ever something of an awkward guilt when I am lauded for my discoveries. He did not like my 'Arians'; which (if I understood him) jumped about from one subject to another, and was hastily written, though thought out carefully. My two volumes of Sermons he looked on as a condescension—every one writing sermons—as longish essays written off (which is not true), but important, as showing we had something in us which would be of essential service in the present state of philosophy and religion. He seemed to treat with utter scorn the notion that we were favouring Popery. This age of Mammon and this shrewd-minded nation were in no danger of it. The sermons had struck upon a new vein; it would be a great benefit done to the country if Quietism could be shown to be consistent with good sense and activity. Quietists and Mystics were commonly weak and eccentric; if repose and good sense could be married together, a service would be done to the age. Again, the philosophy of 'little things' was a most important ground. Further, the most subtle enemy which Christianity had ever had was Benthamism. He had had a dream of attacking it in his latter years himself. He saw *every one* infected with it. Now he thought our views had in them that which could grapple with it; and he wanted me to throw myself out of active business and think and write: that was my function; the more I wrote the better.

He wanted from me a new philosophy. He wanted

Gospel had a kingly sway, and of right might appropriate all truth everywhere, new and old.

There was much truth in Benthamism; that was its danger. Legislation and political economy were new sciences; they involved *facts*: Christianity might claim and rule them, but it could not annihilate them. What he feared was the religious men of the day opposing them *en masse*. There must be an eclectic process, &c.

I could not in my first talk with him 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. But when I dined with him (*tête-à-tête*) I found he was far from this. He is perplexed; wishes for an infallible guide; made the most impressive remarks on life not being long enough for controversy; said he would be a Papist if he could, and listened with great interest, though not clearly taking me in when I brought forward the argument of Tradition. Indeed, go where I will, 'the fields are ready for harvest,' and none to reap them. If I might choose my place in the Church, I would (as far as I can see) be Master of the Temple. I am sure from what little I have seen of the young lawyers I could do something with them. You and Keble are the philosophers, and I the rhetorician.

P.S.—I am pleased at your good account of yourself. You will soon be able to get out. Your weakness is nothing considering the confinement. I have not time to read over this scrawl.

Rev. J. Keble to Rev. J. H. Newman.

January 25, 1836.

Will you have the kindness to send the papers I last forwarded to you [N.B. qu. Preface to Hooker] in the next parcel from the press? I am very desirous to revise them carefully since you are so encouraging about them in some respects; but you a little alarm me by talking as if I were

breaking up such very new ground by it. Pray make any more observations that occur to you. It is a sad hindrance to be kept from one's books in the way one is, and will necessarily add to the many imperfections of the concern. But one comfort is, any good that is done is τόσον καὶ ἔτι, more than one had any right to calculate upon. Since I wrote to you last I have been looking a good deal at Jewel, and he confirms all my impressions.

I have been grieved and alarmed exceedingly at the loss of poor Burton. The least mischief one expects is the appointment of such a person as Shuttleworth, or one nearer Oriel. But *Deus providebit Ecclesiæ suæ.*

I am rejoiced at your account of the prospect of the tracts, and more especially at your going on with them.

REV. THOMAS MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Oriel: January 27, 1836.

The Provost's memory is certainly gone, or lost among his bits of paper, like a Sibyl's oracle committed to the leaves and blown about by the winds. I told you that he pretended that the mention of Ottley's name was quite new to him [qu. to succeed T. M. at Morton Pinkney]. Well, the only result of my conversation with him on December 31 is that he told the Dean [Copleston] that I had made up my mind to stay in the living of Morton Pinkney; and that he speaks as if I had originated, or at least authenticated, the objection against Blencowe on the ground of his unsound religious principles [N.B.—Blencowe was a mild, amiable Evangelical]. The first error he happily corrected himself, on re-consideration, remembering that we *had* talked of Ottley. Copleston now talks of taking Morton Pinkney, and is going there with James on Friday to inspect the place.

I delivered your message to Pusey. He laments that this Divinity Chair is the only appointment against which there is not even any regular way of protesting, as the Professor comes down with his Royal Mandate, and there is the end of it. However, he says that if, as he hears, *he* [Hampden] is

to be appointed, he will write a letter to Lord Melbourne, protesting against it.

[N.B. *June* 22, 1862.—Pusey did write one of his most earnest, weightiest, crushing letters to Lord Melbourne, who answered him cleverly and sharply, and did not conceal the great antipathy he felt in consequence towards Pusey.]

Harrison is talking much of an *extensive scheme* for building churches on *right* principles. [*Vide* Mr. Dodsworth's letter.—J. H. N.] The Bishop of Llandaff [Copleston] writes to his nephew [Fellow of Oriel] that *he has no fear* of Ministers making an improper appointment. Pusey says this is because he does not expect they will appoint *you*, as he knows of nobody else in the kingdom whose appointment the Bishop would view with uneasiness.

In the above letter is an allusion to what issued in the great Church-building scheme carried out under Bishop Blomfield. The following is the letter referred to. Its subject and the start of this Church-building effort still have an historical interest.

REV. W. DODSWORTH TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

York Terrace, London: January 29, 1836.

We are very anxious here to make an *extensive* effort in Church-building for the metropolis. We have been for some time in communication with the Bishop on the subject. The matter of patronage seems to be the great difficulty.

I have learned that some friends in Oxford, with whom you stand immediately connected [*i.e.* Pusey.—J. H. N.] have had their minds directed to the same subject, and have felt the same difficulty as to patronage. Now, for my own part, I feel, as I am sure you do and others at Oxford, that if we had any security for the Government being a *Church* Government, who would appoint sound Churchmen to be Bishops, we could not do better than leave the patronage with the spiritual Fathers of the diocese in which the churches are to be built. But suppose the case of a Whig-Radical being put over the

diocese of London, having forty or fifty new churches in his sole patronage!

My object then in writing is humbly to beg you and other friends in Oxford to consider this point, and to ask advice whether we ought not to concede, so far as *principle* will allow, measures which are adapted to the painful situation of our *National* establishment, though not abstractedly such as we should most approve. Suppose out of a certain number of persons nominated by the Bishop, say 100, three or five trustees should be elected by the subscribers to be the patrons of each church. The same trustees not to have the patronage of more than two or three churches.

REV. R. H. FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 27, 1836.

You may perhaps have seen in the papers that my grandmother died the 14th of this month. She retained her faculties to the last, and seems to have undergone the minimum of suffering which death requires. She was within a month or two of eighty-nine. . . .

. . . You may have all the rest, so 'spend away, my boy,' and make a great fuss, as if your money flowed in from a variety of sources.

It is very encouraging about the Oxford Tracts; but I wish I could prevail on you when the second edition comes out to cancel or materially alter several. The other day accident put in my way the tract on 'The Apostolical Succession in the English Church.'

[This tract was in its *matter* Palmer's, and, I think, in some parts of its writing.—J. H. N.]

. . . Christie tells me you have had a letter from poor Blanco White. Pleased rather than otherwise with the review [which was by Froude] and mistaking it for yours, and sending you a copy of the book. Poor fellow! I should much like to know in what tone he wrote; it must have been a painful thing answering him. Poor Palmer! what a sad loss his mother will be to him; but I hope yet to hear a better account

As to propitiating Rose, he is much in our debt and ought to make propitiation himself. I am quite out of patience waiting month after month for 'Home Thoughts Abroad.'

I don't gain flesh, in spite of all the milk. Indeed, I suspect that in the last six weeks I have lost a good deal, but the symptoms remain the same.

[N.B.—This was the last letter he wrote to me, perhaps the last letter he wrote at all. He died a month and a day after its date, February 28. The following letters[1] of mine, written from Oxford and London, and at odd times, though in part at earlier dates than the foregoing, did not get to him till the beginning of February.—J. H. N.]

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

London: January 30, 1836 (*King Charles's Day*).

The following subject presses, and of course is confidential. You have some (I do not say much) chance of having the Divinity Chair offered to you, and I write in anxiety lest you should at once decline it because of the quarter from which the offer comes. I know one is apt to take oneself in; but please let me say a word or two. Some years since, in Robert Wilberforce's case, I certainly thought he ought not to have taken a living from Lord Brougham, yet I recollect insisting again and again that the question was not whether a Tory in the abstract should in the abstract receive a favour from a Whig, but whether R. W. should receive one from H. B.

First, it is not a favour done to you. I know the world will think it is, but it is not, and you will not really feel it as such. R. W.'s was nothing but a favour. He could not say 'duty compels me,' 'here is a sphere of influence,' &c. But in the present case a definite office, *sui generis*, of immense importance in the Church, is offered to you (if offered) and the simple question is, What is God's will? The many,

indeed, look at the emolument, &c.; but put that aside, and there remains a great gift and talent put into your hands.

Consider, on the other hand, what the alternative would be: perhaps the throwing it into the hands of H. or of others like him. Can a man be justified in risking this? Is there any such clear reason for not accepting it from Lord Melbourne as for not suffering possibly H. to be Professor? Is it not a low and little-minded view to think of the offer of such an office as a favour done to oneself, or to be jealous of being suspected of regarding it as so much pounds, shillings and pence, rather than to consider oneself as a soldier at the bidding of his superiors going on any service? This is a king's office—as a lawful subject can you abandon him to H.? Further, cannot you or I, or any one we at all feel with, sincerely and earnestly pray beforehand that it may *not* be offered, from the very difficulty of choosing what we ought to do? Cannot we be sure (so to speak) that, if we had it in our power to decide whether the offer should be made by saying the words 'yes' or 'no,' we should, whatever shooting thoughts from other motives might take place, yet deliberately say 'no'? And if we can be sure of this, have we any right to take into account what people may say?

Lastly, let it be considered that you are committed in your line of religious profession already. If the minister asks you to take a post, he is asking one who has already promised what line he will take, and who can be accused of no ingratitude or double dealing if he differs from him and opposes him.

I say all this partly on my own account, for I have been named to the minister as well as you, and I wish to deal fairly with myself as well as with your case, and to have your advice. Six have been named to him, of whom we are two and Pusey a third. On the other hand, Whately, who is serviceable to the Whigs at this moment, presses for Hinds and lauds Hampden. Copleston, though of no influence, favours Hampden.

Do not let me make you think you have a greater chance than you have, but you may like to be prepared. For myself,

I think you the only man among us who can take it without *odium*. Pusey would incur the suspicion of his brother's influence; I, of semi-popery.

I go to Oxford on Monday.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. H. Froude.

Richmond: January 31, 1836.

I write to you in some anxiety. Keble has a *chance* of being offered the Divinity Professorship[1] [N.B.—I have reason to think I heard this from Rose by word of mouth], and I

[1] On this subject the following extract from C. Greville's *Memoirs* may be given:—

'This morning I got a letter from the Duke of Bedford, enclosing one from William Cowper to him, informing him of what took place when Hampden was made Regius Professor. . . . "The Archbishop of Canterbury came to Lord Melbourne to announce the death of Dr. Burton. In the conversation that ensued my uncle requested the Archbishop to send him the names of the persons that occurred to him as best qualified for the situation, and begged him not to confine the list to a small number. The Archbishop sent a list including Pusey, Newman, and Keble; and if it was, as I believe, the list of the Archbishop which is now before me, it contained nine names; but it is possible he may have sent only six, and that the other three were added from another quarter. Lord Melbourne sent the nine names to the Archbishop of Dublin (Whately) without mentioning who had recommended them, and he justified the confidence reposed in him by giving a full and impartial statement of what he conceived to be the qualifications of each. But previous to this he had been consulted by Lord Melbourne, and asked whom he would recommend, and had written, on January 22, 1836, a long letter, in which he said:—'The best fitted for a theological professorship that I have any knowledge of are Dr. Hampden and Dr. Hinds, (afterwards Principal of Alban Hall); the qualifications I allude to, and which they both possess in a higher degree than any others I could name, are, first, sound learning; secondly, vigour of mind to wield that learning, without which the other is undigested food; and, thirdly, the moral and intellectual character adapted for conveying instruction. Both Hinds and Hampden are what are considered of liberal sentiments, but agree with me in keeping aloof from parties political and ecclesiastical.' . . . . Lord Melbourne doubted for some time between Arnold and Hampden, but, thinking the former rather too rash and unsettled in his opinions for so responsible a post, decided in favour of the latter; and it was not till after he had made up his mind that Hampden was the fittest person that he asked Dr. Copleston to give him his opinion of him, which opinion was so favourable that it confirmed him in his choice; he did not send any list to Copleston. You may rely on the accuracy of this statement as far as it goes."'

dread lest he should decline it. I write to you, that if you agree with me, you may write to him at once. For myself, I should go by your judgment, if such a thing occurred to me. . .

Then follow the arguments the reader will find in his letter to Keble. The letter continues:

Keble has long declared and acted on his opinion. As well might O'Connell be accused of ratting when he condescends to a Whig government as Keble might. For myself, *carissime*, I think I may say with a clear conscience I have no desire for it, and had I my choice would decide that the offer should not be made to me. I am too indolent and like my own way too well to wish it. I should be entangled in routine business, which I abhor. I should be obliged to economise and play the humbug in a way I should detest, and I have no love for the nuisance of house and furniture, adding up bills, settling accounts, hiring servants, and getting up the price of butcher's meat. I have the unpopularity, the fame of being a party man . . . the care of tracts and the engagements of agitation. I am more useful as I am; but Keble is a light too spiritual and subtle to be seen unless put upon a candlestick. . .

Whately is pressing for Hinds. Copleston [Bishop of Llandaff] writes down to his nephew that we may rest secure, no inexpedient man will be given us, and in town advocates Hampden. I can only reconcile him with himself by supposing, as I do, that, by 'inexpedient man' he hints at Arnold and me. [N.B. *i.e.* who are opposite extremes.] Dr. Goddard has been talked of in high quarters; also Bull, Denison [next year Bishop of Salisbury], Jenkyns and Short [since Bishop of St. Asaph]. Moreover *Tyler*, whom I should not wonder, after all, if they fall upon as a moderate man whom no one speaks ill of.

Wood—who has grown apostolicissimus, reveres King Charles and almost takes up Laud—has kept your MS. for his instruction, so I hope to get the said letter franked.

I have had a long letter on the stocks for you for the last

fortnight, which was to have gone in a parcel with your MS. from Rose.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: February 2, 1836.

I have bargained to supply Boone with four sheets quarterly for the 'British Critic.' Le Bas is publishing a 'Life of Laud,' and a review of it is wanted. The review of it should get into good hands. I know no one who could do it but you and Froude.

Mr. Dodsworth, to whom I have been introduced, is desirous to have a series of lectures this spring on some week day, on the Apostolical Succession by preachers from Oxford. I am going to attempt Hook, Woodgate, S. Wilberforce, Copeland, Oakeley, &c. Wilson will give you an account of this and all our other proceedings.

The Bishop of London and Pusey are in correspondence about new churches in London.[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. H. FROUDE.

Oriel: the Purification, 1836.

I shall flood you with letters, but yours which I found on my table on my return yesterday requires an answer; and before I finish, perchance I may have news. I am charmed with Wood; I so wish you could see and talk with him. He goes, or is ready to go, as far as any one.

As to my economies in my first tracts, I have much to say about them, were not writing a bore. First, I will willingly alter all revilings; again, all serious charges about which I may have changed my mind. But, so far, I have not changed my mind, namely, in thinking that Transubstantiation, as held by Rome, involves in *matter of fact* profane ideas. If the union of the exalted nature of Christ with the qualities of bread be the doctrine of antiquity, I yield; else, it does seem

[1] To which Dr. Pusey is supposed to have given [illegible]

to me a substitution of something earthly for a heavenly mystery. If I am wrong, I wish to be set right, but till then I cannot but say what I say, though I admit I ought to say it temperately. . . .

Christie has hallucinated considerably about Blanco White. No letters have passed between us, only he has sent me his book. . . .

Θάρσει. φίλον ἦτορ. You could not but get weaker this weather, so confined. [N.B.—Thus ended my correspondence with him: I add his father's account of him.]

VEN. ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

February 4, 1836.

. . . I will leave all below for your regular correspondent to fill. I am afraid he will not give you so satisfactory an account of himself as we had hoped.

P.S.—Hurrell wishes me to say that he has nothing particular to say just now, but that you shall hear from him in three or four days. He has received your two letters.

And now, as he will not ask to see what I may write, I will tell you in a few words that my fears for him have increased considerably within the last week. There can be now no doubt that he has been losing ground, that he is much thinner than when Mr. Rogers left us, and as evidently weaker. . . . He is generally cheerful, sleeps well, and takes a sufficient quantity of food.

REV. J. F. CHRISTIE [Fellow of Oriel] TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley[1]: *February* 8, 1836.

. . . I am rather amused with the account of Golightly's tilt at St. Mary's [he preached against Pusey's view of Baptism. —J. H. N.], because Golightly has always held up Pusey as quite coming up to his views in his cautiousness, &c., while *you*, though you may be orthodox enough, do not express yourself so as to keep out of the reach of flippant criticism.

He (Keble) had only been here a week before he was summoned away to Cirencester [his mother-in-law's illness (?) He set up daily service, however, in that week, which has gone on, and which answers better than one would have expected.[1]

To-day I had only the clerk and one of the servants in the afternoon, and in the morning only one other woman besides, who dropped in before the Psalms; but commonly I have five or six or seven, and in the evening several children from the schools.

I was not ungrateful for your long letter. A man in the country values long letters, especially from Oxford friends. I am sorry your affair with H. has not ended more satisfactorily, at least more graciously. It is a sad pity, because he is such a very good fellow, and also so very industrious. You could get something out of *him*. Now Mozley [T. M., his great friend] and the rest of us are such idle dogs that nothing is to be done with us.

February 9.—I wrote this last night, and have since got Wilson's letter. As to Hampden, all that can be said is that he is better than Arnold, who would have made friends and become a centre, which Hampden will not.

February 15.—The last letter from Oxford, that from Wilson, gave me no notion of any opposition to Hampden's appointment, and I was quite taken by surprise by the glorious news you had to give me. It is a great bore for you to have to live such a salamander sort of life.

To Mr. Newman's urgent appeal of January 30, Mr. Keble—allowing some days to pass—answers with characteristic brevity, leaving what might have been his decision, had the choice been offered him, entirely in the dark; and turning at once to the subject of the actual appointment:

[1] 'Keble's marriage took place at Bisley, on October 10, 1835, and the newly-married couple went to Southampton, where they remained, I believe, till they took possession of the parsonage at Hursley.'—*Life of Keble*. Mr. Christie

Rev. J. Keble to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Cirencester: February 10, 1836.

I am very much obliged by your two letters. The first would have alarmed me more than it did if I had not somehow made up my mind to believe that it was quite impossible the thing should be so [N.B. the report that *he*, Keble, was to be Professor of Divinity], and how I privately made up my mind matters not, as I make no question what we hear this morning from Miss Harrison will prove correct, and that the H. of last year's renown [N.B. I suspect this means Hampden] will be the worthy successor of Sanderson, &c. What can be done? I should think a sort of respectful memorial to the Archbishop and Bishops might be got up, stating *facts* merely as to what Hampden has taught, and as to what influence he would have, and leaving them to judge whether something should not be done to remove candidates for Orders out of his reach.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

Oriel College: Ash Wednesday, February 17, 1836.

I had hoped by this post to have sent you some definite intelligence about our affairs here, but after all nothing is yet decided, though the Archbishop expected it would be; and the most discordant rumours prevail. Rose seems to fear we shall be unsuccessful; and, if so, on the ground that Hampden was made Moral Philosophy Professor after his Bampton Lectures. Now I am malicious enough to feel some amusement at this; for Gaisford and the Vice-Chancellor [Rowley of University] were afraid of me as being ultra, and thought Hampden the safer man.

By-the-bye, Wood, perhaps, has told you, else you will be amused to hear of the following speech of Lord Melbourne's [the Premier] to his (Wood's) brother. 'How is it that in your sluggish University, a college should be found which has produced so many men of unusual views? There are Whately and Arnold; now again Dr. Hampden; and then again, *neologians*

The Archbishop fears to present our petition as being on the verge of constitutional precedent; and I believe it is certain that, if Hampden is not appointed, some moderate man, such as Denison, will be Professor. Our friends have no chance. Another friend in London tells me that we are pretty safe from Hampden, and that the affair will lie over for some time.

I know not what to wish; we gain and lose in both alternatives. If he is not appointed, we have gained a victory; and besides we are safe from the extreme annoyance and mischief which must attend the appointment. And whoever succeeds will be virtually curbed in any liberalistic propensities by our present proceedings in their success. On the other hand, if Hampden is appointed, a headship of a hall and a professorship will both, I suppose, be let loose. O that Keble might have a chance of the former! Again, the Ministry will be at open war with the Church; the Archbishop will be roused; and a large number of wavers in this place will be thrown into our hands. Our Theological Society will increase in consequence at once. What a lucky thing it is just set up! My scope in devising it was to restrain the vagaries of Hampden and such as he; but I little thought it would be so soon needed. Moreover, were Hampden appointed, we should be enabled to push a formal investigation into his opinions before the Vice-Chancellor, and nothing would do us more good in these times than the precedent of a judicial investigation and sentence. It is said that Arnold had the offer of the professorship before Hampden and declined it.

. . . I suppose I shall soon hear of something from him (Hampden) in answer to my pamphlet ['Elucidations'][1] —though that must be in other words an answer to himself, since I do but quote him.

[At the meeting at Corpus, February 10, 1836, a petition was drawn up—I suppose to the Archbishop (the King?)—and sent off next night to him through Rose at Lambeth, with seventy-six names, including Routh. On the morning

[1] See a contemporary report of the feeling in Oxford on Hampden's appointment.—*Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley*, pp. 50, 51.

of the 19th I had two letters from Rose, one a private one, the other official, as from the Archbishop. I am not certain they came together; nothing depends on it.—J. H. N.]

Rev. H. J. Rose to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Lambeth: February 18, 1836.

[PRIVATE.]

You will have learned, I doubt not, ere this that Dr. Hampden's appointment is *confirmed*—that intelligence has just reached this place. I lose no time in assuring you (although such an assurance may be considered as superfluous) that every step which would have rescued your University from this evil was not only taken, but was taken without the least delay. But the determination of the Ministers has prevailed against every effort.

It is always a source of comfort to those who are to be the sufferers under any evil to know that they have left nothing undone, which *could* be done, to ward it off; more especially in a case where such momentous interests are at stake is such a remembrance satisfactory.

I need not say to *you* how deeply and sincerely I condole with you; nor shall I attempt to give expression on this occasion to the feelings which you will be well assured I entertain.

Rev. H. J. Rose to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Lambeth: February 16, 1836.

[PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL.]

I am directed by the Archbishop to say, that from the consideration which is due to his Majesty it is *desirable* to avoid so strong a step as the presenting the petition transmitted to his Grace through me; but that he will, if ~~those gent~~lemen who signed it should be satisfied with that course, *retain* it, and act to the best of his judgment according to circumstances.

[N.B. June 24, 1862.—I have preserved both these letters. —J. H. N.]

Extract from 'Chronological Notes':

February 8, 1836.—News of Hampden's appointment to Burton's place.

February 10.—Meeting about it in C.C. Common-Room.

Sat up all night at my pamphlet against Hampden. ['Elucidations.']

February 13.—My pamphlet out.

March 22.—Convocation about Dr. Hampden.

The following letter shows the writer impressed with a work to do, which ever since his illness in Sicily had possessed his mind, and would especially occupy it on his birthday:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO HIS SISTER JEMIMA.

February 21, 1836.

Many thanks for the news contained in your letter. . . . Thank also my Mother and Harriett for their congratulations upon this day. They will be deserved if God gives me grace to fulfil the purposes for which He has led me on hitherto in a wonderful way. I think I am conscious to myself that, whatever are my faults, I wish to live and die to His glory—to surrender wholly to Him as His instrument, to whatever work and at whatever personal sacrifice, though I cannot duly realize my own words when I say so. He is teaching me, it would seem, to depend on Him only; for, as perhaps Rogers told you, I am soon to lose dear Froude—which, looking forward to the next twenty-five years of my life, and its probable occupations, is the greatest loss I could have. I shall be truly widowed, yet I hope to bear it lightly.

VEN. ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

February 18, 1836.

My dear Hurrell desires me to account to you for his long silence, but . . . . I am sure you must have attributed it to the real cause, and be prepared for a confirmation of the fears I then expressed. . . . All hope of his recovery is gone; but we have the comfort of seeing him quite free from pain, and

in sure trust that the change will be a happy one whenever it shall please God to take him.

His thoughts continually turn to Oxford, to yourself, and to Mr. Keble; but my heart is too full to add more than his instructions to thank you for all you have written to him, and to say how much he was interested in Mr. Rogers' most amusing account of the late proceedings in the University.

VEN. ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

February 23.

Your friend is still alive. The morning after I wrote my last he awoke with a fluttering about the heart and a pulsation at the wrist I could not count. Our apothecary thought he could not live out the day [There was a rally due to a sudden abatement of pulse], but our doctor holds out no hope of any change having taken place that should raise our expectations beyond that of a short respite.

As he continues free from pain or any very uncomfortable sensation except that of extreme weakness . . . I am thankful that he is permitted to remain with us even for a few days. On no account, my dear Mr. Newman, would I have you come down. No good could come of it. You shall hear again from me in a few days, sooner if anything occurs that should call for an earlier communication.

Hurrell desires me to thank you, and also to say that he is 'sorry that he has given you any trouble about those stupid accounts,' to use his own words, and that he cannot scrape up ideas and strength enough to write to you himself. Should he, contrary to all reasonable grounds for hope, get a little about again, do tell Mr. Williams his paying us a short visit will give us great pleasure indeed.

VEN. ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Dartington Parsonage: February 28, 1836.

My dear son died this day. Since my last he has been gradually but quietly sinking. After a rather more than

usually restless night, he spoke of himself as being quite comfortable this morning, and appeared to hear the service of the day and a sermon read to him with so much attention that I did not think the sad event so near as it has been. About two o'clock, as I was recommending him to take some egg and wine, I observed a difficulty in his breathing. . . . He attempted to speak, and then after a few slight struggles his sufferings were at an end.

Will you, my dear Mr. Newman, select anything you please as a token of remembrance from your departed friend.

The Editor's family correspondence brings in interesting notices of Froude. Thus there is a touching postscript to a letter of Harriett Newman's, in the last stage of his illness. 'Who can refrain from tears at the thought of that bright and beautiful Froude? He is not expected to last long.' A passage in a letter from T. Mozley to his sister Maria tells of the first reception of the news of his death in Oxford:

Newman had arranged to go to Dartington from London if he found a letter there. It was, however, purposely directed to Oxford, and it was sad news for Newman on returning to Oxford to find it so near. He opened the letter in my room, and could only put it into my hand, with no remark. He afterwards, Henry Wilberforce told me, lamented with tears (not a common thing for him) that he could not see Froude just to tell him how much he felt that he had owed to him in the clearing and strengthening of his views.

I dare say there is no one who has said more severe and cutting things to me, yet the constant impression Froude has always left on my mind is that of kindness and *sweetness*.

Again, writing to his brother John, a few days later:

. . . Froude's death seems not a gloom, but a calm sadness over the College. Newman showed me his father's letter written the same day—perfectly quiet and manly—making various arrangements; and telling Newman and his friends to

keep for his sake. I suppose Froude never got a book or anything else in his life merely for the sake of *having* it. His absolute indifference to possession was something marvellous. Did I ever tell you that he has for two years at least given his fellowship to Newman to go towards the tracts? Yet he was by no means *careless* about money matters; for he with great pains put the accounts of Junior Treasurer—which I find troublesome enough even now—on an entirely new and simpler plan, to the great convenience of his successor.

ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 7, 1836.

If your last had reached me a day sooner, dear Hurrell would have been gratified with hearing that part of it which was addressed to himself. His affection for all those friends whom you named was great, and the things engaging their thoughts were seldom out of his mind.

When I wrote just after our separation I could not trust myself, nor can I now, to touch on my own sorrows. May God in His mercy turn them to my profit!

Hurrell Froude passed away so early in the work of the Movement, and could work so little for it, that his actual share in it needs to be sought out through contemporary records. Little as his pen did, short as his life was, those who can recall the time feel the influence of his mere presence to have been essential to the original impulse which set all going. They cannot imagine the start without his forwarding, impelling look and voice. His presence impressed persons as a *spiritual*, though living, influence. He stands distinct, apart in the memory of those who can recall it, the more that years did not dim the brightness and fire which became him so well in his office as inspirer.

The reviewer of Froude's 'Remains' thus dwelt on the

strength of his religious impressions, the boldness and clearness of his views, his long habits of self-denial, and his unconquerable energy of mind, triumphed over weakness and decay, till men with all their health and strength about them might gaze upon his attenuated form, struck with a certain awe of wonderment at the brightness of his wit, the intenseness of his mental vision, and the iron strength of his argument.' [1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: March 2, 1836.

Yesterday morning brought me the news of Froude's death; and if I could collect my thoughts at this moment, I would say something to you about him, but I scarcely can. He has been so very dear to me, that it is an effort to me to reflect on my own thoughts about him. I can never have a greater loss, looking on for the whole of my life; for he was to me, and he was likely to be ever, in the same degree of continual familiarity which I enjoyed with yourself in our Undergraduate days; so much so that I was from time to time confusing him with you, and only calling him by his right name and recollecting what belonged to him, what to you, by an act of memory.

It would have been a great satisfaction to me had you known him. You once saw him indeed, but it was when his health was gone, and when you could have no idea of him. It is very mysterious that any one so remarkably and variously gifted, and with talents so fitted for these times, should be removed. I never, on the whole, fell in with so gifted a person. In variety and perfection of gifts I think he far exceeded even Keble.[2] For myself, I cannot describe what I owe to him as regards the intellectual principles [*i.e.* philosophy] of religion and morals. It is useless to go on to speak of him, yet it has pleased God to take him, in mercy to him, but by a very heavy visitation to all who were intimate with him. Yet everything was so bright and beautiful about him, that

to think of him must always be a comfort. The sad feeling I have is, that one cannot retain in one's memory all one wishes to keep there, and that, as year passes after year, the image of him will be fainter and fainter.

The strict chronological order of the last few letters has not been observed for obvious reasons. Mr. Newman at Oxford had to carry on his ordinary correspondence on the great public interests of the time, while his thoughts were dwelling on the scene passing at Dartington. Thus the following few lines to Mr. Keble were written when the heart of both writer and receiver would be dwelling on the friend whose life was passing away.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: February 28, 1836.

I have received this morning a note from Rose, of which at once I send you an extract.

'I wish to tell you in strict confidence that the Archbishop went at once about Keble to the Duke of Wellington, but it was too late. The person's name who is to be Head [St. Mary Hall] when Dr. Hampden resigns, I must not mention; he will do neither harm nor good. You may say this to Keble, but to no one else.'

The following letter is noteworthy on two accounts: as another illustration of the freedom with which Mr. Newman's friends volunteered their advice on what may be considered delicate points, and again as showing the estimate in which sermons merely as such were held by the literary public of that day.

SAMUEL F. WOOD, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Temple: Monday, February 28, 1836.

I am sending to-day in a cover to Rogers my account of Bunsen's Hymns. Really the Bunsen has taken me a good

deal of time; but I am quite sensible that I have brought out what I had to say in a very dull and clumsy way, and I am annoyed at not being able to mend it. So I am quite prepared to be *plucked* if so be [for the 'B. C.'?].

Rivington has sent me the transcription of your paper on Tradition. You did not tell me whether I am to take it to the Frenchman or not, or what I am to say about it.

I have looked over the two University Sermons, both of which were old acquaintances. Unless you thought of giving us a whole volume of such sermons, I do think the two would appear much better in the form of essays. They would only want a new beginning and end each; and you have no idea how the very name of *sermons* restricts a book's circulation, while essays are eagerly caught at, and many are surprised into the consideration of subjects which would otherwise never be presented to them.

Should this find you in Devonshire, though I hardly dare utter any hopes or fears [Froude at this time lay dying], lest they should be importunate, I cannot help offering my affectionate regards.

Sir Francis Palgrave to Rev. J. H. Newman.

1836.

I do earnestly hope that you will continue by means of the press to enable those who cannot enjoy the privilege of hearing you in the pulpit to profit by your labours.

The necessity of pointing out, in an unflinching manner, the anti-Christian tendency of our modern literary and scientific pursuits, but most particularly the latter, increases every hour. The harlotry of philosophy perverts thousands who are proof against the grosser seductions of the senses. It would be well if some means could be found of giving more *public warning* of the tendency of the works produced by the class of *decent* infidels; they have a great currency. The circulation of the 'Tracts for the Times' is far too limited to produce much effect.

tended for youth and for females, are tainted to the core with neology and infidelity. Of this, I could, if you liked, give you one or two remarkable examples.

Attached to a packet of letters, the following words, signed J. H. N., usher in the March of 1836:—

March 1836 is a cardinal point of time. It gathers about it, more or less closely, the following events:—

1. Froude's death.
2. My Mother's death and my Sister's marriage.
3. My knowing and using the Breviary.
4. First connexion with the 'British Critic.'
5. The tracts becoming treatises.
6. Start of the 'Library of the Fathers.'
7. Theological Society.
8. My writing against the Church of Rome.
9. Littlemore Chapel.

} A new scene gradually opened.

The last entry in this list—'Littlemore Chapel'—has successive notices in the correspondence of the period. It may be said here that the connexion of Mr. Newman and the ladies of his family with Littlemore was what may be called ideal: men, women and children all of one mind in their devotion to them, and whatever work they had in hand.[1]

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

March 3, 1836.

That I had not the happiness of knowing Froude as you did is a subject of my regret; though, knowing as much of

[1] A letter of this date shows the interest felt in the building of Littlemore Chapel. '. . . The church is externally finished, except perhaps the pointing and washing of some parts, and they began yesterday to lay the floor or pavement. Our school-children bring us continual anecdotes with the greatest glee. They told us yesterday that the workmen individually are so anxious to have the pleasure of each ringing the bell to call the rest, before the others, which falls to the lot of the earliest, that there is almost a race among them to

him as I did by description beforehand, and feeling consequently a conviction of the accordance in so many points of his views and principles with my own, I *knew* him much better during the two or three days of our acquaintance than I could under other probable circumstances have done.

A day or two before, I remarked in the paper the death of one whom I never saw, Menzies of Trinity: but I knew him by name, as one of the Oxford tract writers, and I was thinking of him as the first of your immediate party who had passed within the veil. [N.B.—Three men died three days running; Menzies February 27, Froude February 28, Anstice February 29.—J. H. N.]

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: March 5.

I very much wish, if I may be allowed, to drop some hint at Winton that the Archbishop himself wishes for such addresses as we are waiting to forward. Barter at first, as well as Moberly, entered warmly into our wishes, and began sounding people; but first the Dean declared he would not sign, and cause why? He would not sign anything except an address to the King for Convocation. Then Mr. Charles Baring, who is one of the Bishop's men, said he thought it wrong to interfere with the prerogative, &c. &c. And now Archdeacon Bayley writes earnestly deprecating any interference, and wants us to believe, on his authority—for he gives no reason—that in a month's time we shall be of the same opinion.

I have written to propose to him summoning his college and addressing either the King or Archbishop, or at least the Bishop of Winton, as Visitor, which I conceive would be strictly in accordance with the Founder's views; but he has not answered this suggestion, and I suspect is cooling fast. However, the Bishop is coming on Tuesday, and I am to be instituted Wednesday at Winton, when I suppose I shall see some clergymen.

Mr. Howe, a clergyman of Southampton, writes me word

that they all seem well disposed there, but are apt to wait till they see what Winchester does.

Eyre has got your pamphlet, and is trying to stir them up at Salisbury.

Forgive me for not doing anything for the Theological Society this term again. You know how I have been hindered; but you don't know how ill I am prepared.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: March 6, 1836.

The Archbishop would like *large bodies* to move, as Archdeaconries, but deprecates bodies of thirty or forty clergy. However, in a short time small bodies may move also. Anyhow, Winchester is not such. A capital address from the Archdeaconry of Bath. Bristol has sent up an address signed by nearly fifty clergy. Archdeacon Barnes is moving in Devonshire.

I shall be for printing some useful documents; one will be dear Froude's article on the *Præmunire*, and his Hooker paper. We have collected a number of historical passages, showing how Premiers, in the matter of patronage, have encroached on Archbishops. There is a splendid *à propos* passage in Bishop Newton's life.

There was a talk of Gladstone making a speech on the subject in the Commons, and we have been waiting to use it. . . .

We have indeed had an irreparable loss, but I have for years expected it. I would fain be his heir. When I was with him in October, I so wished to drink out his thoughts; but found they would not flow, except in orderly course, as all God's gifts. It was an idea of Bowden's the other day that, as time goes on, and more and more saints are gathered in, fewer are needed on earth. The City of God has surer and deeper foundations day by day. The few, the one or two, and they, however weak, fight at a great advantage.

The following letter bears on the influence of Hurrell

Froude—the sense at the *time* that it was a *personal* influence —as in a degree vanishing with his presence :

REV. R. I. WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

East Farleigh : March 9, 1836.

How can I begin a letter to you without thinking of the incomparable friend whom we have lost ! It grieves me not to have seen him these last three years, yet perhaps, if I had, my grief would be greater, because I should more feel his loss. If you see any of his family, would you ask them to let me have some one book of his as a memorial ? There is something inexpressibly melancholy in the passing away of such a spirit without sign or memorial; yet perhaps it is a sign not uninstructive to beings so prone to fix their thoughts on things of this world. Yet it would be a great consolation to me to contribute to something which would perpetuate the judgment we have formed of our invaluable friend. If any monument can be put up for him at St. Mary's, I should like to give towards it 20*l*. I think it should not be a plain one, but accompanied with some figure, or something of that kind. I do not know what others feel, but think there is much reason in such expenditure for those we have loved. It is the best form of selfishness, and I think it may often call forth the feeling of kindred spirits to those who are gone.

VEN. ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Dartington Parsonage : March 9, 1836.

This morning I have been strongly pressed to get up an address to the King. Dr. Hampden's appointment is the immediate cause, and there is a feeling among the clergy in the neighbourhood that some public expression of our sentiments should be recorded, though we have little hope of doing good. . . . As these matters come easy to you, will you allow me to ask your advice, and such assistance in framing a short petition as you can favour me with ? My notion is, that Dr. Hampden's name need not be mentioned, though the allusion

cannot be misunderstood; and that our prayer should be confined to asking some security against the nomination of improper persons to high stations in the Church—meaning, of course, the Archbishop's sanction. . . . [N.B. June 24, 1862. . . . The point of the whole Movement, I think, was the addressing the King, not the Minister. This frightened, apparently, the Archbishop—*vide* Rose's official letter above; and it nettled Lord Melbourne considerably, who wrote, in his answer to Pusey's private letter to him, that another time it would be wise in Pusey, if he wanted a thing done, to go to those who could *do* it—meaning, not the King, but the Minister.]

REV. A. P. PERCEVAL TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 18, 1836.

Thank you, my dear friend, for your letter, which (like all yours) is a comfort to me, and a great proof of your regard, to be written amidst such outward and inward pressure.

. . . About Convocation . . . will your *dispensing* analogy hold? Is there no difference between the Church in her Canons directing such alterations (as in sprinkling) and the violence of brute force without, compelling alterations? . . . But take your own ground of expediency. Can it be expedient, or is it not tempting Providence, to abandon interests without remonstrance, *the only safeguards* to the endowments of the Church which the constitution both of Church and State has provided? As to angry discussion [N.B. in Convocation], remember they can discuss nothing but what is submitted to them, and can originate no new matters. But I will not harass you with arguments which you have no doubt already fully considered.

Does it not seem to you that, however desirable in Catholic times the equal vote of the Presbyter with the Bishop in spiritual matters may have been (in temporal ones it is expressly enjoined), yet that, in our circumstances, with regard to the appointment of Bishops, the only reasonable hope of maintaining sound doctrine, if alterations are to be proposed,

independent of the State comparatively? . . . And then you will wish in vain for the Convocation which is now *to be surrendered for ever*. We may then have the melancholy satisfaction of following the steps of the Non-jurors. [N.B. June 15, 1862.—In the extracts of letters of 1833–1836, there are letters of Perceval's on this subject. I had written papers 'On the Convocation' in the 'British Magazine' in 1834, not, however, giving any opinion.—J. H. N.]

The following letter relates to the recent meeting of Convocation at Oxford to oppose the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Regius Divinity Professorship. This protest was carried by an immense majority, but vetoed by the Proctors.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

London: March 29, 1836.

I do not think that *the world* here is at all aware that the proceedings of this day week were not a complete end of the whole business. You must not let the *continuation* of your labours appear like a *renewal* of them. Besides, you ought to let the non-residents see what they have pledged themselves to. As yet, the 'Chronicle' *et id genus omne* remain without any particular contradiction, while asserting 'There is now in Oxford but one feeling of disgust and regret, &c.,' meaning the doings of your Committee.

I hope you were not the worse for the labours of the eventful day. I found myself, on the day after my return, 'pretty considerably tired,' to borrow a phrase from our American friends.[1]

S. F. Wood, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Temple: Easter Eve, April 2, 1836.

It is desirable that the enclosed should not be delayed [viz. Perceval's petition for Convocation]. I told you in

[1] See on the subject of this meeting in opposition to Hampden's appoint-

Oxford that Dodsworth was anxious to learn your opinion respecting the impending Church measures; however, we were too much absorbed by other matters to come to anything definite. . . .

I still find a feeling of uneasiness at your joining, as people call it, with Boone [*i.e.* in the 'British Critic.'—J.H.N.]; and the spirit in which the articles in this number on the Oxford Tracts, &c.—and even your own sermons—is written, will, I think, impress you with the reasonableness of distrust of him and his. I do not say this at all as if I had changed my own mind about its being the best thing that could have been done to use that Review as an *instrument*, but merely to point out the desirableness of placing your own articles in *contrast* with theirs as soon as possible, instead of any attempt at harmonising.

If the Hampden business comes on again, please let Rogers or somebody write to me in good time.

J. W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Easter Eve, April 2, 1836.

I wish you could tell me for J. Watson's information whether Dr. Wiseman went *as your guest* to Oxford, or was in any way under your special patronage there? He wants to give an answer to some one else on this subject, and hopes to be able to give one sufficient to prevent, as he says, your good fame being evil spoken of.

The Watson of whom Mr. Bowden writes in this letter was, no doubt, Mr. Joshua Watson. To the question asked Mr. Newman replies at once:

April 4, 1836.

I feel much obliged by Mr. Watson's inquiry. The simple answer is, that to the best of my belief Dr. Wiseman has not been in Oxford—at least, not in the University, though he may have passed through in a coach.

The origin of the report is this. When at Rome, I, *as*

July, a friend of his (a priest, R. C.), passing through Oxford, brought a letter of introduction from him, and dined in the Common-Room, which for four hours was the scene of sundry amicable disputes. In the letter of introduction Dr. Wiseman said *he was coming*, but I believe he never did. Had he come I should have been bound, as I am still, to show him the same kind of general civility which he showed me at Rome; and which poor Pusey was obliged last week to show to a *Crypto-Socinian* sent here with a letter to him.

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: April 7, 1836.

Consider whether it might not be good for you to come down here for a week or fortnight when the bustle, which I suppose will be occasioned again by the Hampden controversy, is over; and bring dearest Froude's papers with you, which one would have a sad pleasure in perusing here, where all my recollections are strangely mixed up with the idea of him.

Ogilvie was very urgent with me the other day to send in my name as a candidate for the Bampton Lecture. Now, the time is gone by for this year, but I have an idea for another year which yourself suggested, and I should like to discourse on it with you. I mean taking up that plausible view of Romanism—which you give in the first of those 'Home Thoughts,' namely, as a development of the spirit of the first ages—and, trying it on various particulars, it strikes me that I might do myself much good by reading with a view to it, and might at any rate strike out something which would do good to the cause collaterally. But *has it been done?* or, are you doing or *meaning to do it?* Tell me true, on your allegiance.

REV. J. F. CHRISTIE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Saturday night, April 9, 1836.

I heard news on the coach to-day which shows what good

it up. A Rugbeian, who had just returned from attending the Rugby meeting, always held in Easter week, says that Lord Melbourne has written to Arnold to say that he was very anxious to make him a bishop, but that in consequence of the recent proceedings he could not venture to do so just at present. The information had come (with one step interposed) from one of the Rugby Masters.

The following 'rough' notes of a letter to Mr. Rose are upon the subjects dwelt on in the paper called 'Home Thoughts Abroad':

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. H. J. ROSE. [Transcribed from a rough copy.—J. H. N.]

Oriel College: April 10, 1836.

As to your kind message about dear Froude, I will consult with Keble [*i.e.* whether a notice should be put of him into the 'British Magazine'].

Your postscript requires a prompt answer, though I feel it very difficult at a moment to express my own feelings on the subject it refers to.

I seem to have vast and complicated truths before me, and must not be thought inconsistent if at different times I give different reasons for what I have said in those 'Home Thoughts' [*vide* 'British Magazine' for March and April 1836]. Nor can I quite recover the state of mind under which I wrote them. A substantial agreement in my different explanations I promise (but perhaps I have not realised to myself in the simplest form the end or object which I feel), and that I suppose is enough.

My object, then, in writing them was this—to provide beforehand against prospective evils. There is a *probability* of the whole subject of Church authority, power, claims, &c. &c., being opened. I am persuaded that the half-solutions, which have hitherto really been enough, will not do in time to come. Men will probe deep, and, unless we manage to cut under

want to forestall objections and their answers. There appears to be *that* in the Church of Rome as it is at present which seems utterly to preclude our return to her. Our tracts, at this very time in the press, are aiming to bring out this in a series.

Again, there is a possibility of a general crash, and then it will be as well we should have some notion what our Church's capabilities are. Hitherto she has been supported by the State; but if it fails her, what is she to do? This is the very problem laid down in our Tract No. 1. The advertisement to Vol. I. aims at the same; and Tract 20. I wish to encourage Churchmen to look boldly at the possibility of the Church's being made to dwell in the affections of the people at large. At present it is too much a Church for the aristocracy and for the poor—mainly *through* the aristocracy—with few attractions for the middle classes.

Now, should these dangers *not* come, or, again, should these objections *not* be made, the whole of what I have said—*i.e.* in print—will, I conceive, look like a dream, and be a dream, and will do no harm. I cannot believe, *till* the evils are practically felt by being present, that *any one* will take up and use what I have thrown out [*i.e.* in 'Home Thoughts,' &c.] Men will call it a theory, and I wish them to do so. But they may suggest something—if either evil comes—of answer against the Roman controversialist, of hope against the successful leveller. And, let me add, however chimerical they may be for our relief, in case of the latter evil, yet *if something* of the sort is not drawn out against the Romanist, surely he will puzzle us. [I conceive I suggest an answer, I feel to myself I do so, to his strong points [erased in rough copy]].

As to alterations of the Liturgy [in 'Home Thoughts' I advocate unconnected and independent *additions* and alterations], I think our business is to frighten the Evangelicals. In that tract to which you refer [N.B. June 25, 1862.—Tract 3. I suppose in his postscript Rose had said that my desire for King Edward's First Book, &c. was inconsistent with the conservative tone of the first tracts.] I expressly state that we all have our own crotchets, and urge this as a reason for being contented with things as they are. [The only way of stopping

their desire to alter the Baptismal Service is to talk of King Edward's First Book. I think we may be of essential use to men high in the Church in this way. Already surely we have done good; there has been less wanton talk of alteration than there was, and those who desire it feel they must act covertly. I cannot doubt the Evangelicals are afraid and annoyed at *us*; they have to defend themselves, instead of attacking others according to their wont.

As regards our Rulers, those who know me, alone will tell how far my words, sincere though they be, are true; but I *think* I could submit without a word to any advice or correction from them which did not involve a suppression, on my part, of the Articles of the Creed in their primitive sense. If at this moment a competent authority told me to exclude all other subjects from the tracts [*i.e.* except the Articles of the Creed], I would obey. I wish the Evangelicals would say as much. The great principle I should ever maintain is, 'to remain satisfied' with what we have and are, and to contend for it; but, if once we *are* dislodged from our existing position, to try to get a better.

As to 'excitements,' it is a very large subject; but I do not think the utter repression of these is the Gospel way of dealing with them. The Roman Church stops the safety-valve of excitement of Reason; we, that of the excitement of Feeling. In consequence Romanists turn infidels, and Anglicans turn Wesleyans.

I will but beg you in conclusion to correct, if necessary, some sentences of the note which I scribbled off to you the day before yesterday. When I said I thought you were almost too bold for an editor, I only meant generally to convey to you my assurance that you need never hesitate to send me back any paper of mine or to object against it. I was not implying you were too bold in admitting the 'Home Thoughts.'

[N.B. June 25, 1862.—The last sentence is obscure; it means, I believe, this: Rose was very sensitive. I once called him 'Conservative' or said he was becoming Conservative, in the year, perhaps, 1834 or 1835, and thereby hurt him much. So here, I must have said to him something like 'Never fear

plucking me, for you are almost too bold for an editor—meaning, I shall never take it ill, for I am the last man to accuse you of want of boldness,' and then the fear seized me lest he should say to himself, 'Here's a pretty fellow. He takes advantage of my kindness, makes me put in things which no prudent editor would receive, from the influence he has with me—and then laughs at me for letting him go such lengths under my editorial sanction.'—J. H. N.]

[I have preserved the rough copy.—J. H. N.]

The interest in Keble is such that the Editor ventures to give a further letter on his manner and turn of conversation:

REV. R. F. WILSON TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: April 15, 1836.

Keble is indeed what you described him. He is so uncommonly kind and considerate, that one is sometimes almost discomposed by it. I wish I may be half as suitable to him as he is to me. It is a fortunate thing for me that Keble has been disposed to receive me with all sorts of favourable prejudices; for otherwise I should fear lest he should misunderstand me. There seems to me a very important difference between us for two persons continually working together. He is (so to say) all conclusions; I am afraid I am, for the most part, premisses. I do not suppose this is a very intelligible mode of expressing oneself; and very likely my amplification will not much mend it.

I mean that things come from him almost straight to practical conclusions. He does not make much of a discussion: does not enter into much detail as to views, explanations, possible motives, opinions of others; but goes direct to work for himself and comes to some result. Or, again, his arguments, reasonings, for his own views, are, as it were, squeezed and compressed into the smallest possible space—jerked out, —hinted at—implied; and then comes a big conclusion, at which others (*e.g.* such as I) would tuck up their skirts, and

them to prop up the weight, or rather would try to heap a Pelion upon Ossa of argumentation before they would venture to top up with such a comprehensive or startling enunciation. Or, again, he does not give you half a conclusion because the other half may nearly choke you, but quietly administers the whole dose, trusting that, though at first it may be heavy on the stomach, the natural strength of your digestion will carry it off, and convert the mass into wholesome nourishment for the animal frame.

What a shame to trouble you with all this! But you have a way of making your friends feel you are interested about them, so that I do not feel much concerned for telling you all this in such a way about my well-being. If I have croaked to you [*i.e.* at other times], may I not try a more cheerful strain now?

I have been reading the Bampton Lectures again [*i.e.* Hampden's. He had known Hampden, I think, at Hackney] in order to steel myself for any kind of violence that may be proper. Really they are too bad. I should have supposed that you [1] and Pusey had exhausted the objectionable passages, but really one has little trouble in making a list of one's own.

Samuel F. Wood, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Temple: April 1836.

Bowden, Dodsworth, and myself have had some conversation this morning at the Christian Knowledge Society, the result of which is this letter. The occasion of so many clergy being gathered together at Oxford as will be on Thursday seems very opportune for obtaining their signatures to any Memorial respecting the new Church Bill, and should not be lost. Now if you approve of that respecting the Bishopric of Sodor and Man which Dodsworth has sent you, it might be signed now.

It really would be most lamentable that such a see should be suppressed. He tells me that the discipline of it is most primitive, the Bishop sitting in open court with his Presbyters,

[1] In the *Elucidations*.

adjudging, excommunicating, &c. Then, again, the Bishop having no seat in the House of Lords is a valuable precedent: and altogether, when our crying evil is the fewness of the Bishops, and the wide interval which separates them from the other orders, it will be wretched if, for a saving of 2,000*l*. per annum, such a thing should be committed and not a voice protest against it. Well, then, what we would suggest is that to-morrow (when, as we hope, your Hampden business will be for the present suspended [*i.e.* over for the present by means of a decision]) you and Pusey should consider the Memorial and make any alterations in it you think fit; and then get it engrossed and ready for signature by the time the men come in. Let it be observed that this case differs entirely from that of Bristol and Bangor, in that it is a total *suppression*—not what they profess to be a better economical distribution of existing dioceses.

Bowden and Dr. Chapman are coming down to-morrow *inside*, and Ryder, Rogers, and myself *outside*, the 'Defiance.' I fear that our majority will be much less than last month [*i.e.* March 22]. Many lawyers are going down from here now who were absent then.

REV. W. DODSWORTH TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

I believe that your correspondent's statements respecting the See of Sodor and Man are substantially correct.

It is said to be the most ancient in the United Kingdom, being founded about A.D. 450 by St. Patrick, who appointed St. Germanus the first Bishop. By an Act passed in Henry VII.'s reign, it was incorporated with the Church of England, being annexed to the Province of York; these particulars are given in Sacheverell's account of the Isle of Man, and also in Sir James Ware.

It is sad to speak of the conduct of the present clergy. With the exception of the Archdeacon, who is here using his best efforts to save the Bishopric, they have *all consented* to

I learn from good authority that, on the wretched state of the diocese being represented to the Commissioners [June 15, 1862.—These Commissioners were appointed by Sir R. Peel, during his short administration in 1834–35. The Commission is the basis of my pamphlet on Suffragan Bishops.—J. H. N.], as an argument for retaining the Bishop, one of them (a Bishop) observed, 'If it is so bad *with* a Bishop, we may as well try whether it will not be better without one.' Is this the spirit in which our Church is to be reformed?

It is said that the intention of suppressing the see has arisen from some irregularities of the present Bishop in the matter of ordination.

R. Williams, Esq., M.P., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

I send you a letter from Ward [son of the Bishop of Sodor and Man], together with a memorial which the Bishop of Sodor and Man has addressed to the Church Commissioners. The latter I cannot help looking upon as a very valuable document, both in reference to the subject itself, and also as a protest against the tyrannical character of the Commission. I fear the question will be introduced into the House of Commons on Thursday next. I hope Sir Robert Inglis will take up the question with zeal.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Oriel: April 18, 1836.

I rejoice about the Bampton, and think your subject a very grand and good one. I hope you will not forget your promise of a volume of sermons. I put it on this simple ground. *We are raising a demand for a certain article, and we must furnish a supply.* Men are curious after Apostolic principles, and we must not let the season slip. The seizing opportunities is the beginning, middle, and end of success; or rather (to put it higher) it is the way in which we co-operate with the providential course of things. We expect, too, your letters on Sacramentals; also will you be ready to talk with Pusey about your version of the Psalms?

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. B. MOZLEY, ESQ.

Oriel: April 18, 1836.

. . . Pusey expected to find you in his house even on his return—so you see he is making no stranger of you. I shall tell him you come on Thursday. As to a room, if I were you, I should continue to make my bedroom my study. It is what I always do when I can, with the best effect. However, since there is but yourself, it seems, for Morris is not coming, you can have the dining-room if you please.

Tell Tom, his namesake Keble wishes him to superintend the architecture of his new church, and is in a hurry, and was annoyed to hear he was out of Oxford. . . .

Vale, valete, Jacobe cum Thomâ.

Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Dr. Pusey's tract on Baptism had been recently published, and was exciting much attention when Mr. Newman wrote the following letter:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE.

April 19, 1836.

If you knew my friend, Dr. Pusey, as well as I do; nay, as well as those generally who come tolerably near him, you would say, I am sure, that never was a man in this world on whom one should feel more tempted to bestow a name which belongs only to God's servants departed, the name of a saint. Never a man who happened unconsciously to show, what many more (so be it!) have within them, entire and absolute surrender of himself, in thought, word and deed, to God's will. And this being so, I shall battle for him when his treatise is attacked, and by whomsoever. I do not say that he has *finished* his subject; rather he has opened a large circle of subjects, which, I trust, he will be strengthened to accomplish. Only, I say, as far as he has gone, he is intelligible and not alarming.

To the same inquirer Mr. Newman writes shortly after:

I am not aware that I ever 'determined' not to refer to the Prayer Book in defence of Dr. Pusey's treatise; at the same time I cannot allow that the Prayer Book is or ever was intended to be a repository of the perfect Gospel. It is a part of the original Catholic Services, and as such is the voice of all Saints in all times; but it is a matter of history that its present form was decided by a number of accidents. At the Revolution we ran the *risk* of the Athanasian Creed being omitted, or the Collects changed, &c. Now had that risk become a fact, still we trust the Prayer Book would have been a guide, as far as it went; but it would not have been a guide in all things, because it would have been silent about some. So, again, it was an accident that we have not King Edward's First Book; that Book retained the rite of Exorcism in Baptism. Now it would be very hard for a reader to turn round upon Pusey when he expresses reverence for the rite, and say, 'Where is it in the Prayer Book?' when but for Bucer—a foreigner—it would have been there.

Pusey's doctrine—that is, that of the Fathers—is this: That in Baptism there is a *plenary remission* of all that is passed. That none such occurs again in this life, none such till the Day of Judgment. But it does not thence follow that there is no *kind of Absolution* besides promised us. There is; and of it the Collect for Ash Wednesday, &c., speak. It is this: we are admitted, as a transgressing child might be, not to the same absolute election, but from time to time, according as we pray, repent, and are absolved, to a lower state in our Father's favour. We are admitted to Church ordinances, Church privileges, and the state of grace which is in the Church, a place of rest, refreshment, respite, of *present* help; without more, however, than the *suspension* of our sins over our heads. Now think of this, and see whether both Prayer Book and Pusey do not teach this concordantly.

From the loss of his friend Froude, Mr. Newman's thoughts were abruptly called to another loss—a private one, which told

deeply upon him. In transcribing his Mother's last letter, in which she recalls his Father's delight at his election to Oriel, and touches gently on his present turn of thought and action, which made him an influence in his generation, Mr. Newman added the two following sentences:

'On April 28, 1836, my sister Jemima was married to John Mozley.'

'*On the following May* 17 *my Mother died.*'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Iffley: May 18, 1836.

You will be distressed at the news I have to tell; the most overpowering event it is to me—my dear Mother's death. I did not know of her danger till the day before yesterday. She died yesterday.

It is indeed a most bitter affliction, but I feel it must be for good. . . . Pray give me your prayers.

Some words may be said here of this strange clash of events, a marriage and a funeral. Mrs. Newman had entered with a very warm and thoughtful interest into her daughter's engagement and marriage; her letters on the subject are as wise as they are full of feeling. She was a woman content to live as it were in the retirement of her thoughts. She had an influence, though not a conspicuous one, on all about her. The trials of life had given a weight to her judgment, and her remarkable composure and serenity of temper and manner had its peculiar power. Under this gentle manner was a strong will which could not be moved when her sense of duty dictated self-sacrifice. The interest and excitement of the occasion had told upon Mrs. Newman and tried her frail health, but she kept up and made light of her indisposi-

remained beyond the other guests to be with Harriett, the sister left alone. It was then that Mrs. Newman broke down; but the physician who visited her did not treat the case as a very grave one, and promised amendment. As quiet was recommended, Mr. Newman, in Oxford, was not immediately informed that anything serious was the matter, and when his sister wrote anxiously, her letter missed him through the stupidity of a servant. So that when he did come to Rose Bank he was shocked to find his Mother in an almost sinking state. Immediately he brought another opinion, but it was only to learn that his Mother's state was hopeless. The brother and sister were together with her to the end. This account is necessary to explain Mr. Newman's words to Mr. Bowden.

The day on which that letter was written, and which had to be passed in all the sad pressure of business incident to such occasions, Mr. Newman's one comfort was, as he said, that 'such a day can come but once in a life.'

In the Rev. J. B. Mozley's Letters there is a notice of this event and of its effect on Mr. Newman. 'Up to the time of the funeral Newman was dreadfully dejected, his whole countenance perfectly clouded with grief, and only at intervals breaking out into anything like cheerful conversation. But whether it is that the funeral service and the rite altogether has thrown a consolatory colouring on the sad event, or that he does not think it right to go on grieving now that all is over, certain it is that he seems much more like himself now than he has been for the week past.

'Dr. and Mrs. Pusey, Copeland, Rogers, and others attended the funeral. Mrs. Newman was buried in a vault within the rails of the chancel of St. Mary's.'[1]

[1] Mr. F. W. Newman, who at that time was living at a distance from Oxford, was prevented attending his Mother's funeral by the very serious illness

If any one present at the funeral has read this letter, it will have recalled to him Mr. Newman still kneeling at the altar when all was over, lost in prayer and memory, till at length Mr. Isaac Williams, who had officiated, touched his shoulder to recall him to the necessity of joining the mourning train in the return to the desolate home.[1]

The following letter after the death of his Mother was written when Rose Bank was deserted, his sister Harriett being now at Derby with Mrs. John Mozley.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO HIS SISTER HARRIETT.

June 21, 1836.

I went up on Monday to Rose Bank when the house was all but empty. . . James Carter (Mrs. Newman's servant) has begun to mope. He misses his place.

I fear you remained here so long on my account. You have nothing to be uneasy at as far as I am concerned. Thank God, my spirits have not sunk, nor will they, I trust. I have been full of work, and that keeps me generally free from dejection. If it ever comes, it is never of long continuance, and is even not unwelcome. I am speaking of dejection from solitude. I never feel so near Heaven as then. Years ago, from 1822 to 1826 [In the spring of 1826, Froude was elected Fellow of Oriel], I used to be very much by myself, and

[1] A remembrance of this date is found in a packet of letters returned to the writer.

TO MISS M. A. D.

When we came back from the funeral the sun was in the house again; of course it did not bring back the change; but as if Mr. Newman thought that grief had reigned long enough, he seemed by a sort of resolute effort to throw it from him, and resume his usual manner. He remained as a member of the family party for a few days, and joined in long walks which were taken. It was then that I first saw Shotover and Bagley Wood. I remember one day Mr. Newman giving the account of his illness in Sicily, and the effect of the scenery upon him on his recovery. Such descriptions are not to be described over again. They harmonised then with the scene before us; and recent suffering had the effect which by right belongs to it, of giving to nature, both present and in

in anxieties of various kinds which were very harassing. I then, on the whole, had no friend near me, no one to whom I opened my mind fully or who could sympathise with me. I am but returning at worst to that state. Indeed, ever since that time I have learnt to throw myself on myself. Therefore, please God, I trust I shall get on very well, and, after all, this life is very short, and it is a better thing to be pursuing what seems God's will than to be looking after one's own comfort. I am learning more than hitherto to live in the presence of the dead—this is a gain which strange faces cannot take away.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. JOHN MOZLEY.

June 26, 1836.

I am full of work as usual and trust it may tell. One never can say beforehand how long one's time is, or how long one shall be honoured with the opportunity of being useful. While, then, my health lasts I wish to employ myself . . . For what I know, I may in a year or two be cast aside as a broken tool having done my part. Not that I expect this, but God's ways are so wonderful.

. . . Now I have not explained why I have said all this: for this reason, that you might not think me lonely. I am not more lonely than I have been a long while. God intends me to be lonely; He has so framed my mind that I am in a great measure beyond the sympathies of other people and thrown upon Himself . . . God, I trust, will support me in following whither He leads.

What has been to me distressing in my work, is, that it has been one of the causes which kept me from being much with my Mother lately. But there was another cause. I mean of late years my Mother has much misunderstood my religious views, and considered she differed from me; and she thought I was surrounded by admirers, and had everything my own way; and in consequence I, who am conscious to myself I never thought anything more precious than her sympathy and praise, had none of it.

Nothing could be more uniformly kind and amiable and more sweet than Mrs. Newman's manner to her children and to their friends; but the stir and tone of the Movement might well disturb her inner thoughts, as she was not constituted to throw herself into it, either by temperament or by circumstances. Her sympathy was what her son missed, and that she could not always give. And he sorrowfully confesses to his sister, looking back, that his manner under the change might sometimes ill express what was in his heart.

J W. Bowden, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

June 30, 1836.

Keble's Preface is most glorious [to Hooker?]. I am looking anxiously for your new article in the 'British,' and have great pleasure at the thought of being myself found, nearly eighteen years after our first appearance on St. Bartholomew's eve, again in juxtaposition with you.

F. Rogers, Esq. to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Eliot Place: Saturday, July 2, 1836.

Wood is most sanguine and eager to know every one who holds out prospects of being bettered, and says, 'Do you know, Rogers, I do not see why we should not absorb ALL young Evangelicals.' This is *à propos* of ——, on whom we are to call together: *εὖ γένοιτο*. Wood is eager for controversy with people, and his *sine qua non* for thinking them promising is an anxiety to discuss and argue questions. He is most warm in his expressions of affection, &c., about Bowden. What a hit you have made there! He hardly ever sees him, he says, without finding out something fresh to like in him.

I have set to work fairly this week at attending Courts. The great gain will be that it will bring me very much across Wood. He lets me sit in his room when I am tired of hearing arguments in Court, and tells me what to read, and lectures me. In the meantime this does not agree very

well with Bentham. The article [on Bentham], I think, must be finished before the partridge-shooting begins.

What do you think of doing about the 'Lyra'? [Arranging and editing.—J. H. N.] If I could be of any use I shall be very glad and like it much. N.B.—I know that I am not up to half your meaning in different places.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Oriel: July 5, 1836.

I will scribble as well as this weather lets me, which, in spite of our thick walls, is hot. Perhaps I never recollect it so hot *indoors* here; the glass in my room is at 78°.

What could make you think I was waiting for a letter from you? My purpose is to come to you on Tuesday the 19th on two conditions: first, if you will take me; secondly, if I can get my church served on the 24th, which I do not doubt I shall, but have not yet secured. But be sure to be frank with me as regards your engagements.

Your letter was very encouraging and amusing. Do not lose sight, or rather you must find sight, of Mr. Matthison. Your news about Wood is capital, and about your article also. If the letters come in your way collected from the 'Globe' about us, they are worth reading. Certainly they are, on the whole, very accurate, and most encouraging. To be recognised as a fact is everything. If you form a knot in London, and set about puzzling the Peculiars, &c., I shall not regret one bit being left alone. An Apostolical bookseller, a friend of Mr. Norris's, is setting up here. He was a Dissenter. Dr. Wiseman (somewhat coolly) has sent me down two fresh Papishers last night; they dine with me to-day, and I can get no one to meet them but Berkeley. I think of laying down the rule that such parties in future must first conform to the Established Church. On this view, I took them to St. Mary's this morning, and they were morigerate through the Exhortation and half the Confession, when they bolted. N.B.—One is a Priest and a Doctor. I almost thought I had converted them. (Now, my dear R., do not criticise!)

There is no news here. I have been making tracts and 'Churches of Fathers.' Do you see an answer to Pusey's 'Baptism' has come out under the title of 'A Tract for the Times against the Oxford Tracts,' which pleases me for two reasons: first, it calls itself a tract for the 'Times,' which it would not do unless that were a very good name; next, it is obliged, in consequence, to call ours the '*Oxford* Tracts,' which is good again.

I am now going to dear Froude's papers, and perhaps shall transcribe them. My lectures are drawing to a close, and I almost think of making something of them, but fear the labour.

Thanks for your offer about the 'Lyra'; your assistance will be everything. I have told Rivington you will call for any loose sheets he has from the 'British' with 'Lyras' in them. What I should like you to do (unless my proposal goes beyond your offer) would be to get a blank quarto book, and to paste them in one by one (or else, not doing this, merely *number* them). I think this would answer every purpose, or perhaps sometimes one way, sometimes the other. I should wish the series to begin with Scripture subjects, under the heads of Noah, &c., Moses, &c., Balaam, &c., Jonah, &c., down to St. Paul, &c. Then would commence the Church series, and the difficulty how to arrange—often sets are ready made—stray poems would sometimes admit of incorporation with these. Other sets would require making altogether. However, if you were to get ready by the time I come to you, we might do it together then.

If I *could* write a flash article on the subjunctive mood, I would, merely to show how clever I was; but I fear I can't—but I do not mind talking with you. I am most uncommonly delighted at the way Wood speaks of Bowden, but discern no 'hit' in it, except in the circumstance that they both were in London.

The allusion at the end of the following letter is to the death of the sexton of St. Mary's, under very painful circumstances.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. B. MOZLEY, ESQ.[1]

Oriel College: July 10, 1836.

Tell Tom that, to my surprise, the seven arches [in Littlemore Chapel, then building] are whole, and come out from the wall, whereas I thought they were to be in alto-relief or pilaster-wise. My only fear is they will be too much of a thing. I shall have the cross cut or sunk in the stone that it may not be too prominent, since I see Banting [the builder] is bent on giving it the effect of a small cross *on* the altar. . . . I am perplexed whether a stone *altar* admits of cushions, and think I shall look at Westminster Abbey to determine. If Tom differs from my expressed judgment in any of these matters, or can help me, let him write me a line.

It dwells on my mind that, for what I know, had the custom of the times allowed me to hinder that sexton coming to the Communion, he might not have come to so miserable an end. Thus the so-called harsher course is the more kind. I paused before I administered to him, saying to myself, 'I do not know this man's heart: perhaps he has come religiously'; but RULES would dispense with the necessity of thus doubting. Ah me, what a state the Church is in! . . .

Love to my sisters, and thank them for their letters. Littlemore people are *in statu quo*. . . .

In a previous letter, speaking of Littlemore Church, now near consecration, Mr. Newman had said: 'I cannot afford the flagon, and must be content with chalice, paten, and plate. I will have I. H. S., and 'nothing else.' He now writes:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

July 12, 1836.

Your offer [a flagon for Littlemore Church] is most welcome, as it is most munificent. Very pleasant will it always be. You must have your names on it, and if you think English

would be boastful, at least you could have them in Latin; but anyhow they must be there. As a suggestion, I throw out the following; but you will make something a great deal more suitable:—'Quo memoria sui | intra hos parietes | semper superstes esset | [Lagenam | hanc | Deo sacram voluerunt | Joannes Gulielmus Bowden | Elizabeth Bowden] A.S. MDCCCXXXVI.'

It will be best, on second thoughts, I think, not to engrave the inscription till the church is actually consecrated as St. Mary and St. Nicholas. Not that there is any doubt of it, but it is more business-like. And, as I had intended to have J. Watson's inscription [Mr. Joshua Watson gave the chalice, &c.] done here, yours may be done too, if you like.

I was so hurried on Monday that I did not express suitably to you how kind I felt it in you and Mrs. Bowden to wish me to be sponsor to your little boy. I have hitherto had only two. I would not have any but an intimate friend's child, and they are a real pleasure. My two godchildren are continually in my thoughts, and a great pleasure, particularly as life goes on, and one is more cut off from domestic ties and thoughts.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Oriel: July 17, 1836.

I send you the remainder of your sermons. One or two seem to me incomplete. I am anxious lest I should not be giving a good and correct judgment of them as a *whole*. So far I seem to be on sure ground; their coming from you will make them read, and, since they contain numerous protests against existing errors, this will be, must be, useful. Next, granting some to be somewhat abstruse, and some not to be striking, yet many are very striking. Yet, after all, I am so much afraid of my individual taste biassing me. Then, again, I was thinking about your parish sermons. Parish sermons would be more popular, and, if your general style of preaching is like one you preached for me the second Sunday after Trinity, 1835, I think yours would take people. You see it seems to me a great object, as Sir Walter Scott beat bad

novels out of the field, in like manner to beat out bad sermons by supplying a more *real* style of sermon. The tone would in time be raised. When they have once got hold of sermons with matter, nature, and reality in them, they will loathe the flummery which is popular. I should like to think over the subject, and you shall hear from me again.

Rev. R. F. Wilson to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Hursley: July 18, 1836.

I shall read with great interest the MS. of Froude's which you have been so kind as to send. I can, even without reading, fancy I see the great difficulty and perplexity you must be in at present, as to what course to take about publishing it at once. Things seem to me sometimes, as it were, at a turning point. A trifle will give the inclination on one side or the other. We (to speak shortly, for I hope we shall go together) want all the strength we can. We cannot afford by any shock even to throw back into their former upright posture of indifference or suspicion, some who are now leaning our way. Much less can we afford, as a matter of mere human calculation, to turn them adrift upon a self-dependency of their own. I suppose, whatever one's own private idea of results may be, one should desire and plan as though things were to be brought into the train one wishes. Surely it will be time enough to gather one's robes about one in passive non-resistance, or to bare one's self to the blow, when things look past help or recovery.

I am writing in too much hurry for me to show any connexion between what I have just written and the unread MS. which led to it.

Rev. R. F. Wilson to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Hursley: July 29, 1836.

It is no use saying more, I suppose, about your coming here. Still I am quite disappointed. It would have

better seeing you here than at Oxford. You could not be sitting at your formidable upright desk, encompassed by tall folios; you could not be broken in upon by perpetual printers or any other visitors, but would be obliged to resign yourself to the direction of the Vicar and his Curate.

REV. SAMUEL WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Brighstone Rectory: July 26, 1836.

I hope it is not impossible that we may just now tempt you to take a few days' relaxation here and in this neighbourhood.

Robert is with me, and it will give him and Mrs. Wilberforce also [N.B. his mother], who is staying with us, great pleasure if you could come and see us. Then, too —reserving, on Lord Bacon's advice, my principal thing till last—you will see Keble in all the luxury of seaside idleness, wooing the sea nymphs to steal their melody in the seaweed caves of Freshwater, or musing over Augustine 'De Civitate Dei' in the murmuring of the waves upon its pebble beach. Henry, too, should come over to welcome you; and the Southampton coach would bring you here and reconvey you to Oxford with great facility. I wish we could have you tomorrow. We have a clerical meeting here, and you might be of great avail in instilling sentiments into our insular understandings.

Surely a little change of air and scene must be useful to you, and would certainly be exceedingly welcome to us if it brought you here.

[June 12, 1862.—I never was intimate or familiar with Samuel Wilberforce, though I had known him almost from the first day when he came up as a freshman to Oriel in October 1823. But he was drawn towards me by the friendship which his brothers had formed with me. Whatever alliance there was between us was brought to an end by his preaching against Pusey's view of Baptism in the University pulpit; I forget the year. He wrote nothing in the 'Lyra Apostolica.' His brother Robert wrote one

wrote a review of the 'Lyra' in the 'British Critic.' I was, however, on easy terms with him up to the spring of 1841, when I wrote a letter to him on the loss of his wife. This was during the No. 90 row, which, I believe, silently gave the *coup de grâce* to our acquaintance.]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel College: August 4, 1836.

. . . I came down with Lord Norreys and a party of Conservative statesmen, and managed by pure fate to appear the dullest and ignorantest of bookworms. I am sure they must have thought me so. I did not know whether to be amused or disgusted at myself. I sometimes have stupid fits. They knew who I was, and seemed curious about me. My *coup de grâce* on Lord Norreys's patience was mistaking Lord Stormont for Lord Stourton. I wish you had been by. But I cannot tell you all in a letter. Unluckily for me, Mozley [J. B. M.] was not here to hear my troubles, and my breast is full of a good joke unshared.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: August 5, 1836.

Did I tell you I was meditating the publication of the 'Lyra,' and therefore wanted your leave to publish your part of it? I intend to put α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, for the separate contributions, assigning them to their respective owners alphabetically [*i.e.*

Bowden α	Newman δ
Froude β	Robert Wilberforce ε
Keble γ	I. Williams ζ].

. . . Pusey and I think of giving our names as joint editors to a library of the Catholic Fathers, which will consist of translations from St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, &c. &c. I am sure nothing will be like a good flood of divinity; it will carry the 'Record' off its legs. . .

I am busy with my new book ['Prophetical Office'], and, if anything is to come of my attempt, must keep steadily at it.

Palmer is reviewing Perceval's book. I wish with all my heart I could get a stinging article on Church matters. I have been attacking Keble, but he is always so sadly shilly-shally that I seem to labour in vain.

REV. R. F. WILSON TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 9, 1836.

Sir George Prevost was over here ten days ago, and with Keble concocted a sort of statement to be signed by the clergy and addressed to the episcopal members of the Church Commission, or to the Archbishop, concerning the measures which they have recommended to Parliament. The Memorialists are made to express that, if they commit themselves to the new arrangements and make no protest against them, it is as handing over the responsibility entirely to the Bishops, and keeping silence as an act of ecclesiastical obedience. At the same time they state that they will never allow themselves to receive any benefit from the funds thus redistributed, taken from lawful possessors and appropriated arbitrarily elsewhere.

This is only a part of what would perplex me how to act. Keble and Rogers both are strongly against me. Indeed, Keble seemed to see the duty so clearly that I should fear he would certainly consider me, if not publicly brand me, as a prospective thief if I would not bind myself to such a statement. Now, upon principle or from habit, I dislike all pledges unless absolutely necessary or unless involving some matter of grave and clear duty. And to the present pledge I should the more hesitate to commit myself because some of the chief persons among those who would sign such a paper, would understand you as thereby subscribing their belief to the 'inappropriableness' of Church property by any authority to Church purposes different from those which the letter of Founder's intentions prescribed. Further, it seems to me that there is a great difference between an individual making a resolution and a number joining together to publish that

resolution, in the form (I suppose I may say) of a solemn protest. I think I should not sign such a thing unless I saw my way clearer, and could better understand the reasons which make such a step right and proper [J. H. N. (in pencil at the side) N.B.—I should like to see my answer to this].

I am sorry to learn from Rogers that you have been suffering so much of late from your teeth. [I had been suffering ever since the beginning of the year.—J. H. N.]

By-the-bye, why will you economise so unnecessarily at times? as if to keep your hand in. You sent Major B. away with a conviction that you looked on D. as a very fine, noble character. As he had received this information fresh from you, I did not venture to say anything subversive of your judgment; so now he will probably publish the high admiration and respect with which D. is looked up to by his late comrades—more especially by Mr. Newman.

In the 'Apologia' we find that 'Froude on one occasion accused me of *economy*.'[1]

REV. H. W. WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 13, 1836.

I must say that, of all the 'Oxford Tracts,' this [against Erskine and Abbott] is that from which I seem to myself to have learned most.

How very interesting is the Breviary Tract! By the way,

[1] 'It is princip lly through Mr. Froude's *Remains* that this word—economy—has got into our language. I think I defended myself with arguments such as these:—That, as everybody knew, the "tracts" were written by various persons who agreed together in their doctrine, but not always in the arguments by which it was to be proved; that we must be tolerant of difference of opinion among ourselves; that the author of the "tract" had a right to his own opinion; and that the argument in question was ordinarily received; that I did not give my own name or authority, nor was asked for my personal belief, but only acted instrumentally, as one might translate a friend's book into a foreign language. I account these to be good arguments; nevertheless, I feel also that such practices admit of easy abuse, and are consequently dangerous; but then again I feel also this: that if all such mistakes were to be severely visited, not many man in public life would be left with a character for honour and honesty.'—*Apologia*, pp. 45, 46.

I heard the other day a tradition of Ken from my mother which occasioned me some musing.

My mother's grandmother's grandmother lived in those days, and was early left a widow, and knew Ken. He visited her, and asked to see the infant, saying, 'I delight to look on a human being who has never wilfully offended God.'

This scrap has only gone through two hands, as my mother lived with her granny, who lived with the old lady. She herself died seventy-four years ago only, aged ninety-six. She died while her maid was reading to her one morning, according to custom, the Psalms and Lessons for the day.

Rogers is here and does one's heart good. He has told me a good deal about Oxford, you, &c.

VEN. ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Dartington Parsonage: August 24.

I was told yesterday, but it did not come from the Bishop to me, that, when he presented the address from my Archdeaconry, in which there was a reference to the appointment of Bishops, the King said, 'My Lord Bishop, this should not have been presented to me; it is a direct interference with my prerogative.' . . .

I cannot say what pleasure a visit from you would give me at any time.

The letter goes on to speak of the loss of a daughter. [June 24, 1862.—I have never been in Devonshire from that time (Autumn, 1835) to this. Archdeacon Froude survived these his dear children twenty-three years. His sister's death [aged ninety-five?] has quite lately been in the papers.—J. H. N.]

J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

August 25, 1836.

I suppose that I shall see you gibbeted in the 'Record' of to-day. The Rev. E. B. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and late Fellow of Oriel, was hung up on Monday last as having been mainly instrumental in diffusing 'High Church

principles,' which, as the Editor in manifest terror declares, are spreading with an astonishing and unexpected rankness in our venerable Establishment.

F. Rogers, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Hursley: August 29, 1836.

Keble is certainly the most impracticable of men. I have bullied him with questions till I am afraid of affronting him about the 'British Critic' article, and all I can get out of him is that he will look at Collier, and an injunction not to give you any hopes of his writing, because he had disappointed you often enough already. He has been at a Visitation Sermon which he has just finished, on Tradition. He tells me that George Denison [now Archdeacon] goes about the country puffing you and your views of things.

If there is any chance of a new edition of your 'Arians' I do wish you could make the Economy a little more palatable; so many people seem to me to find it hard of digestion. I think I told you long ago that it was the point on which Twisleton fastened, and I hear that Sir W. Heathcote, who people say is a clever man, and I suppose well-principled, has need of all his respect for you and Apostolicity to stomach it.

H. Wilberforce confesses to being in a process of rusting by being in the country. I hope I have brightened him up. His mother-in-law, whom I met, accuses you of worshipping Bishop Ken. Don't abuse me if I have told you nothing about Keble. I have made you finally certain that I have nothing to say.

S. F. Wood, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Athlone: August 29, 1836.

We landed at Cork and have since traversed the South-Western Coast and the wilds of Connemara pretty completely. We are now returning home by way of Dublin. Thus the portion we have seen is almost exclusively Roman Catholic

very grievous spectacle both to the mind and to the eyes. You see in many villages ruined churches unroofed and covered with ivy, and within a few yards of them R.C. chapels newly and neatly built; and in the towns, where there are Protestant congregations, we have heard nothing but *Peculiar* sermons, and found nothing but Bible Christians, co-operating with Dissenters and giving up everything but the name of Churchmen for fear of Popery. What a miserable reflection it is, that there should be an Apostolical society composed of persons, whose conduct is such as to confirm (one might almost say to justify) the Romanists in their errors, and by its presence to oppose a positive obstacle, humanly speaking, to their being reclaimed!

We travelled yesterday with the clergyman of Westport, Co. Mayo, who told us of the proceedings of Mr. Nangle, who has settled with some Protestants in Achill, an island off Mayo, without a church and hitherto without a resident clergyman. His point of attack on the peasantry is Transubstantiation, upon which he uses rationalistic and ludicrous arguments. In this sad way he has *converted* about sixty persons, and our friend recounted some profane stories about this with great satisfaction. . . .

The National Board schools have fallen in these parts—owing to the non-interference of the clergy and non-residence of the landlords—entirely under the direction of the priests. They are attended solely by R. C. children; and their own books, very naturally, used in them. Wherever there are Protestants they have their own schools, and reject the National Board aid and system; not, however, at all on Church, but on ultra-Protestant, principles.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Oriel College: August 30, 1836.

You have taken a great deal of pains, and thank you. *Mi fili*, you are praiseworthy, but what mean you by that strange flight of yours against parsons' wives? I should commend

next, as not being so, I fear a reaction, and that in your next letter you will be staking the force of your persuasions and their success upon that hapless youth, W. Parsons' wives, you see, are useful in a parish, and that in a way in which no *man* can rival them. Do you find a substitute for them, and perhaps your ingenuity may, and then give full swing to your virtuous impulses. But at present you must bear to be candid towards them.[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: September 14, 1836.

I hope that this and several of your University Sermons will find a place in your Village Sermons. It seems to me your *witness* will be important—that is the first consideration. At the Convocation about Hampden a non-resident, standing near H. Wilberforce, said, in his hearing, 'I wish I had a clear view. Does any one know which side Keble is on?' If your sermons simply did this on a number of daily matters—namely, give *your side*—it would be object enough for publishing them.

I hope to get on with the transcription of dear Froude's MSS. James Mozley has been hard at St. Thomas [of Canterbury] the whole vacation.

Pusey is setting on foot a 'Library of Catholic Fathers' (translated). He and I are editors; think, please, of translators.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD [BAGOT] TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Cuddesdon: Thursday, September 22, 1836.

I was so much pleased with your sermon[2] to-day that I

[1] In spite of its bantering tone, the Editor values this testimony to woman's parish work. It was written after the services of his Mother and Sisters to Littlemore, which were remarkable, and left a remarkable impression on the memory of the Littlemore people.

[2] On the consecration of Littlemore Chapel. The text of this sermon was taken from St. Luke x. 24: 'For I tell you that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear

should feel much gratified and obliged if you would allow me to read it. If, however, you feel any objection to an application of this kind, pray do not scruple to decline in my case.

September 30.—In returning the sermon the Bishop writes: 'Many thanks for your sermon. I have read it with sincere delight.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: September 23, 1836.

Your absence [at the consecration] was a great disappointment to us; but the flagon seemed to stand in your place. It is exceedingly handsome, and was much admired. Our party consisted of Rogers, R. Williams, I. Williams, H. Wilberforce and his wife, Mozley [T.] and his sister. The day was fine, and, as you may suppose, the chapel full. Williams read, and I preached. The east end is quite beautiful. We had a profusion of bright flowers, in bunches, all about the chapel. The Bishop was much pleased. There were a number of details which made it a most delightful day, and long, I hope, to be remembered here. Two children were baptized afterwards. The Eucharist not till Sunday.

There is to be a view of the interior, as it was on the day, in the 'Memorials of Oxford.'

On the 27th of this month Mr. Newman's eldest sister Harriett was married to the Rev. Thomas Mozley, then Rector of Cholderton. The marriage took place at St. Werburgh's, Derby, the Rev. S. Rickards officiating.

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: October 4, 1836.

I am going to write to Pusey immediately to send in my adhesion to the proposed plan. Although I almost feel it a pious fraud, acting as if I knew so much more than I really do about the Fathers. As to the Archbishop [Howley], it is merely a theory of Rogers that I should have any objection to

nothing about obligations which the Church is under to him, or about his personal fitness for the office. I think it would be, as far as it went, a great unkindness to him to make him think that such was the opinion of his clergy generally. Pusey, by his letter to-day, has heard a different set of opinions expressed; he says no one but the Chapters are discontented, but I hear nothing but extreme disapprobation expressed by the parochial clergy.

The Archbishop is coming here next Friday week, to stay till Monday—*i.e.* at Heathcote's. I wonder if Rose would come to stay with me at the same time, if I asked him. How happy he must be to get rid of the trammels: for I suppose, of course, that he ceases now to be chaplain [*i.e.* on his taking the Headship of King's College]. Who will have the Magazine? Would Dodsworth do?

I am extremely obliged to you for looking over my Visitation Sermon. Your and my brother's approbation gave me so much courage that I thundered it out more emphatically almost than ever I did anything in my life, and to my great surprise they asked me to print it. This, I thought, was out of the question at Winchester on such a subject with such a divided clergy. I did not promise to do so, but I believe I shall.

Harrison, who was accidentally at Winchester, and who afterwards came out here with his sisters for a few days, seems to think that the main body of Low Churchmen about here are in a very *malleable* state on the subject, and that a little judicious striking, now the iron is hot, would do them much good. I was certainly surprised at Dr. Dealtry's way of taking it; and yet his charge was throughout a mere Establishment business, and he took pains to say that he was still a friend of the Bible Society.

ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Dartington Parsonage: October 13, 1836.

I sent off a parcel to you three days ago by Henry Champernowne. It contains the text of dear Hurrell's manu-

scripts. All your letters to him that I can find are also inclosed. With the latter I must confess I have not parted without regret. They are memorials of your affectionate friendship with one whose image is ever before me, and to which I could never turn without a delightful interest that I cannot describe. His correspondence for many years with myself turns principally on little passing incidents, or relates to matters of private concern; but it is of great value to me as a sort of journal from early boyhood nearly to the time of our separation.

S. F. Wood, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Temple: Saturday night, October 29, 1836.

. . . Bowden wrote to me some time ago saying that Harrison was very anxious to have a paper set up on Catholic principles against the 'Record,' and that Dodsworth wished it too. I cannot wish to have any of our friends involved in such a net of turmoil and controversy, running the hazard of hastily pledging the rest to this or that, rudely treading on the verge of sacred things, &c. Can you?

Rev. Dr. Spry to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Precincts, Canterbury: November 12, 1836.

I am delighted at the prospectus Pusey, Keble and you have put forth respecting translations from the Fathers, and I will thank you to enter my name as a subscriber to the work. We sadly want that correct knowledge respecting the Church, its privileges, its character, its authority, which the Fathers teach; and glad shall I be to see the rising clergy studying in that school. If we cannot have, and I fear we have no chance of obtaining, theological seminaries where sound principles may be regularly inculcated, the next best thing is to enable young men with little cost or trouble to acquire them for themselves: and I earnestly beg a blessing on all your well

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE.

Oriel College: November 27, 1836.

The 'Lyra Apostolica' is just out. I am getting on with a new volume on Romanism, but slowly. I have re-written some parts an incredible number of times. We seem to be making way very remarkably here in Apostolical views: so much so that our success quite frightens me, as being unnatural—may it be supernatural!

What a magnificent sermon Keble's is [on Tradition?]. I think it the boldest and most powerful composition we have yet put out.

REV. H. W. WILBERFORCE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Tuesday, November 22, 1836.

If you are going to reprint the 'Arians' it will give me both pleasure and profit, as I once proposed to you, to index it. Please let me know. I am going, anyhow, to read it again.

I was in Dealtry's house, where also was the Dean of Chichester [Chandler]. In Chandler I was agreeably disappointed. He said *most strongly* how invaluable to the Church had been our Hampden business. Next, the *Præmunire* was very much discussed between the whole party and Sam. The feeling of the great men [the Dean and Dealtry] was very encouraging. They all seem quite of one mind that the evil must be resisted, though doubtful how. How Froude ran on, about ten years in advance of the Church! Do you remember how every one shrieked at his daring when first he stirred that question? But what is better than this—(1) the Dean said: 'It is always unpleasant to say what one "would have done" in such and such circumstances, but I may mention that I and the Archdeacon and others had talked the matter over, and had come to the resolution that, if Hampden was nominated, we would *not* elect him'? There is something for you. (2) As to Dealtry, even now he keeps in the Bible Society, and has joined the new Pastoral Aid; but he is a fine fellow. He

spoke most highly of Keble's Visitation Sermon. The only fault he found in it was that it was an hour and a half long! As to the doctrine, he says it gave great offence, but, he thought, quite without cause. There is another fact which I know to be true: namely, he was offered the bishopric of Chichester if he would vote for the 'Appropriation Clause.' He refused. It was said in his presence that Otter was *not* pledged; he said, 'Oh, I am SURE that he is.'

Jebb is indeed a cheering man; cheering, I mean, because, without being at all of your school or Pusey's, he has come by original study of Christian antiquity to exactly the same conclusions. He told me that he had never till lately read even such books as Bingham, but almost exclusively the ancient originals. About nine months ago [when he came from Dublin] he did not know that there were any persons of Apostolical views in the English Church. He told me that, if he had known it about three years ago, when he was doubting where to reside, he would certainly have taken up his abode at Oxford. You must get to know him [June 18, 1862. I believe I never saw Mr. Jebb. I have preserved one long letter of his of this year 1836. It was too systematic to extract from and too long to transcribe.—J. H. N.]; he is just thirty-one. He said to me, 'You may conceive how delighted I am to find the English Catholics doing the very things I have been longing for, for years.' He meant particularly your daily service, and what I told him you talked of, weekly communion, &c. . . .

I have just by me here a man who has been four years in one of the chief churches in New York. The account he gives is, that among the clergy there is more Church principle than here; but I regret to say they all allow the prejudice of colour to interfere in Church matters. Only think of this. There are very few churches in which they will allow coloured men to worship at all with the whites. 'Coloured' does not mean negro, but any one who has any cross of negro blood, however distant even.

letter that asks for or justifies the perpetuity of print, but the manner is distinctly that of the writer:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. B. MOZLEY, ESQ.

London: December 10, 1836.

My dear James,—I want you to do me a favour. Please go at once to my room; stand opposite the bookcase, look down at the two closets with their silk flutings; select the left-hand one, as you stand. It seems fast, but it is open. It only wants any key whatever in the lock to overcome its sticking. Open it; on the second shelf from the top, a lot of sermons lie, crammed in. I want one of them, viz. the one I preached December 4, 1836, *i.e.* last Sunday. I think it is No. 437, and the text from 1 John ii. Please put it into a parcel with whatever letters are lying for me, and let me have it directed to No. 36, Grosvenor Square, at R. Williams, Esq. I shall want to preach it on Wednesday next, but should like to have it directly.

JAMES B. MOZLEY, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December 11, 1836.

Keble went down on Thursday and so cheated the Theological this time. The first part of next term he reads two papers successively on *μυστήρια*. Harrison read on Friday on the disputed text, St. John. He has been preaching this morning at St. Mary's on the text 'Firstborn of every creature'; the subject, the Mediatorial Kingdom of Christ generally.

Pusey made himself ill again by his party on Tuesday, and is not recovered yet.

ARCHDEACON FROUDE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Dartington Parsonage: December 13, 1836.

Nutcomb Oxenham has delighted me by saying there is a chance of my seeing you and Mr. Williams here during the vacation. I write, then, to press most earnestly on you both

the fulfilment of the hope he has raised. Name your own day, make it as early a one as you can; but, as I have the promise of a short visit from Mr. Southey, and feel sure you will like him, do manage your plan so that you will stay out the second week in January. I will try to prevail on Mr. Keble to meet you. I hear you have a splendid altar table [at Littlemore]; that which dear Hurrell designed, and had executed for my chancel, is now in its proper place.

S. F. Wood, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Temple: St. Thomas's Eve, December 20, 1836.

Dodsworth has told me something to-day which you should by all means know, whatever weight is to be attached to it. There is a Mr. Harvey, a good sort of man, clergyman of Highgate, a common friend of his and Boone's, from whom he has learned the following:—

Boone is immensely disgusted with your Wiseman article, and declares that, if another of the same kind is sent, he will throw up the editorship (they say you make Wiseman a peg to hang your attacks on Protestantism on). Now this is more probably a mode of expressing anger than a real expression of purpose; still, anyhow, it is an indication of his state of feeling, and of what things may be tending to, against which one should be forearmed for the purpose of dictating terms.

Very much on the same ground that I object to a newspaper, I should be very sorry to see *you* hampered and engaged by review editorship; but, in case of your thinking proper to undertake it, we must all, of course, do our best, and I think we could manage it. Dodsworth and one or two men would then come forward, and Bowden, Rogers, Mozley, the Wilberforces, and your Oxford friends would be more energetic. . .

So far as to the feasibility of it; as to the expediency, Rose's being frightened, the thing beginning in a split, &c., would all have to be considered.

At the close of an eventful year the Editor interrupts the

course of the 'Letters and Correspondence,' to give a picture of Mr. Newman as seen and known at this time in the seat of his influence by the world at large. A vivid and loving memory, in looking back at these days, has written thus of Mr. Newman's manner in the pulpit of St. Mary's:—

'The reader will not need to be told that there was a something which neither the press nor the most skilful pencil can ever perpetuate in the whole manner and delivery of the preacher. What that something was we utterly despair of giving even a faint idea of to any man who did not witness it. To those who are justly penetrated with the force and beauty of these printed sermons, we can only say with *Æ*schines, "What if you had heard himself pronounce it?" And yet nothing could at first sight be more opposite to the manner of the great Athenian orator. Action in the common sense of the word there was none. Through many of them the preacher never moved anything but his head. His hands were literally not seen from the beginning to the end. The sermon began in a calm musical voice, the key slightly rising as it went on; by-and-bye the preacher warmed with his subject, it seemed as if his very soul and body glowed with suppressed emotion. There were times when, in the midst of the most thrilling passages, he would pause, without dropping his voice, for a moment which seemed long, before he uttered with gathered force and solemnity a few weighty words. The very tones of his voice seemed as if they were something more than his own. There are those who to this day in reading many of his sermons have the whole scene brought back before them. The great church, the congregation all breathless with expectant attention. The gaslight just at the left hand of the pulpit, lowered that the preacher might not be dazzled; themselves, perhaps, standing in the half darkness under the gallery, and then the pause before those words in the "Ventures of Faith" (vol. iv.) thrilled through them—"They say unto Him, We are able"—or those in the seventh sermon in the sixth volume, "The Cross of Christ."

'Nor should the manner of reading the Psalms and the

Scripture lessons in the service which preceded the sermon be passed over. Its chief characteristics were the same. Why is it that, while many things at the time even more impressive have faded from the memory, one scene, or perhaps one cadence, remains fixed in it for life? Thus it is that one who more than forty years ago stood just before him almost a boy in the college chapel, has at this moment in his ears the sound of the words, "Oh, magnify the Lord our God and worship Him upon His holy hill—*for the Lord our God, is Holy.*"'[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. JOHN MOZLEY.

January 5, 1837.

My book ['Prophetical Office'] is all but finished, but very little has passed through the press. It is no advance on anything I have said, but a systematising, consolidating, supplying premisses, &c. I say nothing, I believe, without the highest authority among our writers; yet it is so strong that everything I have yet said is milk and water to it, and this makes me anxious. It is all the difference between drifting snow and a hard snowball.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel: January 7, 1837.

I want your impression of several things. Routh has been kind enough to accept my offer of dedication, and in a really pleasant way. He said he had allowed very few dedications to him, and mentioned particularly the case of one person who wished to dedicate, and he advised him to address some one who could be a better patron, which the man did; but, said he, 'I will not say so to Mr. Newman, as I am sure he is not looking to get on in life.' Perhaps I think it is so 'pretty' because it is flattering. However, what say you to a dedication of this sort? *Study it, and fix your first impression, so as not to report it before you read on to see my reason for it:—*

'To Martin F. Routh, D.D., President of Magdalen College, who has been reserved to report to a degenerate age the theology of our Fathers, this volume is [most] respectfully inscribed, with grateful sense of his services towards the Faith, and with the prayer, that what he has witnessed to others may be his own comfort and support, in the day of account.'

Is 'grateful sense' arrogant in me? But what I want you to do is, first, to correct it, next, to weigh this reason. I felt very unwilling to say anything in the Dedication which might (if it be not a bold thing to say) do Routh harm. I mean, I did not wish to flatter, particularly considering he has never been called upon for *active* services; so I have put at the end something serious and practical. But I want your *impression* of it.

What do you say to this title?—'Lectures on the Middle Way between Romanism and Popular Protestantism.'

Then, what say you to this motto? Is there a chance of its being taken as arrogant and self-regarding?—'They that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.' You see it is addressed by Isaiah to the *Church*,—*i.e.* the Anglican, by me.

I am very anxious about this book. I cannot conceal from myself that it is neither more nor less than hitting Protestantism a hard blow in the face. I do not say whether the argument is good or not. I need not have the better of it, and yet may hit a blow. Pusey has seen one lecture, and he said, without my speaking, that it would put people out of breath, so that they would not be able to retort; and that before they recover their wind, we must fetch them a second blow. It is curious Froude compared my letter to Arnold to a blow in the stomach; and the Bishop of Winton, the tracts, to shaking the fist in the face.

To my astonishment Rivington has just sent me word that the tract on the Breviary is coming to a second edition.

Rivington had told me the tracts were selling well, but

750 copies of the 'Roman Breviary' since July last is portentous. I am getting into controversy with the 'Christian Observer' *in its own pages*. I fervently hope I may be able to teaze them *usque ad necem*, *insaniam*, or something else equally bad.

The flame is kindling at Cambridge—tiny, but true, I hope. The Bishop of Exeter, at the consecration of some churches, has been expanding the end of his Charge into sermons in the most marvellous way, and is exciting quite a sensation. They say he has quite thrown off the *political* ground.

Boone, I see, in the 'British Critic' (end of article on Jebb) goes on making us confessors and martyrs.

Rose, unasked, has made the *amende*.

I have had more requests to lend my Littlemore Consecration sermon than any *ever* (I think).

What an egotistical letter this is!—as all mine are.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: January 16, 1837.

I am putting a little trouble on you; it is about the 'Christian Observer.'

You know, first, they have *challenged* an answer from us; then I wrote to know if they would put one in from *me*. In their reply, you know, they express *indignation* that it should be thought doubtful. I have written my defence. Now Pusey says it is so 'playful and malicious' that they will not put it in. The question is, with what *face* they can refuse? what *face* can they put upon it? *e.g.* 'Mr. Newman has sent us a rambling letter, partly in praise of the tracts, partly against ourselves, which, though of considerable length, is not yet finished, &c. Under these circumstances we decline, &c.' I do not know whether they *can* get out of the scrape, but I wish to provide for the chance as follows.

You know Hatchard enough to do as much as this: to call on him with my MS. forthwith, and to beg him, if possible, to give it to Mr. Wilkes, and to *ask* him (Mr. Wilkes) whether it will be inserted in the next number (not hinting the chance

you will call for the answer and MS. on a day to be fixed. Thus I shall be secure from an impertinent representation of its contents in a Notice to Correspondents. If you see any absurdity in this manœuvre do not execute it. [N.B.—Mr. Wilkes acted far more cleverly than to misrepresent my letter without inserting it, as I feared. What he did was to insert it, but to append a running comment of his own, which occupied nearly the whole page of letterpress, leaving me a streamlet of text along the top of the page. The consequence was that, whether readers studied his comment or no, they could not properly read or understand my defence. The letter was afterwards reprinted as one of the tracts in Volume IV. under the title of 'A Letter to a Magazine.' May 15, 1862.][1]

P.S. Do you observe you are *a* Lyra? [that is, in the 'Lyra Apostolica.' The allusion is, to our stargazing, atop of Trinity Chapel Tower, with Ogle, when Bowden and I were undergraduates. Ogle and Bowden used to be great about Alpha Lyræ.]

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. John Mozley.

Oriel: January 19, 1837.

. . . Tell Miss M. that I fear I must decline the place in her poetical collection. I never can write except in a season of idleness. When I have been doing nothing awhile, poems spring up as weeds in fallow fields.

I have been reading 'Emma.' Everything Miss Austen writes is clever, but I desiderate something. There is a want of *body* to the story. The action is frittered away in over-little things. There are some beautiful things in it. Emma herself is the most interesting to me of all her heroines. I

[1] It was this clever device on the part of the Editor of the *Christian Observer* that perhaps added intensity to Mr. Newman's objection to footnotes against which he warned the Editor. Footnotes may undoubtedly be a distraction, but not always an unwelcome one; but to him they were, *as* such, instruments in the 'tearing and rending' which interruptions on a settled employment always subjected him to. But he concludes, 'An Editor must do the work his own way and not mine,' making an exception in the case of 'letters which, being independent of each other and fragmentary, admit of footnotes

feel kind to her whenever I think of her. But Miss Austen has no romance—none at all. What vile creatures her parsons are! she has not a dream of the high Catholic ἦθος. That other woman, Fairfax, is a dolt—but I like Emma.[1]

I have nearly finished Southey's 'Wesley,' which is a very superficial concern indeed: interesting of course. He does not treat it historically in its connexion with the age, and he cannot treat it theologically, if he would. . . . I do not like Wesley—putting aside his exceeding self-confidence, he seems to me to have a black self-will, a bitterness of religious passion, which is very unamiable. Whitfield seems far better.

In the 'Chronological Notes' of this date there occurs the following entry:

February 3, 1837.—Had men to tea the first time. This was the beginning of my weekly *soirées*, which went on till the affair of No. 90.

James Mozley, writing to a sister, speaks of these *soirées* as new things:

February 21, 1837.

Newman gives a tea-party now every Monday evening, in term. He has just started the thing. Last night went off very well—about eight or nine men. Conversation flowing continuously, and every one at his ease. Newman can manage a thing of this kind better than Pusey. . . . We talked on a variety of subjects.[2]

[1] In inserting this critique on Miss Austen's masterpiece the Editor has a sense almost of disloyalty to this delightful writer. But Miss Austen's novels are a battlefield and the reader has a right to the opinion here given. The ethos, as Mr. Newman calls it, of a book came always foremost in his critical estimation. He condoned a good deal when this satisfied him. Miss Austen described parsons as she saw them, and did not recognise it as in her province to preach to them, except indirectly by portraying the Mr. Collinses and Mr. Eltons of the day.

[2] To show that Mr. Newman did not use these gatherings for the purpose of converting young men to his views the following letter from Miss Mitford may be given:—

Autumn, 1853.— '. . . The great light was Newman. . . . I do not know him

Perhaps the secret of Mr. Newman 'managing these things well' was that the host liked his guests; and allowed it to be seen, as occasion offered, that he expected great things from them. In pathetic words he has in later years written of the human heart, when it puts forth its first leaves and opens and rejoices in its 'springtide' of natural virtue. 'It blooms in the young like some rich flower so delicate, so fragrant, and so dazzling. Generosity and lightness of heart and amiableness; the confiding spirit, the gentle temper, the elastic cheerfulness, the open hand, the pure affection, the noble aspiration, the heroic resolve, the romantic pursuit, the love in which self has no part—are not these beautiful?'[1]

It must be said that if Mr. Newman expected great things from his friends, young and thus endowed, he always thought them capable of performing them. The 'heroic' was a sort of natural element with him—his presence inspired a sense

and probably never shall; but I know one trait of his character whilst still at Oxford which struck me much. It happened that a distant connexion of my mother's, the eldest son of a chaplain in the navy, was seized with a violent fancy to go to Oxford. He was a plodding lad of Greek and metres—with singular good conduct but no shining talents—likely to get on by classical knowledge as a tutor or professor. There was a large family and little money; and his father told him at once, "Frank, I cannot afford the necessary allowance." "Just give me a little to begin with, father," returned Frank, "and I will get on as my betters have done before me, by teaching others, while learning myself." His schoolmaster, being sure that he would and could do this, Frank was sent to Oxford, taking, amongst other recommendations, letters from me, in which I openly told this design. One of my letters was to an old friend of Mr. Newman's, to whom he showed it; and when next I saw Frank, he told me—somewhat to my alarm (for it was in the very height of the controversy)—that he owed to me the kind notice of that great scholar. "I breakfast with him once a week," quoth Frank, "and he gives me the best advice possible." "What about?" I inquired. "Everything," returned Frank—"the classics, history, mathematics, general literature. He thinks me in danger of overworking myself at Greek—he, such a scholar!—and tells me to diversify my reading, to take exercise, and to get as much practical knowledge and cheerful society as I can. He questioned me about Shakespeare's poetry and the prose-writers after Bacon. In short, he talks to me of every sort of subject except what is called Tractarianism, and that he has never mentioned." Now this seemed to me most honourable.'—*Miss Mitford's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 273.

[1] *Sermons on Various Occasions*, p. 265.

of greatness in his friends, a sense of his greatness and the greatness of companionship with him.

Greatness is a strong, bold word to use, but certainly there was a sense of this quality—very rare in most experiences—in those who came even casually in contact with Mr. Newman. 'I experienced it,' writes a lady, looking back, 'when T. and I were spending an evening—or rather some part of it—in Mr. Newman's rooms in Oriel. In a few words spoken without any effort, as if only the outcome of his habitual train of thought, he took one out of the world one lived in, into another and a higher region.' It was partly the simplicity of his manner and words, an absence of the didactic tone—which implies putting the mind consciously into a certain frame—that gave this impression.

Bishop Wilberforce, in his early days, writing of a visit to Oxford, in 1836, gives his impression, after some long conversations with Newman:—

> There was a great deal that very much delighted me in my visit, especially some very long conversations with Newman upon several of the most mysterious parts of the Christian Revelation, the Trinity, &c., as well as upon some of the greatest practical difficulties to faith arising from the present torn state of Christendom; and it was really most sublime, as an exhibition of human intellect, when in parts of our discussions Newman kindled and poured forth a sort of magisterial announcement in which Scripture, Christian antiquity deeply studied and thoroughly imbibed, humility, veneration, love of truth, and the highest glow of poetical feeling, all impressed their own pictures on his conversation.[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: February 26, 1837.

You are very kind in your good wishes from year to year,

[1] *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 95.

and though I have been remiss in words, it is not as if I did not think of you. I hope to have a good account of your health next time you write. Johnson gave me but a poor one.

At present I suppose my beginning weekly communion will be a hindrance to my coming to town after Easter.[1]

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Oriel: March 2, 1837.

The Act for the extinction of Sodor and Man had a flaw in it. We were very desirous you should send us a petition for this place, thinking you excel in that line more than we do. If S. Wilberforce is at home, will you send him a line or a petition? Do send a strong one. I will sign it with half a dozen even. . .

They say the Dean of Lichfield is to have the vacant see. One report was that the Bishop of Oxford was to go there. If so the *congé d'élire* will fall foul of Pusey. Only fancy our being under Hampden. They say the Bishop of Salisbury has died rich. The Duke has written to Hampden to resign the Hall [St. Mary], as being non-resident.

As has been said, the tracts issued singly, had been at once a difficulty and an expense. No leading publisher would, or indeed could, undertake them; but collected and published in volumes they had a rapid sale.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

March 16, 1837.

You know, I suppose, the third volume of tracts has been some time out of print. This in a month or two. There is no doubt Mr. Wilkes's froth and fury arises from witnessing the spread of Apostolical opinions. I am constantly having letters of inquiry from strangers. The Cathedral article in

[1] This weekly communion Mr. Newman subsequently mentions, as the only one of his parochial plans which he began with any thought of the University men.

the 'Quarterly,' I am told, is considered the greatest triumph of Apostolicism. When the 'Quarterly' turns Apostolical, Birnam Wood may well begin marching. The amusing thing is that the poor 'Christian Observer' is obliged to puff our munificence, meekness, &c.; to compare us to Fénelon, &c. He will do more good in this way than harm by his railing; for no one who is 'peculiarly' disposed but thinks as bad of our views as he can already.

We are getting up addresses to the Archbishop, of congratulation for his spirit; of intercession to Parliament on behalf of the Isle of Man, &c.; but I suppose not much will come of them. In Devonshire they are addressing the King on the ground of his Coronation Oath. I cannot say I wish the Ministers out. Even as to preferments they will do pretty much the same as the Conservatives. Denison was just the man [E. Denison of Merton, just then made Bishop of Salisbury], except as being too young to be promoted by Sir R. Peel, and I find the Conservatives in London praise generally the ecclesiastical appointments of this Ministry. [N.B. It was said at this time that Lord Melbourne (the Premier) declared that 'the Bishops died to spite him,' he was so hard up for Liberal candidates for promotion. It was just after the Hampden matter too. When the see of Salisbury was vacant, it was said at the time (1837) that Mr. Sotheron Estcourt (Conservative) went to Sir C. Wood (Whig and in the Ministry), both Oriel men, and said, Why not make E. Denison (a third Oriel man and their contemporary) the new Bishop? and that Lord Melbourne seized and acted upon their suggestion.—J. H. N. May 15, 1862]. Even if Sir Robert Peel extravagated into better men at any time, what would be his most ambitious ascent? To Rose, I suppose, who, with his ten thousand excellences, yet has not the firmness for these times. What a good appointment Oakeley's is to the Whitehall preachership! You will have very elegant and interesting and very bold and apostolical sermons from him.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Oriel: March 31, 1837.

Robert Williams has, I suppose, sent you from the Bishop of Sodor and Man a milk-and-water petition which I suspect *here* will get no signatures at all. Without conciliating the many it will dishearten the few. . .

I am pleased at your liking the book ['Prophetical Office'] yet if it conciliates some it will frighten others, I fear. At least I am not sanguine. I am glad to hear it is selling.

If I were to say what I really feel, I should say plainly that no greater benefit could, in my opinion, be granted to the Church than the publication of sermons from you, and that on account of their *matter*, not only of the authority of your name. I am so glad you are thinking of Irenæus.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

Oriel: April 12, 1837.

As to my breaking off the correspondence with the 'Christian Observer,' I do not see *how* I could continue it after they spoke about pounds, shillings, and pence. So I wrote to tell the Editor so.

My present notion is to publish what will almost be a book on Justification, and perhaps in the Preface to allude to the 'Christian Observer.' [N.B. As my Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church rose out of my correspondence with the Abbé Jager, so those on Justification rose out of my controversy with the 'Christian Observer.'] Or if the Editor does *not* publish the rest of my letter, *which I wish*, then I would publish it with such alterations as are necessary. . . .

The translation of the 'Confessions of St. Austin' are intended to appear in August, the 'Cyril. Hieros.' or a volume of Chrysostom in October, and thenceforth it will proceed, we trust, quarterly.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

April 14, 1837.

The 'Christian Observer' has received the report of *your* giving the 5,000*l*. Pusey says, in case you think it worth while to notice it, keep this in view, that every denial tends negatively to fix it on the right person. Such gross indelicacy, though they mean it as praise, arises, as he says, from their thinking it no use doing good unless it is talked about. He says that, having given up the notion of heavenly reward as self-righteousness, they take to earthly.

That dedication to Routh was quite on my mind for a while, and made me very anxious. I felt the chance of what you have thought, beforehand, and earnestly deprecated it. Those I showed it to entirely approved of it. Pusey thought it just what it should be. I should have sent it to you had there been time. I do not, you see, defend it—I mean I take my own anxiety, not as a proof of caution, but as a foreboding.

It is a comfort to think that when I am out of health you would let me come to Hursley for a while. But I rejoice to say I am better than I have been for years.

. . . Woodgate is Bampton Lecturer, which is a good thing.

The following letter to his sister is given from Mr. Newman's copy of the original, taken at a later date, when he was engaged in the task of looking through his general and family correspondence:

TO HIS SISTER (MRS. JOHN MOZLEY).

St. Mark's [*April* 25], 1837.

What you say about my book ['Prophetical Office'] is very gratifying. I hear the same in various other quarters, and it is selling very well. It only shows how deep the absurd notion was in men's minds that I was a Papist; and now they are agreeably surprised. Thus I gain, as

commonly happens in the long run, by being misrepresented, thanks to 'Record' & Co. &c. . . . I call the notion of my being a Papist absurd, for it argues an utter ignorance of theology. We have all fallen back from the time of the Restoration in a wonderful way. Any one who knew anything of theology would not have confounded me with the Papists; and if he gave me any credit for knowledge of theology, or for clearheadedness, he would not have thought me in danger of becoming one. True it is, every one who by his *own wit* had gone as far as I *from* popular Protestantism, or who had been taught from *without*, not being up to the differences of things, and trained to discrimination, might have been in danger of going further; but no one who either had learned his doctrine *historically* or had tolerable clearness of head could be in more danger than in confusing the sun and moon.

However, I frankly own that if, in some important points, our Anglican *ἦθος* differs from Popery, in others it is like it, and on the whole far more like it than like Protestantism. So one must expect a revival of the slander or misapprehension in some shape or other. And we shall never be free from it, of course.

To his Sister (Mrs. Thos. Mozley).

May 3, 1837.

I began weekly communion at Easter, and have found the church very well attended. I have it at seven in the morning. Last Sunday I had thirty-six communicants. In the course of four Sundays the alms have amounted to between 19*l.* and 20*l.* I divide them between the Diocesan Fund for increasing small livings, and the new London Clergy Aid Society.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Oriel College: June 1, 1837.

Your letter of this morning has made me very sad indeed. It was exceedingly kind in you to say what you have, and I feel it very much. Ever since I asked you what I did so abruptly, when you were here, not knowing how

matters stood, I have borne your sister continually in mind, and was anxious to hear how things were. I am not certain you do not anticipate what is still future *hastily*, but I know I should just do the same in your case. If it is to turn out as you forebode, it is only a fresh instance of what I suppose one must make up one's mind to think, and what is consoling to think, that those who are early taken away are the fittest to be taken, and that it is a privilege so to be taken, and they are in their proper place when taken. Surely God would not separate from us such, except it were best both for them and for us, and that those who are taken away are such as are most acceptable to Him seems proved by what we see; for scarcely do you hear of some especial instance of religious excellence, but you have also cause of apprehension how long such a one is to continue here. I suppose one ought to take it as the rule. We pray daily 'Thy kingdom come'—if we understand our words, we mean it as a privilege to leave the world, and we must not wonder that God grants the privilege to some of those who pray for it. It would be rather wonderful if He did not. When we use the Lord's prayer, we pray not only for our eventual regathering, but our dispersion in the interval. The more we live in the world that is not seen, the more shall we feel that the removal of friends into that unseen world is a bringing them near to us, not a separation. I really do not think this fancifulness. I think it attainable—just as our Saviour's going brought Him nearer, though invisibly, in the Spirit.

You do not say anything about your father and mother. May they, and your sisters, and yourself, and all of you be supported under whatever is to happen, is the earnest and anxious prayer of

Your very affectionate, J. H. N.

The date of the following letter, which was found amongst Mrs. John Mozley's papers, seems to show that she had written to her brother, with a view to the approaching confirmation of her husband's youngest sister.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. JOHN MOZLEY.

Oriel College: June 4, 1837.

I wish I could write you a satisfactory letter on the subject of Confirmation. As to books, I will mention something before I conclude; as to sermons, I have none. I shall be writing some soon, perhaps, as a Confirmation is approaching. I will say what strikes me, but it will be difficult to come to the point in a page or two, and I am but partially informed on the subject.

I doubt whether one should look to the service for the *doctrine* of the Church about Confirmation, though it *might* be there. Prayers are not sermons, except accidentally. The Puritans, &c., wished so to make them; they looked upon sacraments chiefly *as* sermons, and thought their grace *lay* in their kindling impressions in the mind; hence they generally started with a long preachment: in the extreme Protestant (Continental) baptismal services, that is, you have a long exhortation. In the same spirit Bucer, in King Edward's Second Book, prefixed the Exhortation at the beginning of the daily service, which still forms part of the service: in the primitive way, the worshipper did not think of himself—he came to God—God's house and altar were the sermon which addressed him and roused him. His Sacraments were *the objects* of his regards. Words were unnecessary. Hence in Ordination the *laying on* of hands is the whole. There are no words necessary. Accordingly in our service for the consecration of bishops, the words used in the act of consecrating are not explanatory—the word 'bishop' is used, but there is no definition of the office, any more than of the word 'confirmation' in the Confirmation service. It was an objection of the Romanists to our Consecration service that till the Restoration it did not even contain the word bishop? [I *think* so]. This is answered by Courayer, who shows that to this day [?] the *same* form is used in the Church of Rome, or used to be. I am not sure of my entire accuracy here, but am right in the outline. Hence in our Confirmation service the Exhortation is an address to those who come, demanding of them what *they have to give*. They

give their *word*. The bishop imposes his hand—such is the interchange.

The *action* speaks; it must be a gift. What else is meant by *laying hands* on? When a person takes an oath, the magistrate, &c., administers and witnesses it. The bishop would do the same, if it were merely a promise on the part of the young. I conceive this is plain to common-sense, even if the bishop said not a word in administering the rite. It must be a peculiar sort of blessing; every prayer is a sort of blessing, but laying on of hands is evidently a special kind of blessing, before we go on to look into antiquity, and to see the meaning of it. Poor people feel this, as often as they wish, as sometimes happens, to come for Confirmation again and again.

Next, *what* is the blessing? The prayer tells us as follows: that those who have been regenerated and pardoned are to be 'strengthened' by the Holy Ghost, and to have imparted to them the seven gifts of grace which were poured upon Christ; again, that they are to be 'defended,' made to 'continue' and 'increase'; lastly, that they are to be placed under the protection of God's 'fatherly hand,' and to be led forward in obedience. Here we have an interpretation quite sufficient of the word 'Confirmation'—namely, as a deep fixing, establishing, rooting-in of that grace which was first given in Baptism. These things are *prayed for*, and just *so far* as laying on of hands has somewhat of an *assurance* in it over and above a prayer (in whatever measure more or less), *so far* are they granted.

In accordance with this the ancient Church seems to have believed as follows: that the Holy Ghost, who is the present Lord and animating Power of the Church, communicated Himself variously to its members; first in Baptism, in another way in Confirmation, in another way in the Holy Eucharist. His first gift or communication is forgiveness, justification, acceptance; and this is the *distinguishing* gift of Baptism. He is the Spirit of Justification, *vid.* 1 Cor. vi. 11, 2 Cor. iii. 6–9. This gift He gives complete and whole, and such as is never repeated in this life; but He also gives the beginnings

of other gifts, which are *more fully* given afterwards, viz. his sanctifying influences; and since these are those which are more commonly, even in Scripture, called the Spirit, it follows that in *one* sense the Spirit is not given or hardly given in Baptism. I would have you look to what Jeremy Taylor says on Baptism (I think in his 'Life of Christ' or 'Holy Living'); and you will find some writers, such as Tertullian, say that Baptism imparts forgiveness, Confirmation the Spirit, which only means that Confirmation seals in their fulness, winds up and consigns, completes the entire round of those sanctifying gifts which are begun, which are given inchoately, in Baptism. If it be said that Confirmation is thus made a sacrament, I answer that it is properly an integral part of the baptismal rite. I do not say of the essence or an essential part of Baptism, but an integral part, just as a hand is an integral part of our body, yet may be amputated without loss of life. And in ancient times it was administered at the time of Baptism, as its ratification on the part of the bishop. . . .

If it be asked what is the peculiar grace of Confirmation, I answer, it seems, as the Greek name implies, to be a perfecting or man-making. We in it become men in Christ Jesus. The baptismal grace is principally directed towards the abolition of existing guilt, *e.g.* original sin. The child is, comparatively speaking, incapable of actual sin. The grace of Confirmation is directed to arm the Christian against his three great enemies, which on entering into his field of trial he at once meets. This is alluded to in Keble's poem on Confirmation.

This I know is but a sketch of what might be said. If you have any other questions you want answered, let me know. I know of no *familiar* book on the subject. Dodsworth has written one which it would be as well you should look at, and Eyre of Salisbury (at Rivington's) another. But I should recommend you to read Jeremy Taylor's work on Confirmation—Χρῖσις τελειωτική. Also his remarks on Baptism, in either his 'Holy Living' or 'Life of Christ.' He is a writer essentially untrustworthy—*i.e.* if some external attraction

meets him, he cannot resist it. He is like an iron vessel navigating between loadstone islands. The necessity, for example, of seeming an anti-Papist will draw all his nails out. But, as far as I know, he is correct in these works, and gives a good deal of information. It is too difficult, however, for Elizabeth.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: June 6, 1837.

. . . I believe, but you must have heard it if it is true, that on the Bishop elect of Norwich [Stanley] signifying to the Archbishop his intention of proposing Arnold to preach his Consecration sermon, the Archbishop wrote to him to say *he* had appointed his Chaplain, Mr. Rose. . . .

P.S. I have sent up to the Curates' Fund 20*l.* from our early communion as a specimen of what would be good to do generally.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

June 30, 1837.

As to R. H. Froude's 'Remains,' I am sanguine that the volume will take with University men. I have transcribed the 'Private Thoughts,' and am deeply impressed with their attractive character. They are full of instruction and interest as I think all will feel. I have transcribed them for your *imprimatur*. If you say 'yes,' and send them to me, I propose to go to press almost immediately.

These 'Thoughts' present a remarkable instance of the temptation to Rationalism, self-speculation, &c., subdued. We see his mind only breaking out into more original and beautiful discoveries, from that very repression which at first sight seemed likely to be the utter prohibition to exercise his special powers. He used playfully to say that 'his highest ambition was to be a humdrum,' and by relinquishing the

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

July 5, 1837.

I have many things to write about, and hardly know which to begin with.

I send you a number of extracts from Froude's letters to me. It was Isaac Williams's suggestion. . . . I propose that a selection of letters, such as this, should follow on the 'Private Thoughts,' as displaying his mind. Read them attentively. If you think there is a chance of their doing, I must apply for yours, Keble's, Williams's, and his home letters. Qu. to whom did he write when abroad [in Italy?]

My reasons for this selection are such as the following: 1. to show his mind, his unaffectedness, playfulness, brilliancy, which nothing else would show. His letters approach to conversation, to show his delicate mode of implying, not expressing, sacred thoughts; his utter hatred of pretence and humbug. I have much to say on the danger which (I think) at present besets the Apostolical movement of getting *peculiar* in externals, *i.e.* formal, manneristic, &c. Now, Froude disdained all *show* of religion. In losing him we have lost an important correction. I fear our fasting, &c., may get ostentatious. His letters are a second-best preventive. 2. To make the work interesting, nothing takes so much as these private things. 3. To show the history of the formation of his opinions. Vaughan was observing the other day that we never have the history of men in the most interesting period of their life, from eighteen to twenty-eight or thirty, when they are *forming*; now this gives Froude's. 4. To show how deliberately and dispassionately he formed his opinions; they were not taken up as mere fancies. This invests them with much consideration. Here his change from Tory to Apostolical is curious. 5. To show the interesting *growth* of his mind, how indolence was overcome, &c.; to show his love of mathematics, his remarkable struggle against the lassitude of disease, his working to the *last*. 6. For the intrinsic merit of his remarks.

If you think the notion entertainable, I wish you could put the MS. into the hands of some person who is a good judge, yet more impartial than ourselves, in order to ascertain his *impression* of it. The difficulty is, he ought to have seen the 'Private Thoughts,' of which it is a continuation in fact. I thought of Acland, except that he is a fastidious man. What say you to Hope? But I leave it to your judgment.

If you and the other agree in countenancing the notion, then send down the MS. to Keble with an enumeration of the *reasons* for publishing it which I have given above. You see I have hardly any letters from Barbadoes about the *place*, and none (of course) from Italy. These, when added, will increase and diversify the interest of the whole.

I propose in the preface to say briefly that 'the author had his own opinions about some of the agents in the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century, which he was as free to hold as the contrary; that we are not bound to individuals, and that the same liberty by which we are able to speak against Henry VIII. may be extended to our judgment of Cranmer.'

I am going to review Lamennais' work in October. It is *most curious*.

As to the statutes, I do not suppose any of us will differ in *principle*, though I have not interchanged a word with any one. *We* are at liberty to alter our statutes, therefore let us *in honorem Dei* alter them. But *what* alterations? As to the *sermo latinus*, I should consent to that being altered; but even here I think it would be most respectful rather to append the alteration as a sort of perpetual suspension than to obliterate it.

My reason for wishing to keep the original text is, that a statute, though obsolete, often lets one into the *spirit* of the foundation, and is, therefore, very important for direction even when not literally obeyed. I should like the alterations to be appended; but this is a matter of expedience.

Next, perhaps some persons would go further than I as

to *what* should be repealed. I *would not repeal* the reading Scripture in Hall. Must I then at once return to it? This is not *necessary*, though I should like it. It is sometimes put as a dilemma, you must either repeal your statutes or keep them. I deny it; it is a shrewd argument for a lawyer, or politician, not for a divine. Any divine must acknowledge that all of us take a most solemn vow of universal obedience in baptism, which yet we neither attempt to keep nor repeal. I mean that the highest obedience is a *privilege*, and that persons by transgressing lose the privilege, are unworthy of it, and not only do not, but are not allowed to, enjoy it. We are bound to go to church, but a person under an interdict cannot. We are bound to reprove others, but a penitent may not consistently with his fallen state. In like manner we inherit a second best obedience to the statutes; we cannot at will reverse the sins of our forefathers, and retraverse the course of centuries, any more than at will we could repeal the Emancipation Act. We are committed—'go with the men.' It were a privilege to obey the statutes, but our *ἦθος* is beneath them. We cannot force up our *ἦθος*; or if this or that person thinks himself equal to certain observances, the majority of fellows may not be. In retaining the statutes, then, not observing them, we are no more breaking our oaths than a statesman breaks his baptismal oath in holding it a duty to make the Church dominant, yet not agitating for the reinforcement of the Test Act.

As to the injunctions of Parliament against the praying for the dead, which you say has virtually repealed a portion of our statutes, I agree with you, and, with my views of the omnipotence of Parliament in such a matter, am quite content to urge with you that *nothing more* need be done. The Provost will grant *enough* has been done, and I will allow that *not too much*; he will say Parliament has done good and no harm. From what you say I suppose you will agree with me in all this. Let me know.

I saw —— for a day last week, and was as grave (yet natural) as a judge the whole time, except for one instant, when, to try ——, I suddenly on a pause broke out with a

sentence like this, turning round sharp: 'So, ——, you wish, it seems, to change the monarchy into a republic?' (this was not it, but like it). —— shrunk up as if twenty thousand pins had been thrust into him; his flesh goosified, his mouth puckered up, and he looked the picture of astonishment, awe, suspicion and horror. After this trial I went back to my grave manner, and all was well. Now don't you see that, for his good and comfort, one must put on one's company coat before him? he cannot bear one's shirt-sleeves.

Stanley attends Sacrament in St. Mary's now.

Cholderton is a very nice place to my fancy; the village itself beautiful.

I see the 'Christian Advocate' at Cambridge has written against the Tracts.

Excuse me if I have not courage to read over this frightful scrawl.—Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

P.S.—I am told that the 'Christian Observer' has reviewed the 'Lyra,' and in so doing has spoken with interest of Froude as the *most spiritual* and least bigoted, &c., of the whole set.

Keble wants to raise a sum for the endowment of Otterbourn, and I have promised to raise ten pounds. I wish if you see Acland or R. Williams, or any other wealthy friend, you would ask them from me for one pound towards it.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: July 16, 1837.

Williams has suggested the publication of extracts from Hurrell's letters. I feared at first they would be too personal as regards others, but then I began to think that, if they could be given, they would be next best to talking with him, and would show him in a light otherwise unattainable. Then there are so many clever things in those he sent me, the first hints of principles, &c., which I and others have pursued, and of which he ought to have the credit. Moreover, we have

often said the movement, if anything comes of it, must be *enthusiastic*. Now here is a man fitted above all others to kindle enthusiasm. I have written to William Froude about it, who caught at the idea, which he said had already struck him. Considering the state of the University, everything which can tell against Hampdenism will be a gain.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Miss M. R. Giberne.

Oriel College: July 24, 1837.

. . . As to the Translations of the Fathers, there is no reason in the world you should subscribe to them. However, I do not think that any decoction, such as even Hooker's, can take their place. Yet while I say this I am unable to anticipate whether a translation can preserve their spirit. I should not wonder if it turned out that they seemed quite flat and insipid. It seems to me the great use of our library will be to make the clergy read the originals; and it is giving a general *impulse* in a certain direction. However, others think differently: namely, that they may become popular reading. I do not deny it, and feel I have no means of judging. The event is the only way of deciding the question.

. . . It is remarkable how plans of altering the Liturgy have died away ever since our movement began; we have given our opponents other things to think about. However, the cry may revive any day, yet the suspension of it is a gain. . . .

We have nothing to hope or fear from Whig or Conservative Governments, or from bishops, or from peers, or from courts, or from other visible power. We must trust our own ἦθος—that is, what is unseen and its unseen Author. I do hope we shall be strengthened to develop in new ways, since the ordinary ways are stopped up.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

August 25, 1837.

. . . If any one wished to bring about the repeal of the *Præmunire*, the Bishop of Norwich's sermon is our ally. But

I am not for touching any of our *forms*. If we can but infuse a new spirit into the Church, these will fall off as the case of a chrysalis. *Quid leges sine moribus?* And in like manner, *quid non mores?* When there is a spirit it finds out channels, it creates the external tokens and means of energising. On the other hand we are not ripe for a change.

My best compliments to Hildebrand.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

August 27, 1837.

Thank you for wishing for me at the consecration [of Hursley church ?], and I should have much liked it. I think I am very cold and reserved to people, but I cannot ever realise to myself that any one loves me. I believe that is partly the reason, or I *dare* not realise it.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Oriel: August 31, 1837.

Archdeacon Froude sent up within this last week Hurrell's private journal (1826–1827), of which I did not know the existence before, giving an account of his fastings, &c., and his minute faults and temptations at the time. Also a letter of his mother's, indirectly addressed to him within a year of her death, speaking of his failings and good points. They are more interesting than anything I have seen, except, perhaps, his letters to Keble, which are also come. Does it not seem as if Providence was putting things into our hands for something especial? there is so gradual and unexpected an accumulation. I should be rejoiced at the prospect of your reviewing the volume. I want Rivington to have the volumes purchasable separately; each will have separate interest for a different set of persons—the sermons for parsons, the first volume for young people. You should have the sheets as fast as they come from the press. I doubt whether you know enough at present to begin. These new papers have quite made my head whirl, and have put things quite in a new light.

Your judgment about 'The Kingdom of the Saints' is most valuable: first, because it is the first I have had on the subject, certainly the first deliberate one after a perusal of Scripture; next, because it is a very *essential* theory in the Anglican system, indeed it is the heart of it. Further, it fits in to Froude's theory of Church and State; and lastly, not the least, it is valuable for the sake of the person making it.

I wish Wood would put down on paper *where* and *how* he disagrees with me. I see no more than the man in the moon. All I have said is, that the Fathers do appeal in all their controversies to Scripture as a final authority. When this occurs once only it may be an accident. When it occurs again and again uniformly, it does invest Scripture with the character of an exclusive rule of faith. And besides this, they used strong expressions *about* Scripture. Try if you can master his objection. You told me you thought my lecture satisfactory yourself when you read it. Do you mean that the 'Dublin Review' article floors mine or is floored? I do not recollect any arguments it uses against our theory of the Rule of Faith. I fancied the article was Dr. Wiseman's, but know no more than you.

I never have had so much important business on my hands at a time as now. The Library of the Fathers, my book on Justification, some Tracts, and Froude's papers.

Some passages of a letter of sympathy with his friend on a severe domestic loss may be given here, though the whole letter, full of touches of feeling as it is, is of too strictly private a character for insertion.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Oriel: September 25, 1837.

My first feeling on receiving your letter was to think how great a privilege I had lost, by not taking advantage of the leave you gave me some weeks since, to come to Blackheath for a day. But then it struck me that *I* had not lost it;

there are things only allowed one under circumstances, and though, as far as my own gratification went, I would have gone from Oxford on purpose, yet that in many ways would have been outstepping duty and propriety, and so I comfort myself that under things as they were, leave was not given me providentially, though by you.

Also, I felt great relief in your letter from finding, not only that the worst was over, but that it was over so happily.

You have, in every way of viewing her memory, nothing but pleasant thoughts about your sister.

We were celebrating the anniversary of the Consecration at Littlemore the day you lost her, the 22nd. I like such coincidences, there is something very pleasant in them. We had a most delightful day in every way. The weather was most lovely, and the people, out of their own head, ornamented the chapel with flowers. I preached, and Pusey administered the Sacrament. We were *asked* to have Afternoon Service when Morning Service was over, and complied. The Offertory collection was for a school-room, and we got above 18*l*. It was a most pleasant day, and all this while your sister was leaving you. Well, if anything which has been done in Oxford, whether in prayer or other way, has been useful to her, I hope she will not forget us now.

There is no reason to suppose that the question of vestments or of ritual was ever a prominent one in Mr. Newman's mind, but his critics seem to have expected, and even attributed to him, observances of this character, which the tone of his letters proves had no foundation in fact.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Hursley: October 6, 1837.

Truro people told Keble that they had it from an Oxford man that he (the Oxford man) had gone into Littlemore

chapel and found lights burning there, and was told they burn night and day. Daman, our Fellow, was told at Ilfracombe by the clergyman that I wore on my surplice a rich illuminated cross.

I am here for a week to consult with Keble about Froude's papers, which are now in the press and require a good deal of attention. You will, I think, be deeply interested in them. His father has put some into my hands of a most private nature. They are quite new even to Keble, who knew more about him than anyone. . . . All persons of unhacknied feelings and youthful minds must be taken by them; others will think them romantic, scrupulous, over-refined, &c.

In return for yours I will give you another ἔπος of the Bishop of L. At his table H. Wilberforce said, in answer to a question, that in case of a demand for marriage without banns or licence (according to the new Act) he should consult his Bishop. On which the Bishop of L. [qy. Copleston] said, 'Were I asked I should give no answer; I should say: "You and I must obey the *Law*, and if we do not choose to obey the Law, we must go out of the Establishment."' There is nothing to hope from him. By-the-bye, the Bishop of Lincoln [Kaye] has spoken in favour of the Tracts in a charge. This is capital.

P.S.—I heard the other day of a young man in an office being led to Apostolical views by the 'Record.' Then he bought Pusey's Tracts, and he now lends them about, and has become a propagandist. Hook has converted three Wesleyan preachers.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

October 26, 1837.

Sir Robert Inglis has been to the Isle of Man, and tells me the clergy there have subscribed a petition *for* instead of *against* the suppression of their see, being tempted by the spoils. The laity are getting up a petition *against*.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel: November 3, 1837.

Your news about the Bishop of W. is good. In return I present you with two rumours.

One, that the Somerset Low Church party are to get up a petition signed by 2,000 against I know not what; against perhaps all candles, postures and vestments which imagination ever pictured.

Next, that 200 and more of the Winchester clergy are petitioning the Archbishop to call a Provincial Council, to censure the Rev. John Keble for laying waste the Diocese by his sermon on Tradition. Also, that there was a great desire to make the said J. K. commit himself on some point which will set him wrong with the majority. Therefore, bear in your mouth the tongue of the wise, and put a *βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ*.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: Nov. 22, 1837.

So the two parties of the aristocracy are to join, and the Church, as distinct from the Establishment, to be quietly dropped. As to our statutes it is a long business. I will get you some papers on the subject. The revision is quite a *new* question, without precedent since the Laudian code. The Heads [of Houses] wish to bring it into the ordinary business of the University, as their concern; the Convocation, as if *sui generis*, to judge it by antecedent precedents, *i.e.* precedent of a revision. Much may be said on both sides, but we give in a protest to-morrow to save our rights and negative the whole; but how it will go I know not, as I hear to-day the Master of Balliol has been bringing up men.

You know Boone has given up; but this is, I suppose, a secret. [The Editorship of the 'British Critic.']

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel College: St. Andrew's Eve, 1837.

Certainly I should like your article soon, and doubt not it will do very well. But I am very sorry to hear about your

headaches, and hope you have not been distressing yourself. It is certainly strange that any one like yourself should be so withheld from usefulness, but depend on it there is a reason for it. We all need some sharp bond—though you, one should say, less than others: we *see* yours; in the case of others the hair-shirt is hidden. So much for moralising.

Your news about your law plans quite delighted me. We talk (*entre nous*) of setting up some halls here, making men stay instead of going into the country, and getting W. Froude and Johnson to set up a school of science. The said W. F. wishes you to come down to him to Dartington at Christmas.

As to your criticism on R. H. F.'s text, some of the things you object to were already altered in the proof. The 'Dome of St. Peter's' was written out by W. Froude himself. Why might not St. Peter's dome be like a geometrical staircase? You need not make your review a mere panegyric.

The Lincoln men seem to have thought James Mozley a Puseyite. They confessed he was the best man, and elected instead a nephew of Arnold's, which, to their horror, they discovered too late.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: December 12, 1837.

As to the statutes, the Heads of Houses hurried things on so indecently there was no time for anything. We had several meetings, but could not agree. At first only sixteen signed the protest; in the course of three weeks it has increased to between thirty and forty; but that is a small number. The majorities were so large that it was not possible we could bring up on a sudden sufficient men, and as the question was intricate, and time was requisite to come to a fair judgment, it would have looked like party spirit. I am told the Sheffield clergy are going to send a remonstrance to the Heads of Houses. It would be well if non-residents in various places did so; but they should first wait for Vaughan Thomas's pamphlet. It, I suppose, will give information. And read Greswell's, who, however, unluckily goes

into the 'Edinburgh's' clamour for the professorial system. Is it not curious we should be pulling with the 'Edinburgh' and the extreme Whigs?

Mr. Atkinson, Fellow of Lincoln, has been rejected for a school at York on the ground of his holding Oxford opinions. He was asked *totidem verbis* if he held the opinions of the Tracts.

Entries in 'Chronological Notes,' for 1837:

January 2 [1837].—Read prayers at Littlemore every day this week. [I believe there was daily prayer there from the time the chapel was opened.]

February 3.—Had men to tea for first time [this the beginning of my weekly soirées].

April 9.—Early Communion at St. Mary's first time; nineteen persons altogether.

May 10.—Snow and thunder; leaves not out.

July 18.—Parcel came with Mr. Church's Translation of the Fathers.

August 26.—Mr. Hope called [this was the beginning of my intimacy with dear Mr. Hope].

November 5.—Began catechising children in Church.

November 23.—Convocation for revision of University statutes.

December 22.—Sent up first lecture to Gilbert & Rivington, on Justification.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

Oriel College: January 17, 1838.

To me, I am sorry to say, this Christmas has been very little of a leisure time. I have been quite overwhelmed with business, though, I am thankful to say, not overpowered, for I am particularly well, whatever comes.

Anxious I have been, and am, about several things. Froude's volumes will open upon me a flood of criticisms, and from all quarters. It is just a case when no two persons have the same judgment *about* articulars, and I am fully conscious

that even those who know one will say, 'What *could* he mean by putting this in? What is the use of that? How silly this! How trifling that! What is it to the world if so and so? How injudicious? He is cutting his own throat.' But *on the whole* I trust it will present, as far as it goes, a picture of a mind; and that being gained as the *scope*, the details may be left to take their chance.

Then about my own work [on Justification] I am a good deal fussed. It is the first voyage I have yet made *proprio marte*, with sun, stars, compass, and a sounding line, but with very insufficient charts. It is a *terra incognita* in our Church, and I am so afraid, not of saying things wrong so much as queer and crotchety, and of misunderstanding other writers. For really the Lutherans, &c., as *divines*, are so shallow and inconsequent, that I can hardly believe my own impressions about them.

We have three volumes of the 'Library of the Fathers' in the press. This again is a very anxious business.

Maitland has taken the 'British Critic,' with a promise of our assistance; when I know more you shall hear more. Nothing could be better *unless* he were under Rose's eyes, for he is going to live in town; but we must be quite decided, and if he will not put in our strong articles we must retire.

Your offering towards the young monks [1] was just like yourself, and I cannot pay it a better compliment. It will be most welcome. As you may suppose, we have nothing settled, but are feeling our way. We should begin next term; but since, however secret one may wish to keep it, things get out, we do not yet wish to commit young men to anything which may hurt their chance of success at any college, in standing for a fellowship. After Easter will be a better time so far as this, that there may be some eligible men among those who stood for our fellowships unsuccessfully. I trust the plan will answer *when* begun, but do not know how to start, and fear wasting money through clumsiness. During the next term with Manuel Johnson's help I hope to concoct something.

[1] Referring to a projected 'Hall,' a temporary residence in Oxford for young men after taking their degree.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. JOHN MOZLEY.

January 29, 1838.

The glass in my inner room has stood at 10°—that is, 22° below freezing-point. I have never had it so cold for a continuance, or at all, since I have been in the rooms.

I am quite sick at the thoughts of having the 'British Critic,' but there was no one else, and I did not like so important a work to get into hands I could not trust. I do not begin with it till the July number.

My book on Justification has taken incredible time. I am quite worn out with correcting. I do really think that every correction I make is for the better, and that I am not wasting time in an over-fastidious way, or even making it worse than it was; but I can only say this—openings for correction are inexhaustible.

I write, I write again: I write a third time in the course of six months. Then I take the third: I literally fill the paper with corrections, so that another person could not read it. I then write it out fair for the printer. I put it by; I take it up; I begin to correct again: it will not do. Alterations multiply, pages are re-written, little lines sneak in and crawl about. The whole page is disfigured; I write again; I cannot count how many times this process is repeated.

To his sister Harriett, writing March 28, he gives the motive for all this care. 'The great difficulty was to avoid *being* difficult, which on the subject of Justification is not a slight one. It is so entangled and mystified by irrelevant and refined questions.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. F. WILSON.

February 4.

I may well address you as an ancient shepherd does a more fortunate one, 'Tityre, tu patulæ.' Do you really think I have time to meditate verses to Amaryllis? That is, you are a country swain and have the choicest gifts which Hursley can give, but I assure you that for me, to go to the point,

I have not written a letter, except on business, I do not know when. Do come here sometime, and we will have some quiet talk together. . . . My hand is too tired to write letters, unless I am forced—literally, my hand is in a continual ache.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

February 28, 1838.

Pusey bids me say that he is going to affix to his pamphlet the list of passages against Popery which have already been stitched into the 'British Magazine.' If, then, you think of giving your own extracts, he would be very much pleased to receive them, and that at once.

The previous letter, January 17, speaks of Mr. Maitland having taken the 'British Critic,' but his official relation to the Archbishop made a difficulty, and he resigned. It practically passed into Mr. Newman's hands, as he had with him the most important contributors, and in July 1838 he became formally the Editor.[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

March 19, 1838.

I like your subject [for the 'British Critic']. We will have the British Association by all means in July. . . . I hope in the July number we shall have a paper of Keble's, on 'Walter Scott'; of Harrison's, on Professor Lee's 'Job'; of Copeland's, on 'Bishop Ken'; and I *hope* from Mr. Todd of Dublin. Pusey is writing a most elaborate article on the Church Commission, which (as far as I have seen it) is a most overpowering and melancholy exposure of it by a mere statement of facts. I wish it were not quite so long, but it is a very large subject, and I certainly find everything most concisely put, as far as I have read.

In reviewing the British Association do not forget the first

[1] In Dr. Mozley's letters at this date there is the following mention of the *British Critic*:—

'*February* 6, 1838.—I was with Newman on Sunday evening talking over the *British Critic*. He is sanguine about contributors. Newman only took it after others refusing.'

Report. There is a splendid oration there in praise of Priestley, with choice bits about his theological opinions.

I have not seen Williams's 'Cathedral,' but I fear it will be obscure. However, everyone has his line. To be sure, what a mass of Catholic literature is now being poured upon the public! Have you seen Palmer's book? [on the Church]. It is quite overcoming—his reading—and makes one feel quite ashamed. It will do a great deal of good, for just at this moment we need ballast. Then again, Froude's in an opposite direction, as if marking out the broad *limits* of Anglicanism and the differences of opinion which are allowable in it. Then Woodgate's Sermons [Bamptons], which began yesterday with a bold, uncompromising statement of the Doctrine of Tradition, and of the difference between the Catholic and Rationalistic spirit, which comes from a certain pamphlet. I hope to do something with my forthcoming Lectures [on Justification], and there are to come Keble's Papers on Mysticism (read at the Theological) in the next (5th) volume, viz. No. 89 of the Tracts. (By-the-bye, have you seen Williams's most valuable Tract 80?) [on Reserve]. Then your 'Hildebrand'; then Froude's 'Becket, &c.' which is now ready; and besides all this, the 'British Critic.' But one must not exult too much. What I fear is the *new* rising generation at Oxford, Arnold's youths. Much depends on how they turn out.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

March 29, 1838.

You must not be vexed to have a somewhat excited letter from Edward Churton on the subject of dear Hurrell's 'Remains.' I doubt not, too, you really will not be so. All persons whose hearts have been with Cranmer and Jewel are naturally pained, and one must honour them for it. It is the general opinion here that the Journal [the Thoughts] ought to have been published, and is full of instruction.

Yesterday morning I had the following pleasant announcement from William Froude. 'My father is *much* pleased with Hurrell's book. He had been rather alarmed by some comments made upon it in a letter from Sir John Coleridge, but

the book itself has quite reassured him. The preface says exactly what one wished to have said.'

The following letter is on the death of a Littlemore parishioner well known to his sister:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. JOHN MOZLEY.

April 6, 1838.

Poor Mrs. Quarterman is dead. She went on month after month in the sad, uncomfortable, distressed way you recollect, always behind-hand in her rent, &c. At length I spoke to Pusey, and he, without my meaning it, put her on his list of regular almswomen. This was a most exceeding great relief to her, and she was full of happiness and thanks; this was about a month since. Shortly after, a place in the St. Clement's Almshouses fell vacant, and the Master of University put her in. They say good fortune never comes single, but it was too much for her—she seems to have died of joy.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College, Easter Day: April 15.

I duly received this morning your most munificent gift. I trust I shall be a faithful steward of so large a sum. The day before yesterday I received a promise of 50*l.*, and other promises have been made. We only want to *start* well, which I hope we shall do.

I have had very pleasant and kind letters from Mr. Hornby and Mr. Faber on the subject of my lectures, which I sent to both.

I wish some of you in London would set up a series of light works, such as you speak of. Had not the 'British Critic' come in the way, I had proposed to do so.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS M. R. GIBERNE.

Oriel College: Easter Tuesday, 1838.

To-day a pleasant thing happened to me. Two parishioners, who were to be married, begged to be allowed to receive the Holy Communion at the time of their marriage. It was

quite their own thought. I have had a second anonymous present of plate for St. Mary's altar. The parishioners received it in vestry in silence, and then began disputing about the expense of repairing a pinnacle of the church.[1] I have had an organ given to Littlemore from an unknown hand. Nothing like raising up Treasure Houses. Money flows in by a natural law, the law of faith and its reward. Ask much and you gain much.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

May 22, 1838.

. . . You know Faussett has been firing away at us in gallant style.

I fear I shall be hard pressed for articles for the 'British Critic.' . . .

The following comment is attached to this letter:

[N.B.—Just at this time, June 1838, was the zenith of the Tract movement. It was at this Commemoration my answer to Faussett came out. The next letter is the beginning of a change of fortune.—J. H. N.]

The 'next letter' here indicated is one addressed to Mr. Bowden, August 17, 1838, beginning, 'I delayed writing in order to give you an account of our Bishop's Charge.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. B. MOZLEY.

Oriel College: August 2, 1838.

. . . It seems to *me* best you should get the 'Becket' off your hands at once, and I should like you when you leave

[1] It should be explained that the parish of St. Mary's at the time of this letter (probably does still) consisted almost entirely of shops, the dwelling part of the houses being let in lodgings to University men. The parish was once densely populous, but in 1749 the executors of Dr. Radcliffe, having cleared the whole area on which the poor population lived, built the Radcliffe and made it over to the University, since which time there have been no poor in the parish except so far as they have been represented by the servants of well-to-do houses. It was said that many of the shopkeepers were Dissenters, which may account for their cold reception of a rich gift.

Cholderton to come here and superintend the printing at once. And you shall hear again from me.

You see Lord Morpeth has been upon me in the House, as editor of the 'Remains.' Gladstone has defended me, Sir R. Inglis the University; O'Connell has patronised the Tracts. The Bishop of Oxford is delivering a Charge in our favour, Archdeacon Browne of Ely against us. The Bishop of Exeter has been making a remarkable speech in the House, saying that though their Lordships, &c., passed a certain Bill, *he* would *not obey it*, and they might eject him first. The Archbishop very much excited on the other side. I heartily wish Tom may make a book of his sermon. Encourage him to it —I will when I write. Mr. Le Bas has been paying me a visit—he went to-day. Marriott is negotiating with a view to going to Chichester. Faussett's and my pamphlets have come to a second edition. I have sold *at the same time* 750 to his 500. Who would have thought persons would buy an *answer* without a *question*? He is very angry in the Preface to his second edition—talks of my flippant suggestions, &c. I have answered his Preface in a few notes. Rogers reports an amusing saying of a lady whom he knows about my letter. 'Now Dr. Faussett will be quite pleased and convinced by this, and obliged to Mr. Newman, if he is a nice kind of man.'

As to your preaching distinctly, the art consists in not *dropping your words*, which is very difficult. I have not attained to it from want of strength. You must not glibly run over bits of sentences, but enunciate and enucleate every word. The want of this is what the Provost found fault with.[1]

Vaughan Thomas is very angry with Faussett.

I have not time to read this over.

Mr. Newman had tender consideration for his friends.

[1] These rules for clearness and management of voice seem to explain the peculiarity described by Professor Shairp of Mr. Newman's delivery.

'The delivery had a peculiarity which it took a new hearer some time to get over. Each separate sentence, or at least each short paragraph, was spoken rapidly, but with great clearness of intonation; and then at its close there was a pause, then another rapidly but clearly spoken sentence, followed by another pause.

under circumstances to make them feel solitary. His letters throughout show a strong sense of what solitude is, whether as a trial or an experience. He was eminently social, and could sympathise with a young member of his own following, spending a month or more by himself at his brother's country living.

In a week's time he writes again:

Oriel: August 10, 1838.

My dear James,—I hope you are not over solitary at Cholderton. I have little to say, but I write lest you should be, to provoke an answer. A letter just now came to me from Pusey. I grieve to say Mrs. P. is not so well, and has been confined to her bed a day or so; but do not say this, for people exaggerate things when they hear them.

I have looked into Tyler; don't tell, but it is Tylerissimus. If you could combine it with Sir F. Palgrave[1] I should be glad. You would have much to say in its praise, 'research, &c.' and one or two good bits might be taken. Let me know how Sir F. P. gets on. In what you write do not be too essayish: i.e. do not begin, 'Of all the virtues which adorn the human breast!'—be somewhat conversational, and take a jump into your subject. But on the other hand avoid abruptness, or pertness. Be *easy* and take the mean—and now you have full directions how to write.

A ragged paper came to me this morning, with great portions cut out—parts, however, remained, else it could not have come. I will extract for your edification a sentence or two. 'The Debate was rendered remarkable for bringing before the notice of the country, through Lord Morpeth, a sect of damnable and detestable heretics of late sprung up in Oxford; a sect which evidently affects Popery, and merits the heartiest condemnation of all true Christians. We have paid a good deal of attention to these gentry, and by the grace of God we shall show them up, and demonstrate that they are a people to be abhorred of all faithful men. We do

[1] An article J. B. M. was engaged upon—his first—for the *British Critic*.

not hesitate to say that they are criminally heterodox,' &c. That they are *what*? Do you know that Lord Morpeth went out of his way to mention my name? The paper in question is the 'Dublin Record.'

Bliss, in the 'Oxford Herald,' has called us all, Froude inclusive, 'amiable and fanciful men.' The Bishop delivers his Charge next Tuesday. 'Frazer's Magazine,' I am told, has opened on us. We must expect a volley from the whole Conservative press. I can fancy the Old Duke sending down to ask the Heads of Houses whether we cannot be silenced.

Rivington declines printing any more of the 'Remains,' saying that they do not sell well enough. Keble advises the publication at once, and I am writing to Mr. Froude on the subject; so you must prepare to come up here for the rest of the vacation and superintend the business [arranging the 'Becket' papers].

I have sent my Sermons on Antichrist to the press as a Tract, to commence Vol. 5 with. I have finished my lectures in Adam de Brome's Chapel, and am looking out Sermons for my new volume. Jacobson's volumes are come out. I am most happily quite solus; you cannot think what a relief it is.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

August 14, 1838.

I am just come away from hearing the Bishop's Charge, and certainly I am disappointed in the part in which he spoke of us.

He said he must allude to a remarkable development, both in matters of discipline and of doctrine, in one part of his Diocese; that he had had many anonymous letters, charging us with Romanism; that he had made inquiries; that, as far as discipline went, he found nothing to find fault with—one addition of a clerical vestment there had been, but that had been discontinued (alluding to Seager); but this he would say, that, in the choice of alternatives, he had rather go back to what is obsolete, in order to enforce the Rubric, than break it in order to follow the motley fashions now prevailing. Next,

as to doctrine, he had found many most excellent things in the 'Tracts for the Times' (this was the only book he referred to), and most opportune and serviceable; but for some words and expressions he was sorry, as likely to lead *others* into error; he feared more for the disciples than for the masters, and he conjured those who were concerned in them to beware lest, &c.

Now does it not seem rather hard that he should publicly attack things in the Tracts without speaking to me about them privately? Again, what good does it do to fling an indefinite suspicion over them, when in the main they be orthodox? Then again, it seems hard that those who work, and who while working necessarily commit mistakes, instead of being thanked for that work, which others do *not* do, are blamed. It is very comfortable to do nothing and to criticise.

[Second letter on same day.]

August 14, 1838.

You will perhaps think me fidgety not to wait for your answer to my letter of to-day, but as despatch will be requisite if I adopt the following plan, I write at once by coach.

It seems to me that my course is to send the Archdeacon [Clarke] a short note to the following effect: that I was glad to find the Bishop approved of some things in the Tracts; that I am sorry to hear for the first time that he thinks some parts of them of unsafe tendency; that I do not ask what parts he means, because in his Charge he pointedly declined anything like controversy, to which such a question might lead; that he gave his opinion as a judgment, and that as such I take it; that, under such circumstances, it would be very inconsistent in me to continue the publication of these volumes with this general suspicion thrown upon them by my Bishop. Accordingly I now write to say that, if he would specify any Tract which he wished drawn from publication, nay, if he said all of them, I would do so forthwith; that I should not like to suppress *parts* of Tracts, which might be unfair to the writer. However, that I must except Nos. 67 and following, and No. 82 (they are Pusey's), over which I have no control, and a few

others, which were not my property, but which should not any more appear among the Tracts, and as belonging to them.

By doing this I think I set myself right with him. I really cannot go on publishing with this censure upon the Tracts. And, if he ordered some to be suppressed, the *example and precedent* I am sure would be worth ten times the value of the Tracts suppressed.

Unless you think this quixotic, I am disposed very much to do it.

P.S.—Since writing this, the idea so grows on me of the absolute impossibility of going on (consistently) with the Tracts, with the Bishop saying that parts are dangerous, that if I do not write as above to him, I certainly *must* cease them.

The following letter to Mr. Bowden is that transcribed by Mr. Newman, with the notice that it marked the date of a 'change of fortune':

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: August 17, 1838.

I delayed writing in order to give you an account of our Bishop's Charge, which an ear-witness told me was favourable by name to the 'Tracts for the Times.' He has been here, but, alas! it is the other way.

This is too strong a way of putting it, but my impression of it is this: it has *acted towards* our *objects* and at the same time has given *us* a slap; which, by-the-bye, is what I have always predicted would be our fate. What he said was very slight indeed, but a Bishop's lightest word, *ex cathedra*, is heavy. The whole effect, too, was cold towards us, in this way: that he had had anonymous letters saying we were going into Romanism, that he had made inquiries of our way of conducting the service, &c., and *found* nothing. Thus it was negation: there was no praise. Then, as to the Tracts, he said that we were sincere, and that certain objects recommended in them, such as keeping Fast and Festival, were highly desirable; but that there were expressions in them

which might be injurious to particular minds, and he conjured us not to go too far, &c.

Now here, as far as the Cause goes, is abundant gain. He spoke strongly in favour of observing the Rubric, of recurring to Antiquity, of Saints'-days; and by implication he allowed of turning to the East, the *πρόθεσις*, &c.: but what has he done to *us*? Why we stand thus. How many times in a century is a book, and that principally the writing of a person in a Bishop's diocese, noticed in a Bishop's Charge? it is not usual. Next it is said by him to contain exceptionable expressions. Is it possible that any work in the world, of four thick volumes, should not? Certainly not. The *truth*, then, of the remark is not enough to account for what a Bishop says, unless it is *important* to say it. Nothing but important truths will enter into a Bishop's Charge; and since he has not said *what* the exceptionable things are, he has thrown a general suspicion over all the volumes.

Under these circumstances I felt that it was impossible for me to continue the Tracts, and wrote to Keble on the subject. He, without knowing my opinion, quite took the same view, stating it very strongly: and I feel, whatever difference of opinion there may be about it, *I* cannot do otherwise. It would be against my feelings. Pusey is at Weymouth, and knows nothing yet of what has happened; nor does anyone else; so do not talk of it to anyone. Accordingly I have written to the Archdeacon, not as archdeacon, but as a friend, to say that I propose to stop the Tracts and withdraw the existing ones from circulation; that this is very unpleasant to me; that the only way I can see to hinder it is, if I could learn privately from the Bishop any particular Tract he disapproves, which I would at once suppress. . . . Well, my dear Bowden, has not this come suddenly and taken away your breath? It nearly has mine. But I do not think I can be wrong, and I think good may come of it. It will be a considerable loss of money, I fear; and the fifth volume is nearly ready for publication, but I think the precedent will be very good; and it will make people see we are sincere and not ambitious.

. . . It is an exceedingly strong and bold Charge; and if I suffered, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commission did not suffer less.

The Rector of Exeter [Jones] is dead, and we are very anxious about his successor. The election is September 1. I fear I shall in consequence, anyhow, lose Sewell's article. I have not yet a single article for the 'British Critic,' nor yet had any time to write one. I am sure I ought not to be sorry if the Bishop lessens my work.

Shuttleworth has published a little book against tradition; very superficial, retailing old objections, but specious and perhaps mischievous.

C. Marriott is going to Chichester. Le Bas has been paying me a visit; he has just lost a daughter.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

August 22, 1838.

I did not write to Pusey for many reasons. He had enough to think about [Mrs. Pusey's illness]. I might seem in a measure *particeps criminis*, and unfit to mediate, though I suppose his Tracts are not in fault. And he was at a distance; so I wrote to the Archdeacon [Clarke], stating pretty much what passed between you and me. I said that I had recourse to him, though in an official capacity, when I would rather have chosen another, because there was no other; that I neither wrote to him formally myself, nor wanted a formal answer; that the Bishop, by saying there were ambiguous and unsafe expressions in the Tracts (by-the-bye, the Charge itself is very good and strong, and speaks out more than any Bishop has done, perhaps, except the Bishop of Exeter), had thrown a suspicion over the whole, and that I seemed, under the circumstances, to have no course but to remove them out of his way; that a Bishop's word was not a light one, and could not be; that it was rare; that it struck me I might be saved a very disagreeable measure if he would kindly get from the Bishop—not as archdeacon, but as a friend—not the expressions, because I gathered from his Charge he did not wish to

get into discussion, but the Tracts which contained them, on which I would withdraw such Tracts without a word, and the rest would be saved. I ended by thanking the Bishop for the kindness he had so often shown me, and by hinting my pain that the first notice I should have of any part of my writings being under his disapprobation should be on so public and solemn an occasion. I was not pleased with my letter, but it was the best I could write, and the Bishop seems to have taken it as I meant, which is enough.

The Archdeacon answered me that he had not seen the Charge before he heard it, that the Bishop had not consulted him, and he thought I had better think nothing of himself, and address the Bishop (this made me suppose that Spry is at the bottom of the Charge, which the Bishop's letter somewhat confirms).

I then wrote to the Bishop (who had received from the Archdeacon my letter to him), merely asking whether I should call or write to him.

I received his answer yesterday morning. He begins by saying that he had been pained ever since he received my letter, not with me, because I had perfectly satisfied him in my own demeanour, &c., but at the idea of having pained me: that I must have misunderstood him; and he entreated me to wait at least till the Charge was printed; that to withdraw the Tracts, at least at once, would be unfair to him, as making him seem to say more than he meant; that he had been forced to give judgment on account of anonymous letters and of other Bishops having spoken; that he had in his Charge approved very much of what we had done, censured nothing, only warned; that he considered that the opposite party had rather cause to complain he had gone so far; that my impression was not the general one; that he assured me that persons who thought the Tracts were doing good, and had a great respect for me, yet lamented expressions, &c., in them, and that he would call on me when he next came into Oxford, and hoped to meet me on the same terms as ever; and that he wished to know my *impression* of what he had said. Nothing could be kinder or more sympathetic than his letter.

It seems to me plain from it that he thought a great deal in the Tracts very good, but would not commit himself in any way to them. Accordingly (as far as I remember) there is not a word of praise bestowed on *them*, but, on the other hand, to balance his own adoption of what they recommended, a slight discredit cast about them; that he has not read them; that he goes by what he hears said, has seen extravagant persons, &c., and (not thinking of our feelings at all, any more than if we were the very paper Tracts themselves) he propitiates the popular cry against us with a vague disapprobation, just as men revile Popery in order to say strong Catholic things. Of course this is *entre nous*, and I have expressed myself much more strongly than would be right, were I not putting you in possession of my thoughts with reference to forming a judgment. Also, I am not sure if he was not rather annoyed with me when he delivered his Charge, whether on account of the 'Remains' or for other reason. I think he has not considered that a Bishop's word is an act, that I am under his jurisdiction, that he cannot criticise, but commands only.

I answered him last night that I would certainly wait till his Charge came out, that I had ever studied to please him in word and deed, and that no two persons agree on minor matters, in expediency, in opinion, or in expressions; that his ordinary silence as regards his clergy had been interpreted by me to mean that in such matters, whichever way his own judgment lay, he allowed such differences, but that I had ever felt that he could withdraw his permission, and that, when he spoke, his word was my rule; and that, as to the Tracts, they were a large work, and but a human production, and doubtless full of imperfections. I knew this anyhow, but his formal noticing the faults made them *important*, and for this reason, and to obey him, and lest the world and my opponents should find me in the false position of being in opposition to him, and in order that the doctrine of the Tracts might not be inconsistent with my *conduct* respecting them, I had felt that to withdraw them in whole or in part was my only course and I entreated him to believe that I should find

real pleasure in submitting myself to his expressed judgment.

Then I told him what my impression was of what he had said. He would get this letter this morning.

[N.B.—I believe that, after the Bishop's death, my autograph letters were in the hands of his widow.—J. H. N. July 9, 1885.]

Now Q. 1. Am I driving him into committing himself to name certain expressions, &c.? You see I have distinctly waived all wish to know them. Q. 2. In my first letter I professed a wish to go by what he really wished, if I privately learnt what Tracts he disapproved. Now suppose he tells me in speech or conversation, 'Go on with the Tracts,' and yet prints the Charge as he read it (I think he will), with a critique on them, what am I to do? Am I to appear undutiful when I am not? I have no view, but I will do what you advise. I wish to be prepared with a view.

Rev. J. H. Newman to R. W. Church, Esq.

St. Bartholomew, 1838.

I wish I could think of something good for *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*. I doubt whether in a new Father I shall not introduce the word 'economically.' I consider it to mean a representation or scene, only a true one. For example, the traveller and ewe lamb are *represented* in word, and are not real. But the Apostles asked Christ about the end of the world. They were answered by our Lord's bringing together *facts* as Nathan did *words*. It is a *true fable*.[1]

Harrison is appointed Archbishop's Chaplain in the place of Ogilvie. Palmer of Worcester is going to be married. Dr. Kidd tells me Richards is to be Head of Exeter, if he will consent. Thus I have given you these ecclesiastical promotions.

I am grieved to hear a very bad account of Greswell. It is very doubtful if he can return to Oxford. If so, I suppose tutors must be sought among the juniors.

[1] *e.g.* Hos. i. 2. Ezek. iv. 5, xxiv.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

August 28, 1838.

The Bishop, you will be glad to know, is very much pleased with my letter, and wishes that nothing should appear in his Charge which may give any pain. This comes indirectly through Acland and must not be mentioned, so everything is as well as it can be. This is a great comfort, since your brother speaks of it in a way I do not like, and both Pusey and Bowden are annoyed. Thanks for your letter, both as advice and encouragement. Your quotation from Virgil brought tears into my eyes. No one has encouraged me but you. Pusey was so cast down when he heard it, that he himself needed comfort. I have no cough, thank you; it is always voluntary, proceeding not from my lungs but from weakness in my muscles of utterance.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

September 4, 1838.

. . . As to the Bishop and me, I have little to tell you; I have written two letters and he one. I have promised not to do anything till the Charge is printed. I have heard indirectly what is very good news, but of course secret, that he is much pleased with my letters, and that he is desirous to make any alterations in his Charge which may relieve me. I am quite certain that in my position I could do nothing else. To suffer my Bishop to breathe a word against me would be to put myself in a false position. Depend upon it our strength (as of every thing or person, political, religious, philosophical) is *consistency*. If we show we are not afraid of carrying out our principles in whatever direction, humanly speaking, nothing can hurt us, and it seems the most likely way to obtain a blessing. I do not think it would have been volunteering a persecution. Observe I do not think I am out of the wood yet; for I do not see how the Bishop can materially alter his Charge or how I can bear any blow whatever. However, I am sanguine it will end well. At the same time I am

bound to say that Pusey in the main seemed to agree with you, as did Thomas Keble.

. . . Two of our Translations of the Fathers will greet you on your return to the South. I think they will do us harm at first. We shall see choice bits of bigotry, fancifulness, superstition, &c., strung together in the 'Record,' &c.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

September 21, 1838.

The Bishop's Charge is to appear soon. I met him in the street the other day, and thanked him for his kindness. 'No,' he said; 'do not thank me: wait till you see.' These are ominous words; but, from what he has written to Pusey, I cannot think that he *means* to put me in an awkward situation.

The Archbishop [Whately] of Dublin is here, and is just what he was in manner, &c. At first I was afraid to call, knowing how annoyed he had been; but I got him sounded, and found he was pretty tame, and called in consequence. He is so good hearted a man that it passed off well. I set him upon Political Economy and the Irish Poor Law, listened for half an hour and came away.

So far as the following letters to Mr. Keble are contributions to the history of the movement they are in place here, and as illustrating the character of their writer under the extreme tension of the moment, are not less so. The reader will find a comment on the confidence of his tone from the pen of 'J. H. N.' as he transcribes his letters after an interval of forty-seven years.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

November 6, 1838.

On Saturday morning I had a letter from Prevost protesting in strong terms against the 'Breviary' being published. I wished to send it to Wood and Williams, but felt that some explanation was necessary for sending them so needlessly

abrupt a letter. Wood sends me back the answer I enclose, which you will see implies (what I had told him) that, though I did not feel that Prevost's opposition was an insurmountable objection, I could translate no more hymns without your leave. Your letter has saved me the awkwardness of writing to you on the subject. What I proposed to Wood was to correct the 'Breviary' by *some standard*. I confess I much dislike correcting it by my private judgment, or by the vague opinions of the day, or by what people will think. I mentioned to him the Thirty-nine Articles, entitling it 'The Breviary Reformed according to the Thirty-nine Articles,' but the Thirty-nine Articles will not cut out the legends. Then I thought of the preface to the Prayer Book. What would you say to both together? After all, is there any one of our standards which would keep out such as 'May St. Mary and all saints intercede for us to the Lord,' &c.? Are we bound to cut out what is of unknown antiquity and not forbidden by our Church? I do not think it will do to attempt to correct it by history. None of the parties concerned are strong enough in facts to do so.

The sooner I have your answer the better. They go printing on, but this at present will involve very little cancelling.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

November 21, 1838.

. . . And now as to my subject. I will first give an unpleasant sketch of things, being sorry so to trouble you.

Some months since J. F. Christie wrote me word that your brother was one of the persons included in my remark in my letter to Faussett, as holding at once the Apostolical Succession, and that the Pope was Antichrist. . . . I had already modified the passage in the second edition somewhat, from a hint that Williams had given me, and on receipt of this letter (Christie's) I wrote to your brother to express my sorrow for what was quite unintentional, and to say that in truth I still did not think that he held the Pope to be *the* Antichrist. He answered that he did not wish to argue the matter, that

he heartily wished I would go out of Oxford somewhere or other for a time and forget Faussett, &c., and that he was sorry to hear I was proposing hastily to give up the Tracts. The tone of this letter, of which I forget the rest, hurt me a good deal, the more as being quite unexpected. However, I said nothing, except conveying a message through you to the effect that I could not construe parts of it.

I then sent to ask him if I might make a collection for the poor of Bisley on our anniversary at Littlemore, which in consequence of his assent I did, and sent it to him.

About the same time he sent me his Tract, as I certainly thought for *publication*. Accordingly I had it printed and sent him the proof. He in answer professed himself perplexed at my having acted so hastily.

About the same time Pusey wrote to Jeffries to know if he would take part in the scheme of a college of priests for a large town. Jeffries, scarcely giving a direct answer to the question asked him, went into a long argument against the idea itself to Pusey, his senior, who had not asked his advice, proposing instead a mode which he preferred, and suggesting how I could give advice to Christie in furtherance of it.

Then lately came Prevost's letter about the 'Breviary,' which, in telling me for the first time of his objection to the plan, said that he, Jeffries and your brother were much distressed at it, spoke of those who 'used' to sympathise with us, offered to pay expenses if they were stopped at once, and begged an immediate answer. . . .

Now I write this for two purposes. First, I put myself entirely into your hands. I will do whatever you suggest. I really do hope I have no wish but that of peace with all parties, and of satisfying you. If you tell me to make any submission to anyone, I will do it. Indeed, I am determined, if I can, that no charge should lie against me beyond that of being myself—that is, of having certain opinions and a certain way of expressing them.

And next about the opinions and their expression: there too I give myself up to your judgment. If you will tell me what not to do, I will not do it. I wish parties would seriously

ask themselves what they desire of me. Is it to stop writing? I will stop anything you advise. Is it to show what I write to others before publishing? It is my rule already. Pusey saw my letter to Faussett. Williams and others heard and recommended the publishing of my lectures. Is it to stop my weekly parties, or anything else? I will gladly do so.

Now this being understood, may I not fairly ask for some little confidence in me as to what, under these voluntary restrictions, I do? People really should put themselves into my place, and consider how the appearance of suspicion, jealousy, and discontent is likely to affect one who is most conscious that everything he does is imperfect, and therefore soon begins so to suspect everything he does as to have no heart and little power to do anything at all. Anyone can fancy the effect which the presence of ill-disposed spectators would have on some artist or operator engaged in a delicate experiment. Is such conduct kind towards me? is it feeling? If I ought to stop I am ready to stop, but do not in the same breath chide me (for instance) for thinking of stopping the Tracts, and then be severe on the Tracts which are actually published. If I am to proceed I must be taken for what I am—not agreeing perhaps altogether with those who criticise me, but still (I suppose) on the whole subserving rather than not what they consider right ends. This I feel, that if I am met with loud remonstrances before gentle hints are tried, and if suspicions go before proofs, I shall very soon be silenced whether persons wish it or no. To the 'Library of the Fathers' I am pledged, to the 'British Critic' only to the end of this year,' and to nothing else besides the 'Remains.' If such a result takes place, if persons force me by their criticisms into that state of disgust which the steady contemplation of his own doings is sure to create in any serious man, they will have done a work which may cause them some sorrow, perhaps some self-reproach.

[This was the last occasion on which I could prefer a claim for *confidence*. The very next autumn (1839) my misgivings began, which led me in 1840 to write a very different letter to Keble.—J. H. N. July 10, 1885.]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

November 1838.

. . . I feel your kindness in sending me the extract from your brother's letter. If I say that my view about Prevost's letter is *substantially* what it was, I say so only for the sake of honesty. Anything I can do to smooth matters I will gladly. I only hope that Prevost has got over the annoyance of my letter (for which I am truly sorry), as I have, I trust, got over the annoyance of his.

As to the Decemvirate of Revision, I have no objection to it; but the question will arise, who are they to be? Will your brother allow more than one or two out of *all* our friends? and again, how is time to be found for it? It is difficult to get one reviser. Are *all* the articles in the 'British Critic' to have a second reviser after myself? I repeat I have no objection, except what seems to me its impracticability. It is virtually enjoining silence, which if it is to be done had better be done openly.

These three letters to Mr. Keble, so keenly sensitive in their tone, have been lately read by Mr. Newman's pupil and friend (F. R.), to whom so many of the letters brought before the reader are addressed—letters showing a remarkable warmth of trust and affection. It has been permitted to the Editor to give a place here to the recollections which these letters to Keble, and the occasion which caused them, awoke. The tender humour with which this conflict between a strong will and a warm heart is recorded gives such naturalness to the situation that the Editor was tempted to ask leave of the writer to give his words a place in these pages.

LORD BLACHFORD TO THE EDITOR.

March 5, 1886.

. . . Curiously enough I see by an old diary, under date December 12, an account of—I am at a loss for a substantive—not quarrel, not exactly difference, but a kind of

stern alienation for a fortnight, ending in tender reconciliation, which was due to this difference between himself as supporter of (S.) Wood, (R.) Williams and Oakeley, who were pressing the publication of the 'Breviary' on one side, and T. Keble and Prevost on the other. I seem to have objected to some actual or intended letter to Keble, and I certainly in my mind, and probably in the tone of my conversation, sided on the whole with the Prevost side rather than the Wood and Williams side. This made me a disagreeable confidant to him, and this again he took as very unkind, and showed it in a certain flinty way which he had at command on great emergencies. But then, you occasionally saw what this flintiness cost him. And when you came to frank explanation, there came from the rock a gush of overpowering tenderness.

In giving permission for the publication of the above letter, Lord Blachford writes to the Editor:

December 9, 1888.

You are welcome to print what you wish—I mean, so much as regards the 'flintiness' and 'tenderness'—from my letter to you. I wish I had added that the pain of keeping up this severe outside was at times to him visibly overpowering, but I hardly know how to add it. I would suggest the addition of a few words to show (if that is your feeling, as it is mine) that the passage is inserted to show what lay within the hardness with which he is sometimes reproached.

At the end of 1838 Mr. Bowden was about to publish his 'Life of Hildebrand,' and sent his Introduction to Mr. Newman for his opinion. The letter in reply, after some literary criticisms, continues:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: November 21, 1838.

. . . As to your statements about corruptions, &c., really, I do not like to give my opinion, and wish you to follow your own judgment. It seems to me, if I must speak, that saint-

worship as it practically prevailed in the middle ages is a very great corruption; but how far the formal acts of the Church involve such worship, and what are its limits, I cannot say; and I am so bothered and attacked on all sides by friends and foes, that I had much rather say nothing, and had I my own wish I certainly should say nothing and write nothing more. I mean, I distrust my judgment, and am getting afraid to speak. It is just like walking on treacherous ice: one cannot say a thing but one offends someone or other—I don't mean foe, for that one could bear, but friend. You cannot conceive what unpleasant tendencies to split are developing themselves on all sides, and how one suffers because one wishes to keep well with all, or at least because one cannot go wholly with this man or that. . . .

P.S.—Should not Dr. Adams know, if he does not, that the present Bishop [Law] of Bath and Wells in his funeral sermon for the Princess Charlotte prayed for her soul?

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

November 28, 1838.

Thanks for your kind letter. I will but observe on it—

(1) That your brother knows the country clergy, and makes their feelings his standard. I do not deny, though I have no means of knowing, that it is as he says, but I do not write for them. Of course, as is natural, I write for those I do see: namely, the generation lay or clerical rising into active life, particularly at Oxford. That I am useful to them by the very things that may be injudicious in view of the clergy, I am certain, whatever ultimately comes of it. I do not consider that for them I am going too fast. The character of a place of this kind must be considered before men can fairly undertake to judge about what is best or not best. One cannot stop still. Shrewd minds anticipate conclusions, anticipate objections, oblige one to say yes or no, to defend oneself, to anticipate the objection. What your brother calls unsettling is not my work, but of others here, who must be met and treated lest they do harm. It is better surely to refute

objections than to let others be the prey of them. In fact, in a place of this kind if one *is* to speak (which is another matter) one must be prepared to pursue questions and to admit or deny inferences.

(2) Then comes the question, *ought* one to speak, though one may be making way here, if it is at the expense of the country clergy? And this is the point on which I spoke before, and perhaps not clearly enough. I have no *call*; I am not in station; is it not natural that the question should rise in my mind, 'What business is it of yours, and are you doing it in the best way?' When a man like your brother *does* object, he has my own latent witness on his side, and he goes just the way, whether he wishes it or not, to reduce me to silence.

(3) But though silent, it would never enter into my head that I need or ought to be doing nothing. It is still a great question with me whether I should be doing better by reading and preparing for future writing on the Fathers than by off-hand works; and with this view by giving up the Tracts, the 'British Critic,' and St. Mary's. At the same time, did I do so, many things would occur which one should wish otherwise, and which would pain me, and I should be blamed by those who now, without knowing it, are certainly going the way to bring it about.

The tone towards the country clergy, not intentional, but due to the line of argument, seems to have jarred upon Mr. Keble, as is to be gathered from the following acknowledgment of Mr. Keble's answer to the above letter.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

December 5, 1838.

As to my last note, I had not the most distant thought of speaking disrespectfully of the country clergy. Indeed, my saying that my own secret feelings were on your brother's side showed it. I assure you these feelings are so strong that it was with great scruple and much uneasiness that I published

the Tract in question (the last), and I may say the same of what I said to Faussett about Antichrist. To read and otherwise employ myself with the Fathers, without venturing anything of my own, is what would give me most peace of *conscience*. What I do is done under the stimulus of external things which I witness; and therefore, if, on the other hand, I see externally anyone like your brother throwing cold water, both the stimulus is gone, and I have an *excuse* for what I *like* better than tracts and pamphlets.

I do not think I have the fidget you speak of (as far as I can make out) for seeing things clearly, and not getting others to see them too; but when others protest (I do not mean Low Church, but men like your brother), I feel a sort of bad conscience and disgust with what I have done, and this I tried to say in my first letter. And yet, if I *am* to speak, I cannot speak otherwise than I do. I can be silent, but I cannot speak as Harrison, &c. My constant feeling when I write is that I do not realise things, but am merely drawing out intellectual conclusions, which I need not say is very uncomfortable. [Vide a passage in my account of my Sicilian illness.][1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

December 23, 1838.

I am quite ready that all Tracts should undergo the revision of two persons whom your brother chooses, though I do not understand *whom* you mean. Isaac Williams of course is one; is Prevost the other?

Nothing you said from London annoyed me in the least. You have a way of saying things which does not annoy.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel: In festo SS. Innoc., 1838.

Faber has returned from Cambridge with doleful accounts, as he gives them, though I have not confidence in his representation. However, I doubt not he has done good by going. He says that two parties are formed, Hookites, which *in fact*

[1] See Vol. i. p. 416.

includes us, and a sort of Latitudinarians, who *consider* they maintain 'Oxford views'; and they quote the Preface to the 'Remains' to show that they are not members of the 'Establishment,' *that is*, the local Church (which they say is heretical, &c.), but the 'Catholic Church,' an idea or shadow. Merivale has been preaching, and is to publish four sermons which *seem* to make subjective religion all in all—indeed, they seem Maurician, the said Maurice being at present the great doctor at Cambridge. What a set they are! They cannot make religion a reality, nothing more than a literature. Heath (I think) holds by my 'Romanism' and 'Justification,' not by my Sermons; which means, I suppose, not by Catholic views about *Church* and *Sacraments*. An external *bond* is what they want, and what they shrink from. Are they not like Greeks, and we like Romans? 'Graiis ingenium,' &c. 'Tu, Romane, memento . . . parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.'[1]

It is well, perhaps, after having just given the letters to Mr. Keble on certain objections raised by the country party, to extract from the 'Apologia' Mr. Newman's lasting impression of his position in 1839.

In the spring of 1839 my position in the Anglican Church was at its height. I had supreme confidence in my controversial *status*, and I had a great and still growing success in recommending it to others. I had in the foregoing autumn been somewhat sore at the Bishop's Charge, but I have a letter which shows that all annoyance had passed from my mind. In January, if I recollect aright, in order to meet the popular clamour against myself and others, and to satisfy the Bishop, I had collected into one all the strong things which they, and especially I, had said against the Church of Rome, in order

[1] 'Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui.'

Horat. *De A. P.*, 323.

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

Virg. *Æn.* vi. 852.

to their insertion among the Advertisements appended to our publications. Conscious as I was that my opinions in religion were not gained, as the world said, from Roman sources, but were, on the contrary, the birth of my own mind and of the circumstances in which I had been placed, I had a scorn of the imputations which were heaped upon me. It was true that I held a large bold system of religion, very unlike the Protestantism of the day; but it was the concentration and adjustment of the statements of great Anglican authorities, and I had as much right to hold it as the Evangelical, and more right than the Liberal party could show, for asserting their own respective doctrines.[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: January 3, 1839.

. . . I have talked with Pusey about Bethnal Green. He has been lately talking to Acland, who was to talk to Wood. So the matter remains with you in town. One idea was thrown out that Mr. Jennings might become the Archimandrite in request. Your idea is excellent, but how are we to get men is the difficulty.

What a row poor Todd of Dublin has raised! The Archbishop of Tuam ratified the act of his clergy, the four Articles; so that actually we have a synod against him, and us here. What a great thing it is that our Bishop is for us! By-the-bye, did I ever tell you the conclusion of the affair with him? He was extremely pleased (I am told) with my letters, and has done everything to counteract any effect such as I feared. When his Charge came out with his notes I sent for Keble's advice, wishing to go by it implicitly, and he was strong for taking it as a sufficient warrant for going on with the Tracts; so I did. Also the Bishop has written to Hook (I am told) thanking him for his remarks on his (the Bishop's) Charge and speaking kindly of us. However, I confess I was not fully reconciled till I saw the poor Bishop had got into trouble, and now I begin to feel very grateful to him. You see the

[1] *Apologia*, p. 93.

'Christian Observer,' 'Church of England Quarterly,' and 'Morning Herald' are all at him. By-the-bye, have you observed that most grotesque piece of news in the 'Christian Observer' of this month about me? One step alone is wanted —to say that I am the Pope *ipsissimus* in disguise.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

January 9, 1839.

You doubtless have seen that most afflicting event—Rose's death—in the papers. We have heard nothing more than the fact. I heard from Marriott from Rome several days since, and he said with anxiety that Rose was not there.

Gladstone's book, you see, is making a sensation. Thank you for your kind anxiety about me. Somehow I do not care about the attacks of strangers; it is only when friends fall upon me that I am touched. The papers would not make this great noise unless we were making way. What is to be our length of tether I know not—no one can know. It is a fearful and interesting thought, but at present it is lengthening out.

You know I wrote to Rose from Derby to ask his leave to dedicate my volume to him. Well, I caught him the very day before he set out—which I feel now to have been so happy a chance. I will transcribe you his letter in answer.

'I little thought when I wrote yesterday what pleasure was in store for me to-day. Be assured that your letter of to-day, in giving me such an assurance of your regard, sends me off on my winter's exile much more cheerful. I shall consider (not making fine speeches) placing my name where you propose to do as a very great honour publicly, and privately a very high gratification indeed. This last day my head (feeble now at best) is quite in a whirl. I will only, therefore, say again, May God bless you and forward your labours in His cause. Ever most truly yours.'

Do not you think that many newspapers and many reviews and magazines are necessary to outweigh the pleasure of this letter?

My hand is so tired I can but scrawl. I *meant* my fourth

volume [of sermons] to be the best, and am curious to know what will be thought.

I think you will be much interested in parts of the forthcoming volume of St. Cyprian. The treatises on 'Mortality,' on 'Patience,' on 'Envy,' to 'Demetrianus,' and on the 'Lord's Prayer,' are especially touching.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Oriel College: January 14, 1839.

. . . No news here. I have preached two sermons which have greatly enlightened me in my subject, and, I believe, perplexed all my hearers. I really do think I have defined Reason; a very large subject opens—I wish I could treat it. Lord John Manners has been here, and in manner and appearance is perfectly unaffected and prepossessing; but perhaps you have seen him. I am told he says that Faith and Reason are orient questions in Cambridge.[1]

The Bishops *en masse* are joining the testimonial.[2] I could fancy worse things, though I have no time to prose, it being past 10: I think it may do good. It is *not* to be a monument, which is a gain. Prichard has come up here, and the Dean has moved into Greswell's rooms, who is much better. I heard from Marriott (Rome) a week since—he evidently was not well. I hope he will remain. He prepared me somewhat for Rose's departure by saying that he was not at Rome, and that they were anxious. What a fine fellow Gladstone is! Mrs. Pusey is about the same. I saw her the other day. The fourth volume of Tracts has already (in half a year) come to a second edition—the first was 1,000 copies. Parker is entering on a plan of selling them and other books on a large scale through the country.

[1] Sermon X. 'Faith and Reason contrasted as Habits of Mind'; preached on Sunday morning, the Epiphany, 1839. *Heb.* xi. 1. 'Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. . . .'

Sermon XI. 'The Nature of Faith in relation to Reason'; preached on Sunday morning, January 13, 1839. 1 *Cor.* i. 27. 'God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty. . . .' *University Sermons.*

[2] The Martyrs' Memorial.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel College: January 22, 1839.

In a fit of absence I have torn this sheet in two,[1] so between double postage and half a letter I have chosen the latter. Of course, Wednesday week (the 30th) will do.

Poor Rose, or happy, that he is taken off just as the battle begins! You seem somewhat discouraged, but depend on it, Apostolicity is nothing till it is tried, and less than nothing if it cannot bear a puff. I do not know how I should feel were I in the world; but here I cannot realise things enough either to hope or fear. It sometimes comes on me as an alarming thing, almost a sin, that I doubt whether I should grieve though all that has been done melted away like an ice palace. I do not mean, of course, I should not grieve in the case of individuals I knew, or should not be annoyed about opponents, whom I knew, triumphing—but I speak of the whole as a *work*. I wish I lived as much in the unseen world as I think I do not live in this. The fear is, lest one lives in a world between the two, a selfish heart.

The 'Times' is again at poor Gladstone—really I feel as if I could do anything for him: I have not read his book, but its consequences speak for it. Poor fellow! it is so noble a thing. He and Marriott are on their way home together. Is he prepared for the tempest?

The Tracts are selling faster than they can print them. Curious enough the day before yesterday the thought came into my head of printing extracts from our works against Popery—and they will appear stitched into some of the February magazines. This will be something such as you heard wished for. And Pusey (perhaps) is going to write the *very* thing—a manifesto of principles. I do not know that much good will come for the avowed object, but it will encourage and strengthen *friends*, who will know what to say. The last news is that the Irish clergy are rising *en masse* to call on the English Bishops to convene a holy Synod and

[1] At this date the post regulations only allowed single sheets to pass without extra charge. The same sheet torn in two was charged double.

condemn us. Have *they* not enough to do at home? The Corn Laws, the Belgian Question, Canada, and Afghanistan will in a while divert people's thoughts. They will tire of wondering —we shall not tire, so be it.

The following birthday letter was written to his friend, then most seriously ill. Later on in the year, when Mr. Newman records a passing visit to him at Roehampton, there is this note: 'This was after Bowden's most serious illness, which sent him to the Continent.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

February 21, 1839.

As I know you will not be permitted to read this if it is inexpedient for you, I do not hesitate to send you my kind thoughts on a day so interesting to both of us, and which seems to bind us together. You have often done so towards me; now let me take my turn. It is a day which, among its other thoughts, must ever bring before me the image of one of the kindest, most generous, and most sweet-minded persons I have ever been allowed to know. All blessings attend you, my dear Bowden. You are ever in my thoughts. It is now near twenty-two years that I have had the privilege of knowing you. I could go on indulging my own feelings for a long while, but I must take care not to tire you.

God and all good angels be with you!

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Oriel College: April 23, 1839.

. . . I have had a number of things to say in answer to your letters, but have been much pressed for time. Now that the 'B. C.' is out and the volume of St. Cyprian (in a day or two), I am getting some breathing time. The 'Arians' is coming to a second edition, and I must re-write it. This will take me at least a good year [This was not done: there was no second edition.—J.H.N.], and I hope to give myself up entirely to it. In the course of my reading I intend to put notes to our transla-

tion of Theodoret's 'Heresies' and to translate 'St. Cyril against Nestorius,' and to finish (if possible) my edition of St. Dionysius. These, luckily, will be in the way [towards the 'Arians.'—J. H. N.] and hardly take me more time. Accordingly I am missing my yearly lectures in Adam de Brome's Chapel this term; they were to have been a continuation of Tract 85, and would have taken me much thought and reading. The question of the Pope's being Antichrist would have come in.

I commend to your notice, if it comes in your way, Carlyle on the French Revolution. A queer, tiresome, obscure, profound, and original work. The writer has not very *clear* principles and views, I fear, but they are very deep.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. BOWDEN.

May 2, 1839.

My dear Mrs. Bowden,—Many thanks for your kind and welcome letter—it has put us all in very good spirits. There is but one feeling of satisfaction among all those who have heard the news [Johnson being made Radcliffe Observer]. Pray give Manuel my warmest congratulations. It is, indeed, a most splendid termination of his undergraduate course: most strange—one can hardly believe it. One ought to be very thankful. Nothing of the kind has given me so much pleasure since Rogers got a fellowship here. I could not believe it would turn out as it promised; but, in spite of all fears, so it is. We shall all be in great expectation of his coming. He ought to be installed with a kind of triumphal pomp.

What you say about John [Mr. Bowden] quite bears out what Mr. Woodgate has told me. It will be a great point when you get him to Roehampton.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

May (between 7 and 18) 1839.

We are not very lively here at present. Dr. Mill is down here to find a Principal for Bishop's College, Calcutta, and the Bishop of Nova Scotia for subscriptions to the Propagation of

the Gospel, and the Reformers of the Statutes are trying to institute a Professor of Logic. The only real news is the accession, I trust, of Ward of Balliol to good principles. He is a very important accession. He is a man I know very little of, but whom I cannot help liking very much, in spite of his still professing himself a Radical in politics. Arnold, they say, has given over preaching against Church views, and is on the point of publishing a book.

Keble is here for a week, and I write this in Trinity Common-Room, where we have been dining. I wonder what the effect this change of Ministry will have on the spread of good principles. I suppose Sir Robert Peel will try to allure the Church back into utter captivity, and perhaps will succeed. I hope this letter will not annoy you to read [viz. in the weakness of his convalescence]. Johnson assures me that it will not.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. BOWDEN.

Oriel College: May 27, 1839.

My dear Mrs. Bowden,—Manuel will tell you the particulars of Mrs. Pusey's release. It is a great relief. Pusey was being worn out. Now he may, and must, take care of himself. She died without any pain, and was sensible almost to the last. His mother is with him.

It is now twenty-one years since Pusey became attached to his late wife, when he was a boy. For ten years after he was kept in suspense, and eleven years ago he married her. Thus she has been the one object on earth in which his thoughts have centred for the greater part of his life. He has not realized till lately that he was to lose her. . . .

My love to the children. I take Emily's wish as a particular compliment, considering how select she is in her friendships.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: June 22, 1839.

It rejoiced me to find you able to write so firmly and well. I must contrive to come and see you before you go off [to

Italy]. Pusey is keeping me here at present, and then a Confirmation is coming on, and I have a poor youth who is dying.

I was thinking what news I had to tell you, but there is not much. Pusey is to take his children to the south coast of Devonshire. His sister is to be married next week to Cotton, the new Provost of Worcester, who in consequence, as in duty bound, gives up his house and the College entirely to Mr. Pusey and the cattle-men [1] at the great meeting in July. It is a compliment to Oxford their coming here at all; but it is, I suppose, an inconvenience. All Souls has declined lending rooms to the Duke of Richmond, under the apprehension of his position necessarily introducing crowds of all sorts into the College. We are going to have London police.

. . . How amusing it is that the Whig-Radicals, by way of merely an argument in debate, should puff us so much in the House as they have upon the Education Question! Of course it will do us good, as making people believe we are formidable.

P.S.—We sold above 60,000 tracts altogether last year. My new volume of Sermons has come to a second edition in half a year. Nothing of mine has been so quick before.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

Oriel: July 11, 1839.

I am busy with the theology of the fifth century at present, preparatory, I trust, to my finishing my edition of Dionysius of Alexandria, and editing for the 'Library of the Fathers' Theodoret, Leo, and Cyril.

We hope to begin publishing a translation of Fleury after all; not beginning with the first three centuries—for Burton would supply that for the present—nor with the fourth, for my 'Arians' after a way does that; but from the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. From it to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 452, will make two volumes octavo. We shall put notes; and, if encouraged by the sale, go on to two volumes more, and so on. I have to write to Rivington's about it, to know if it will interfere with any plan of Maitland's.

[1] The Agricultural Show, held this year at Oxford.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel: July 12, 1839.

. . . You have no business to ask me whether I have got on with my reading in so short a time as you make me give account of; however, I can answer satisfactorily. As in all reading, I have wasted some days in doing nothing; however, after all, I have got upthe question of the parentage, &c., of the works given to Dionysius the Areopagite. I have got up the history of the Eutychian controversy, got hold of the opinions of Eutyches, and the turning point of the controversy (no easy matter in theology) [this sounds dreadfully pompous on reading it over.—J. H. N.], have read through the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, have got up St. Leo's works, and (though last, not least) have at length, by further reading and hunting about, *proved*, as I think, what I have long believed, that the word *Persona*, or Πρόσωπον, was not a technical word in the controversy of the Incarnation till after 350–360. This last hit enables me at once to finish Dionysius, but now that I am in the Monophysite controversy, I think I shall read through it, and then back to the Nestorian, before I go to him. I should not wonder if this opened other questions, which on fresh grounds threw Dionysius off again just as before. I certainly feel a great wish to determine the spuriousness of certain other works of other Fathers at the same time.

I wish to make a volume or two of the mere Acta Conciliorum for the 'Library of the Fathers.' Those of the Council of Chalcedon are most exceedingly graphic and lively, though the exclamations of the Bishops have less dignity in them than R. H. F. would have approved.

Two things are very remarkable at Chalcedon—the great power of the Pope (as great as he claims now almost), and the marvellous interference of the civil power, as great almost as in our kings. Hence when Romanists accuse our Church of Erastianising, one can appeal to the Council, and when our own Erastians appeal to it, one can bring down on them a counter-appeal to prove the Pope's power, as a *reductio ad absurdum*. . . .

Keble thinks this number of the 'B. C.' good, though I suspect he is always chivalrous enough to take part with the weak. However, I *do* think it a good number myself—very good. Some one also took H. W.'s article for mine. Keble's Psalms (1,000 copies) are out in a month; a second edition is preparing.

We are undertaking the beginning of a translation of Fleury. [A. J.] Christie, B.C. [Bible Clerk at Oriel], is setting about notes on the portion between Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, which will form two octavos. Parker recommended beginning after my 'Arians,' since the following tract of history was most wanted. I suppose I shall do great part of the notes myself. My present reading will just fit in to it. The translation is ready to our hands, but Christie or some one else is to revise it.

P.S.—Mr. H. has been here to-day inquiring about his renewal. I said you were away till October, and—unhappy man!—taking him for M., behaved not over-civilly to him, which is on my conscience. He looks forbidding and tortuous, which increased my delusion. Do prove to me he is a very worthless fellow.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel: September 15, 1839.

"Your account of your priest is amusing. *Can* the R.C.'s have any tender feeling towards Anglicanism? Who among us ever showed them any kindness? Are we not the pets of a State which has made it felony to celebrate Mass even (I believe) in private, a law which (Ward declares) remained in existence till 1780. . . .

You see, if things were to come to the worst, I should turn Brother of Charity in London—an object which, *quite* independently of any such perplexities, is growing on me, and, peradventure, will some day be accomplished, if other things do not impede me. That Capuchin in the 'Promessi Sposi' has stuck in my heart like a dart. I have never got over him. Only I think it would be, in sober seriousness, far too great an

honour for such as me to have such a post, being little worthy or fit for it.

The following letter to Mr. Rogers shows the writer in an unsettled state of mind, clearly requiring some relief. The misgivings, hinted at here as something scarcely serious, issued a month later in the 'astounding confidence' made to a friend in the New Forest. This was, however, a passing alarm; his mind returned to its allegiance.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel College: September 22, 1839.

Since I wrote to you, I have had the first real hit from Romanism which has happened to me. R. W., who has been passing through, directed my attention to Dr. Wiseman's article in the new 'Dublin.' I must confess it has given me a stomach-ache. You see the whole history of the Monophysites has been a sort of alterative. And now comes this dose at the end of it. It does certainly come upon one that we are not at the bottom of things. At this moment we have sprung a leak; and the worst of it is that those sharp fellows, Ward, Stanley, and Co. will not let one go to sleep upon it. *Curavimus Babylonem et non est curata* was an awkward omen. I have not said so much to any one.

I seriously think this a most uncomfortable article on every account, though of course it is *ex parte*. . . . I think I shall get Keble to answer it. As to Pusey, I am curious to see how it works with him.

And now, *carissime*, good-bye. It is no laughing matter. I will not blink the question, so be it; but you don't suppose I am a madcap to take up notions suddenly—only there is an uncomfortable vista opened which was closed before. I am writing upon my first feelings.

Amongst the papers placed in the hands of the editor is an extract from an article[1] by H. W. Wilberforce (as inscribed

[1] *Dublin Review*, April 1869. See also *Apologia*, p. 162.

by J. H. N.), which gives the history of what passed in the New Forest:

'It was in the beginning of October 1839 that he made the astounding confidence, mentioning the two subjects which had inspired the doubt—the position of St. Leo in the Monophysite controversy, and the principle *securus judicat orbis terrarum* in that of the Donatists. He added that he felt confident that when he returned to his rooms, and was able fully and calmly to consider the whole matter, he should see his way completely out of the difficulty. But he said, "I cannot conceal from myself that, for the first time since I began the study of theology, a vista has been opened before me, to the end of which I do not see." He was walking in the New Forest, and he borrowed the form of his expression from the surrounding scenery. His companion, upon whom such a fear came like a thunderstroke, expressed his hope that Mr. Newman might die rather than take such a step. He replied, with deep earnestness, that he had thought, if ever the time should come when he was in serious danger, of asking his friends to pray that, if it was not indeed the will of God, he might be taken away before he did it.'

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Cholderton: October 3, 1839.

Keble's preface to the 'Remains,' which awaited me here, is very good, as far as I can judge; but somehow I seem to want the faculty of judging of anything of Keble's. And, again, I so little enter into people's difficulties that I am not able to tell whether he has met them. What I write to you for is that he has omitted to explain what you wanted explained, about R. H. F.'s off-hand expressions; and, as I feel I cannot do justice to your meaning, I wish you would write him a line about them. I wrote you a letter on the subject the other day, and then, thinking it was a shame to write what was worth so little before the penny post was introduced,

did not send it. Yet I think Keble would like to hear from you; so I have changed my mind.

I can't help thinking I shall find St. Austin agreeing that, under circumstances, grace is given even in a schismatical Church, and that in the very controversy with the Donatists which is Dr. W.'s strong ground. I shall take to the subject on my return. He says, 'Ecclesia etiam per ancillarum sinum liberos parit Christo,' in his 'De Bapt. adv. Donat.' Again, the Romanists grant that those who in time of schism *bona fide* adhere to an anti-pope, yet are virtually in communion with the centre of unity. If so, they are so *virtute præcepti, non medii*. There are saints in the Roman calendar who adhered to an anti-pope and, I believe, died in that adherence: of these Pope Gregory says, 'Qui non malitia sed ignorantiæ errore peccaverat, purgari post mortem a peccato potuit.' If so, as ignorance may be one legitimate excuse, there may be others also. As the Archbishop of C. is *Pope* to those who are not better informed, so he may be to those who, born and ordained in the English Church, afterwards *are* otherwise informed. But this you will not allow. You will say, light is given for some end. What do they do in consequence of their light who remain as they were?

Well, then, once more: as those who sin after baptism cannot at once return to their full privileges, yet are not without hope, so a Church which has broken away from the centre of unity is not at liberty at once to return, yet is not nothing. May she not put herself into a state of penance? Are not her children best fulfilling their duty to her—not by leaving her, but by promoting her return, and not thinking they have a *right* to rush into such higher state as communion with the centre of unity might give them. If the Church Catholic, indeed, has actually commanded their return to her at once, that is another matter; but this she cannot have done without pronouncing their present Church good-for-nothing, which I do not suppose Rome has done of us.

In all this, which I did not mean to have inflicted on you, I assume, on the one hand, that Rome is right; on the other, that we are not bound by uncatholic subscriptions.

On a case of conscience, in which Miss Giberne seems to have been asked to procure Mr. Newman's judgment, he sends the following reply. The correspondence placed before the Editor from different sources contains very few letters of this character.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS GIBERNE.

Oriel College: October 16, 1839.

The case you put to me is a very difficult one, considering the young lady is under age. I mean this makes it a case of disobedience to her father, which full conviction indeed of the impiety of his religious creed, but that alone, can justify. She ought to be quite sure that she is in earnest and not under excitement. Our Saviour bids us 'count the cost'; the step she proposes to take might involve other steps; perhaps she would find it necessary to be baptized in the Church. If she is of an age to be able to make up her mind, and if she has steadily contemplated what lies before her, I think she might go safely as far as this—not to attend the Socinian worship, as a first step. But from her having already submitted to her father, though unwillingly, I should doubt whether she can be said clearly to have made up her mind on the subject. All I would say is, that she should act on her convictions if they are such, but that she should not mistake momentary or accidental feelings for convictions.

As to Pusey's introducing himself in the coach, it is impossible almost nowadays to travel without one's having to do so, to prevent things being said (of whatever kind) painful under the circumstances to all parties.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

October 20, 1839.

We have heard of you from Vigo and Lisbon. No great events have happened here. While you have been doing so much by sea, the three weeks have been like any other three weeks. I passed a pleasant time with Mozley, and S. Wilberforce has been itinerating for the S. P. G. in Devonshire and

astonishing everybody by his eloquence. The Bishop of Exeter is said to say that Pitt and Fox are children to him. Archdeacon Froude writes, what is more to the purpose, that he has been useful in preaching Apostolical doctrine. He would be able to bring up people to a certain point. Dr. Lamb, Dean of Bristol, speaks of the 'fable' of the Apostolical Succession.

. . . Pusey is returned and in appearance much better. It is no exaggeration to say he is a 'Father' in the face and aspect. He has been preaching to breathless congregations at Exeter and Brighton. Ladies have been sitting on the pulpit steps, and sentimental paragraphs have appeared in the papers—in the 'Globe!' Fancy!

I will tell you a story I heard the other day. A clerical brother-in-law of one of the Fellows of Exeter was dining at a Visitation dinner in (I think) Wiltshire, and was addressed by a Cambridge clergyman present. 'Perhaps you don't know the origin of that Tract system; it is curious enough. Mr. Newman was plucked for his divinity. He could not construe a word of the Greek Testament; and when pressed, said that he took up the Fathers instead. Accordingly, he has since made it a point to prove that the Fathers are everything, and the New Testament of little importance!'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Oriel College: October 25, 1839.

. . . I did not mean to have written to you so much on business. Tom's articles ['B. C.' Oct. 1839] [1] are capital. I am going to publish the 'Church of the Fathers.'

What have I to say? . . . I fear we have an anxious year before us—here, that is. I have not been anxious about the Apostolical movement till now, but now I am. The V.-C. is striking at us.

[1] These articles are headed, 'Armed Associations for the Protection of Life and Property,' and 'New Churches.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

November 4, 1839.

The chief thing I have to tell you concerns Morris of Exeter, whom perhaps you know, perhaps not. He is a most simple-minded conscientious fellow, but as little possessed of tact or common sense as he is great in other departments. He had to take my church in my absence. I had not been one Sunday from Oxford till lately, since October 1838. I had cautioned him against extravagances in St. Mary's pulpit, as he had given some specimens in that line once before. What does he do on St. Michael's day but preach a sermon, not simply on angels, but on his one subject, for which he has a monomania, of fasting; nay, and say that it was a good thing, whereas angels feasted on festivals, to make the brute creation fast on fast days: so I am told. May he (*salvis ossibus suis*) have a fasting horse the next time he goes steeple-chasing. Well, this was not all. You may conceive how the Heads of Houses, Cardwell, Gilbert, &c. fretted under this; but the next Sunday he gave them a more extended exhibition, *si quid possit*. He preached to them, *totidem verbis*, the Roman doctrine of the Mass; and, not content with that, added, in energetic terms, that every one was an unbeliever, carnal, and so forth, who did not hold it. To this he added other speculations of his own still more objectionable.

This was too much for any Vice-Chancellor. In consequence, he was had up before him; his sermon officially examined; and he formally admonished; and the Bishop written to. Thus the matter stands at present. The Bishop is to read his sermon, and I have been obliged to give my judgment on it, to him, which is not favourable, nor can be. I don't suppose much more will be done, but it is very unpleasant. The worst part is that the Vice-Chancellor has not said a single word to me, good or bad, and has taken away his family from St. Mary's. I cannot but hope he will have the good sense to see that this is a mistake. I wish *all* this kept secret, please: for it is not known even here.

Our Provost is stirring himself in the writing line. He has been publishing letters in the Oxford paper; sermons, I think, in the 'Church of England Magazine,' and a sermon on Church Extension, which has been inserted at length in the 'Record.' He is to preach the Bamptons, you know, next year.

P.S.—In the Christmas 'British Critic' I have thought of writing an indirect answer to Dr. Wiseman's article.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

November 17, 1839.

As to the Vice-Chancellor . . . I should not wonder if my situation got unpleasant at St. Mary's. Had I my will, I should like giving up preaching. Only it is more than probable that any person I appointed would be liked less than myself. My greatest encouragement is the number of weekly communicants, and that among the M.A.'s. The Undergraduates are few, which I am glad of, the B.A.'s more, and the M.A.'s more. This morning I had forty-three altogether, in the dark even. This shows, one trusts, a steady growth of seriousness among the clergy of the place, and that the change, whatever it is to be, is not from *Undergraduates*, which would be very objectionable if it could be helped. But the prospect is gloomy. The Heads of Houses are getting more and more uneasy. I should not wonder if the Bishop got uneasy, in which case I suppose I should resign the living; and I expect the country clergy will be getting uneasy. I am quite in the dark what the effect of the new volume of the 'Remains' will be. . . . Then the question of the Fathers is getting more and more anxious. For certain persons will not find in them just what they expected. People seem to have thought they contained nothing but the doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration, Apostolical Succession, Canonicity of Scripture, and the like. Hence many have embraced the principle of appeal to them with this view. Now they are beginning to be undeceived. . . . I never can

be surprised at *individuals* going off to Romanism, but that is not my chief fear, but a schism in the Church: that is, those two parties who have hitherto got on together as they could, from the times of Puritanism downward, gathering up into clear, direct, tangible forces, and colliding. Our Church is not at one with itself, there is no denying it. . . . However, as I never have felt elation when matters were promising, so I do not (I trust) feel despondency or trouble now when they threaten. I do really trust, if it may be said without presumption, that we are brought forward for a purpose, and we may leave the matter to Him who directs all things well. One thing seems plain, if it did not before, that *temporal* prospects we (personally) have none. I could fancy things going so far as to make me resign even my fellowship.

P.S. . . . Pray give my very affectionate remembrance to Louisa [Mrs. Deane] when you write, and tell her that I do not forget her or any other friends, and am not so violently different from what I was when she knew me a little, as she may think from the tin-kettle accounts of me which rattle to and fro in the world.

Such notes of warning as are sounded in the above letter were doubtless very trying to the receiver; but Mrs. Mozley was assisted to bear them with serenity, both by her high esteem for her brother's character and by her own unworldliness. The loss of position and the world's estimate would tell little with her. The question would be one of right and wrong. And, trusting her brother as she did, and full of faith in her own Church, she hoped, and held her peace.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. W. F. Hook.

Oriel: January 3, 1840.

I will bear in mind what you say about the 'Serious Call.' Is not Law's 'Christian Perfection' a very good book? I do not know it, but Bishop Wilson recommends it. Is A Kempis

one of the books you want? That is going to be published here.

As to the subject of Justification, Le Bas has completely cut me off from this in the 'B. C.' by choosing to review my book in it, and takes a side which, though not uncatholic (for else I could not have inserted it), is so directly against me that I am hindered from defending my own views. I will say to you what I have said to no one else—that, considering I was editor, this was very inconsiderate in him; but since he puffs me for putting it in, my mouth is closed, and I must take his puff as my reward.

As to ——, I wish to steer clear of him, if I can. Were I to begin, I should cut him up so very sadly, and I do not think he has any bad weight here. As far as he is thought of, he leads persons a certain way and then breaks down, depositing them and their luggage in the road, about half way between Geneva and Oxford. People cannot remain long in so exposed a state, but get on as they can in omnibuses.

The kindest and best wishes of the season to you and yours.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

January 5, 1840.

. . . The said 'Christian Observer' has got milder lately —I suppose it finds it is over-shooting the mark. Mr. Taylor,[1] I think, is destroying himself and his cause by proving too much. I have not read his *fasciculi* yet, but I see he talks of the Nicene Fathers having the brand of apostasy on their foreheads. It is curious to find that the lawyers and laity do not take to Mr. Taylor, but the clergy do. For why? because the doctrine of celibacy touches the latter. Put aside Mr. Taylor's gross misrepresentation: this is the real hitch at bottom.

Mr. Todd's sermons on Antichrist have at last appeared, and seem to be both bold and seasonable.

Not Mr. Taylor, but Dr. Wiseman, seems taking the

[1] Author of *Ancient Christianity, Spiritual Despotism.*

lawyers: so I hear. Indeed his last article comparing us to the Donatists has taken in quarters where I should not have expected it would excite an interest. Indeed he has fixed on our weak point, as Keble's Sermon, Manning's 'Rule of Faith,' and my Lectures fix on his.

'Pusey is at Brighton, pretty well. At present he is very much bent on establishing an order of Sisters of Mercy (I despair somehow, but I *always* croak), and is collecting information.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Oriel College: January 8, 1840.

One kind word from you will make me forget anything, but really you frightened and depressed me much.

I have had a visit to-day from Mr. Spencer, the R.C. priest, under the following circumstances. Palmer (of Magdalen)—*ὁ πάνυ πρόξενος*—asked me to dine with him. On second thoughts I considered that this would not be right in the case of one *in loco apostatæ*, who had done despite to our orders, &c. So I wrote to say I could have no *familiar* and *social* intercourse with one so circumstanced. Palmer was annoyed. Poor fellow! he has put himself in a false position. People *will* assume he is one of us, and come to him for introductions to us; and he does not *know* even a number of us, and does not know the feelings, &c., of those he does know. So he has been hard pressed to entertain the said Mr. S. Ward saw Palmer of Worcester unsuspiciously pacing down to dine with him yesterday, which, considering the said Palmer always talks of Mr. Spencer, &c., as 'those fellows,' was amusing. Well, to return. Palmer called to expostulate with me, and proposed divers plans, such as my coming in the evening, &c. I said I did not like to put myself out of the way—that if R.C.'s and A.C.'s met together, it should be in sackcloth, rather than at a pleasant party, &c. Then he asked if I should object to Mr. Spencer's calling on me. I said that I had no right to ask such a thing from Mr. S.—that it was pompous in me, &c. So it was arranged then; and to-day he called with Palmer, and sat an hour. He is a gentlemanlike, mild, pleasing man, but sadly smooth. I

wonder whether it is their habit of internal discipline, the necessity of confession, &c., which makes them so. He did not come to controvert—his sole point was to get English people to pray for the R.C's. He said he had been instrumental in setting on foot the practice in France towards England, that it was spreading in Germany, and that we should be soon agreed if we really loved one another: that such prayers would change the face of things. He called on Routh, and had a similar talk with him. Yesterday he dined in Hall at Magdalen, at a venison feast, in company with Calcott and Thompson of Lincoln, Lancaster, &c. At least, so I believe. Wood is to take him to Littlemore to-morrow. Oakeley and he breakfast at Palmer's with him to-morrow morning.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: January 10.

To day the penny postage comes in, which *all* condemn, but *every one* likes.

January 17.—. . . Hampden preached a regular 'Evangelical' sermon last term, which is published, and which a correspondent of the 'Record' has been puffing. The said 'Record' has been puffing Whately, too, for his clear appreciation of the great Protestant principle of Private Judgment; and is most *bitter* (that's the only word) against Keble, and me, and the new volumes of Froude. They are past *anger*; they say we are far worse than the unspiritual High Church of the last century, as sinning more against light—*i.e.* there was no 'Record' then. . .

When the Conservatives come in, the first act of the Whigs is to be to move for a Commission to examine the state of the Universities, and the Conservatives are not to resist it. I dread about our Statutes: in so many Colleges there are abuses. Ward of Trinity has been attempting to publish the Magdalen Statutes, and the College has got an injunction against him. However, at length they have seen the policy of letting him have his way.

Things are progressing steadily; but, breakers ahead!

The danger of a lapse into Romanism, I think, gets greater daily. I expect to hear of victims. Again, I fear I see more clearly that we are working up to a schism *in* our Church; that is, a split between Peculiars and Apostolicals; the only hope is that the Peculiars may be converted or broken up. If a Convocation were now to meet, I think there would be a schism.

Mr. Close & Co. of Cheltenham clamoured so much about H. Jeffreys' appointment to the Training School at Gloucester that he was obliged, though appointed by the Bishop, to withdraw. Well, I hear to-day that at last they have got a young Fellow of Lincoln, of the name of Atkinson, who is one of our translators.

In like manner they refused Copeland here, and have got a man who (*ex abundanti cautela* on their part) had been a semi-Bulteelite, but who, it turns out, is now rapidly coming on to Apostolical opinions.

To return to Lincoln; after rejecting James Mozley for a Fellowship two years since for his opinions, they have been taken by Pattison, this last term, an inmate of the Cœnobitium. He happened to stand very suddenly, and they had no time to inquire. They now stare in amazement at their feat.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

Oriel: January 14, 1840.

. . . What have I to tell you? I ought to answer your letter, and will some time or other.

How the years go! Who would have thought that 1840 would ever come! It used to look a fabulous date; like some of the idle prophecies of the end of the world, as in this year or that.

The Conservatives are certainly coming in, the Bishop of Exeter says, for six years; and then will be a Radical Ministry; and he bids the Conservatives do all they can in the six or seven years of plenty.

St. Nicholas was Bishop of Myra—very little is known about him. He is considered the patron of children, and I

suppose is associated with St. Mary as emblem of innocence. Littlemore Chapel is dedicated to St. Mary and St. Nicholas.

I am exceedingly pleased at your liking my article.[1] It is one that has given me much anxiety. I have no fear of the Movement *progressing* at this moment, but great apprehensions of lapses to Romanism. It is written in answer to the article of Dr. Wiseman, which (I acknowledge) is striking. . .

The last 'Edinburgh' has convinced me that the penny postage is not only pleasant, but right, prudent, and necessary.

P.S.—Love to Aunt.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel College: February 21.

I have got into a desponding way about the state of things, and I don't know why quite. Right principles are progressing doubtless, but it seems as if they were working up to a collision with Puritanism which may split the Church. I fear the Bishops are not so favourable; but one fancies. What I said in my last was that the Bishop of London wavered about us which was good; but I have lately heard that the Bishop of Ripon [Longley] was about to show some distrust in τοῖς περὶ Hook. I am not quite sure that Hook himself is not getting frightened [with us?]. Here the authorities are getting more and more cold and averse, I fear; though it may be a fancy in me to say so. . . .

Bloxam has given up Littlemore, and Copeland is to be my curate. In the interval—that is, during Lent—I am going up to lodge there, to see how things are going on.

. . . Pusey is at present very eager about setting up Sisters of Mercy. I feel sure that such institutions are the

[1] 'Catholicity of the English Church,' *British Critic*, January 1840.

only means of saving some of our best members from turning Roman Catholics; and yet I despair of such societies being *made* externally. They must be the expansion of an inward principle. All one can do is to offer the opportunity. I am sceptical, too, whether they can be set up without a quasi-vow. . .

My 'Church of the Fathers' is now finished. It is the prettiest book I have done; which is not wonderful, being hardly more than the words and works of the Fathers. I have no notion how it will take, as I have been obliged to give out the Fathers' views about celibacy and miraculous power.

The Duke of Wellington is said to be certainly breaking. . . . What a wonderful thing it is, and what a strange reproach to the nation, that, for the last ten years, the Duke should have done nothing. Considering his great influence with European Powers, it is like infatuation that the country should not have availed itself of what will never come again. It was part of our purchase by twenty years of bloodshed, and now it is thrown away. Dukes of Wellington are not to be had for the asking.

I am told that Mr. Spencer expressed himself quite puzzled why I would not dine with him. So I wrote him a letter about a fortnight since, which he has not answered, perhaps from fear of getting into controversy. I merely said it was useless for them to attempt amicable intercourse between themselves and us, while *acts* were contrary—while they allied themselves to Dissenters and Infidels, and were plotting our ruin. The voice was Jacob's voice, but the hands were the hands of Esau; that he did not come as an individual Roman Catholic, but as a priest on a religious purpose, &c.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

February 25, 1840.

have got very sluggish about writing, for various reasons: first, I am so busy; next, my hand is so tired; and, thirdly, I am somehow desponding about the state of things, and this disinclines me to exert myself.

Everything is miserable. I expect a great attack upon the Bible—indeed, I have long expected it. At the present moment indications of what is coming gather. Those wretched Socialists on the one hand, then Carlyle on the other—a man of first-rate ability, I suppose, and quite fascinating as a writer. His book on the 'French Revolution' is most taking (to me). I had hoped he might have come round right, for it was easy to see he was not a believer; but they say he has settled the wrong way. His view is that Christianity has good in it, or is good *as far as it goes*, which, when applied to Scripture, is, of course, a picking and choosing of its contents. Then, again, you have Arnold's school, such as it is (I do hope he will be frightened back), giving up the inspiration of the Old Testament, or of all Scripture (I do not say Arnold himself does). Then you have Milman, clenching his 'History of the Jews' by a 'History of Christianity' which they say is worse; and just in the same line. Then you have all your political economists, who *cannot* accept (it is impossible) the Scripture rules about almsgiving, renunciation of wealth, self-denial, &c., and then your geologists, giving up parts of the Old Testament. All these and many more spirits seem uniting and forming into something shocking.

But this is not all. I begin to have serious apprehensions lest any religious body is strong enough to withstand the league of evil but the Roman Church. At the end of the first millenary it withstood the fury of Satan, and now the end of the second is drawing on.

Certainly the way that good principles have shot up is wonderful; but I am not clear that they are not tending to Rome—not from any necessity in the principles themselves, but from the much greater proximity between Rome and us than between infidelity and us, and that in a time of trouble we naturally look about for allies. I cannot say enough of the wonderful way in which the waters are rising here, and one should be very thankful. All this is a miserable prose, and regular talk worth nothing, and soon to be falsified by the event.

I am going up to Littlemore till Easter. While there I

may have more time to write to Harriett and you. Tell her so.

The following letter to his sister, who knew all the parishioners and parish concerns of Littlemore, shows Mr. Newman in an unfamiliar field, obeying one precept, in which with him nature always assisted grace, 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: March 12, 1840.

. . . I am up here, amongst other reasons, owing to Bloxam's being suddenly called home by his father's alarming state of health. I am not at all sorry for the opportunity. It has cost me a great effort. My Oxford duty is divided among seven persons, and two presses are stopped, and a third postponed. I have a number of protestations from friends for going. . . .

I have no papers with me nor any hint to guide me as to this place. I have to make my way as I can. My school perplexes me, at least the girls' school; for Mrs. W. is perfectly incapable. Do suggest to me how I am to discharge her without discharging him. I have been reforming, or at least lecturing against uncombed hair and dirty faces and hands; but I find I am not deep in the philosophy of school-girl tidiness.

I have just caught a most unpleasant cold, which has clean taken away my voice, and, if matters continue in this present state, what I shall do I know not. This evening my reading the service was not audible to the little children close to me—my throat is choked up. With me this kind of thing rarely lasts above a day, but I have never had so determined a cold since Rogers went up for his degree, and I crammed him, he blind and I dumb. Mrs. Barnes comforts me by telling me that, if I take some precious mess (which now stands on my fender, till I go to bed) for *three* nights, I cannot tell the deal of good it will do me. Meanwhile Sunday comes

on apace. I am catechising the children in church on Sundays,[1] and prepare them for it through the week; here, again, is a distinct catastrophe.

I have morning prayers daily as well as afternoon.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq.

Littlemore: March 21, 1840.

I wish you would ask Hope when he comes whether the following course and its reasons can be made intelligible to ordinary minds, or whether it will seem an anomaly. I have no misgivings about it myself, but that does not prove that others may not stumble at it.

Considering that I have little or nothing to do at Oxford parochially, and a great deal at Littlemore, I naturally feel a desire to reside at Littlemore rather than in Oxford. Nay, I will say that *per se* it is a duty to do so. But then comes the question whether I ought to be a non-resident Fellow.

I argue thus:—the College has made me their Vicar of the parish; in attending to it I am merely doing that very thing which they have told me to do. Nay, they make me Vicar *as* Fellow, for, did I give up my Fellowship, I should be bound to give up my vicarage. If I cannot attend to St. Mary's and be a Fellow, there is no other way in which I can attend to it. St. Mary's never can be served except by Fellows; either there must be non-residence (so to call it) of a Fellow, or non-attendance of a Vicar.

Littlemore has never been regarded in any other light than an integral part of St. Mary's. When the chapel was built, the College refused to let it be anything but a Chapel of Ease on St. Mary's; it refused to take the patronage, or in any way to recognise Littlemore as detached from the Oxford portion.

The question then comes to this: is it a breach of the Statutes in the College to annex the living to a Fellowship?

[1] Dr. Mozley in a home letter writes:—'Newman's catechising has been a great attraction this Lent, and men have gone out of Oxford every Sunday to hear it. I heard him last Sunday, and thought it very striking, done with such spirit, and the children so up to it, answering with the greatest alacrity.'

But, next, supposing I took theological pupils at Littlemore, might not my house be looked upon as a sort of Hall depending on Oriel, as St. Mary Hall was? and if this were commonly done, would it not much strengthen the Colleges instead of weakening them? Are these not precedents?

And, further, supposing a feeling arose in favour of monastic establishments, and my house at Littlemore was obliged to follow the fashion, and conform to a rule of discipline, would it not be desirable that such institutions should flow from the Colleges of our two Universities, and be under their influence?

I do not wish this mentioned by Hope to any one else. I may ask one or two persons besides.

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REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: April 1, 1840.

I am getting on here; the children are improving in their singing. I have had the audacity to lead them and teach them some new tunes. Also I have rummaged out a violin and strung it, and on Mondays and Thursdays have begun to *lead* them with it, a party of between twenty and thirty great and little in the schoolroom. I am catechising them in church, too, and have got them so far that they take an interest in it. I have only one girl as much as ten, and not two more than eight or nine, except some Sunday scholars. I have effected a great reform (for the time) in the girls' hands and faces. Lectured with unblushing effrontery on the necessity of their keeping their work clean, and set them to knit stockings.

Also I have drawn up a sort of Liturgy for School Prayers, varying with the seasons, on a hint I gained from some printed prayers, &c., done by some ladies in Sussex.

I think I shall be a good deal here in future.

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REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: April 18, 1840.

I have just ended the Lent Fast, and Bloxam has come up and taken tea with me. Then we went to church, and

with much care arranged the altar cloth. . . . It looks beautiful. As to Mrs. Barnes, she dreamed of it from astonishment at its elaborateness; and Eliza B. and several others, who are workwomen, look at it with amazement. . . . Indeed we are all so happy that we are afraid of being too happy. We have got some roses, wall-flowers, and sweet-briar, and the Chapel smells as if to remind one of the Holy Sepulchre.

Really I have everything my own way, and I quite dread some reverse, because I am so favoured.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. THOMAS MOZLEY.

Oriel College; May 20, 1840.

. . . We have bought nine acres, and want to build a *μονή*. Give me some hint about building. My notion is to build *a bit*, and then stop, but to build it on a plan, which will admit of being added to. Were I a draughtsman I would hit off something good; as it is, take the following (with a plan):

The library admits of increase along one side, and is to be lighted with upper windows only, the room being (say) 16 to 18 feet high.

The cells to be added as required, being (say) 9 or 10 feet high.

The oratory or chapel a matter altogether for future consideration.

I want a cell to contain three rooms: 1, a sitting-room 12 by 9 (say); 2, a bed-room 6 by 6?; and 3, a cold-bath room 6 by 3?

Again, June 10, 1840:

I have got another idea since I saw you, which, for what I know, you will annihilate on the ground of expense. It is to have the cells *upon* a cloister, as at Magdalen, and a library too. Will you give me your thoughts about this?

I meant to have asked before whether I could not get rid of chimneys and fireplaces by pipes of hot water, or would this be a great expense? The saving of chimneys, grates, &c.

would be great. I would have a fireplace only in the kitchen and refectory.

I think of planting in the autumn two acres with larch and fir, with more tender trees (yet suited to the soil) between, such as hornbeam, elm, &c. Can you give me any hints here?

And now, farewell. Wood and Williams have been here for the Whitsun holidays, and we have had a pleasant time. I had a breakfast party last week with a Presbyterian clergyman, a Trinity College Dublin man, a French ecclesiastico-politician, a friend of Lamennais, and (Harriett will know who) Mr. Ostrahan. Yesterday two Ashantee Princes came with an introduction from my uncle Charles; but this is gossip I should reserve for Harriett.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Ascension Day, May 28, 1840.

What a beautiful spring this has been after the last four bad years! We have bought nine or ten acres of ground at Littlemore, the field between the Chapel and Barnes's, and, so be it, in due time shall erect a monastic house upon it. This may lead ultimately to my resigning my Fellowship; but these are visions as yet. The painted glass is up, and most beautiful it is. The children are improving in their singing; we hope soon to be able to chant the whole service with them.

My library is in most apple-pie order. I suppose I shall soon make it over to the parties who hold the nine acres. The tracts are most flourishing.

The following is the first of a series of letters addressed to a lady who introduced herself to Mr. Newman under the signature Z. Y. X., but subsequently to be known as Miss H. They illustrate his courtesy and readiness to help any one in real difficulty, his willingness to take trouble, putting all his learning in some instances at the service of a somewhat tiresome questioner, his good sense and temperate

ness as a religious adviser, and his patience when sometimes sorely tried by wilfulness and self-assertion.

Oriel College: May 29, 1840.

Mr. Newman begs to submit to Z. Y. X. the following reflections on the letter and papers which he has received, the latter of which he now returns.

I have read with painful interest the account contained in the letter, and am very thankful that one who was in such peril has been at length brought right.

It is impossible not to feel great sympathy in the writer's narrative, and to entertain a sanguine hope that she will be kept right, and that her only further change will be a growth of the good things which have been begun in her.

And, of course, it is a most welcome thing to be told that anything oneself has written has been made at all instrumental in impressing religious convictions on the mind of another, particularly one constituted as hers.

It is, however, only three years since she has begun to think rightly, and not many months since she has known and received the doctrines advocated in the 'Tracts for the Times.'

This being considered, I think it is premature in her to publish, when she has so lately held opinions which she now unfeignedly laments, and from which she can hardly yet have thoroughly cleansed herself. I hope she will not think me harsh if I say that, however the Church needs such aid as she proposes to give, and well as she is qualified to give it, I think it would be best for her not to publish anything at present, but to employ herself in her own edification.

Let her turn her activity and energy upon herself; let her consider how much must be done by every one of us to enter life, how much is open to every one to do, both to the glory of God, and towards personal improvement; how high and wonderful a thing Christian Sanctity is, and what capabilities the regenerate soul has for improvement.

The talents which she possesses admit under God's grace of indefinite improvement and confirmation, and may be

blessed by Him for securing to her a place among the Saints.

Might it not be advisable for her to give herself to the study of A Kempis, Pascal's 'Thoughts,' the devotional writings of Bishop Taylor, and similar books?

Has she such command of her time as to be able to give herself, at least for a season, to devotions and penitence, using some systematic exercise, such as Bishop Cosin's, Bishop Andrewes's, or (if she has the slight knowledge of Latin necessary) the Breviary, with such omissions as the English Church requires?

Should she not give herself to the contemplation of obedience and holiness, and the reading of the lives of saints, and set herself deliberately to the business of self-government, of changing herself where she most requires it, of gaining perfect resignation to God's will, of unlearning worldly opinions, notions and principles, and of living as if in sight of things invisible; and that without impatience at apparent failure, or apparent slow advance?

Is not this a most exact and most excellent mode of fulfilling the vow she has made, that she would 'devote what ability God has given her to His service and glory'?

Is she so situated as to be able to fulfil this vow (already made before writing to me, and felt by her to be binding) in, not a mere season, but a life of such observances, like the saints of old? There are doubtless many women who waste their lives as things are, whose calling and happiness would seem to be in uniting in a religious society, supposing they had a rule sufficiently authoritative to overcome differences of tastes and tempers.

May she not at least cherish the *wish* for such a life, if it be at present impracticable? may she not pray for it? And as to promoting Catholic views, will she not be doing so most effectually at present, or at all times, by constant prayer that clergy and laity may be enlightened in the perfect knowledge of the truth, and brought together in unity?

As to the MSS. which she has sent, after what I have said, any remarks on my part are almost superfluous. They

are written clearly, naturally and usefully, and nothing which I have said above is at all meant in discouragement of the writer's thus employing herself in her own sphere, but of her publishing.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS H.

Oriel College: June 10, 1840.

Mr. Newman sends the following answers to some questions which Miss H. has asked.

He wishes he had time to answer them more fully, but thinks it better to send them, such as they are, than delay.

The translation in use of Bishop Andrewes's 'Devotions' turns it from a book of prayers into a collection of texts. An attempt has just been made in No. 88 of the 'Tracts for the Times' to remedy this. Sutton's 'Godly Meditations on the Lord's Supper' is a useful book, but the caution in the Advertisement should be attended to. There are many translations of A Kempis, none very good, and very different from each other. The older are better. A new translation is wanted. It is a most deeply valuable work. The translations from the Breviary in 'Tracts for the Times,' No. 75, go a great way to supersede a knowledge of the original, and, at all events, direct a person to arrange the Psalms on the same plan, for other seasons besides those there introduced.

Of course the circumstance that God grants a change of heart is a just ground of hope and rejoicing, whatever our past offences may have been. I do not think that such feelings are at all incompatible with the deepest and most lasting humiliation. Some of my published sermons are upon the subject, as sermon 8 of volume iv.

It seems to me that there is great danger of any one who has experienced such a change of views as the writer of the letter, becoming excited. She must not expect to have always the sunshine she now has, and the more she indulges her feelings now, the greater reverse perhaps is in store. Such a person should be very much on her guard against doing anything out of the way, or of startling persons by anything she

said. While God gives peace and joy, we have cause to be thankful, but let us rejoice with trembling. I think it is well to be cautious and jealous with oneself as to any strong acts, such as vows. It is true I alluded to something of the kind in my last letter, but it was with reference to a vow which I understood had *already* been taken. If there be any matter about which our Lord's caution holds about 'counting the cost,' it is the subject of vows.

As to the doctrine of God's receiving our prayers by the intervention of saints, I am not aware that our Church has given an opinion about it. It speaks against 'the Romish doctrine of invocation.' And it does not in the Prayer Book recognise the doctrine of saints' intercession, but it seems to me to leave it open.

I suppose that any clergyman who denies the Creed does so far forth, and for the time, forfeit his title to deference on the ground of his Ordination. The faith is the foundation, it was laid in the beginning, and no one can alter it. Now one article of the Creed is that there is 'one baptism for the *remission* of sins.' Another that our Lord will come again 'to judge the quick and dead.' Clergymen, then, who deny baptismal regeneration, or that the elect shall be judged, would seem to contradict the faith once delivered to the saints. It does not follow that it is right for any one to oppose them, but at least one is not obliged to defer to them. I should think it better for a person under the circumstances in question *not* to get into argument, but to decline controversy altogether. I would under her circumstances accompany my friend to church, though it is certainly most painful to hear wrong doctrine in a sacred place. I would not abstain from food in a way to attract attention; but there are ways of denying oneself, when no one would suspect it.

The following letter concludes with a warning against yielding to sudden impulses, the excesses of an excitable temperament:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS H.

Oriel College: July 19, 1840.

. . . It is not at all necessary to keep to the hours of prayer, when good reasons come in the way—which they very frequently will do—and I should recommend a person to be very cautious before proceeding to break rest at night. Persons do not know what they can do and what they cannot, and may make themselves ill before they are aware of it.

No one must be surprised, particularly when first making an effort to live strictly, at discouragement, failures, and the apparent hopelessness of making progress. You must not mind these things—everybody experiences the like. You must not be impatient nor over-anxious, but go steadily on, feeling thankful that you have, please God, time before you. You cannot hasten the course of things; you cannot become what you would wish to be on a sudden. You can but do God's will, as far as may be, according to your day, and leave the whole matter to Him.

I do not think it advisable you should break off your usual visits to —— Nothing in the course of engagements in which you find yourself is actually objectionable, and therefore you should continue in them. Were you beginning anew, the case would be altered. Though temptations present themselves to you in society, you would soon find temptations in solitude, were you to indulge your love of it. We cannot escape from *ourselves* wherever we are, and we are the sinners, not the places in which we find ourselves.

I am concerned to hear you speak again of a vow, and, if I understand you, of a very definite kind. Not that I would have you for the world trifle with it, if you have made it—no good can come of trifling with solemn engagements—but that if so, you are in an anxious position, and have much before you to guard against. I do not deny that in that case you ought to fear a great deal; for if you do not make a great point of keeping any pledge you have made, and keep the thought of it before you, you may find yourself in very distressing and dangerous circumstances. I shall be best pleased

to find you have not entangled yourself with any vow; but, if so, you must keep it. I would have you *at once* make up your mind *how far* you have pledged yourself in God's sight, and make a note of it. And then religiously keep to the account of it which you set down; else circumstances might arise when you might be very much tempted to give a new interpretation to what you had done.

Such a general feeling exists among serious people of the need of religious communities that I cannot help hoping we shall be blessed, sooner or later, in our endeavours to form them.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS H.

Oriel College: 1840.

Be assured that I have my doubts and difficulties as other people. Perhaps the more we examine and investigate, the more we have to perplex us. It is the lot of man: the human mind in its present state is unequal to its own powers of apprehension; it embraces more than it can master. I think we ought all to set out on our inquiries, I am sure we shall end them, with this conviction. Absolute certainty, then, cannot be attained here; we must resign ourselves to doubt as the *trial under* which it is God's will we should do our duty and prepare ourselves for His presence. Our sole question must be, *what* does a merciful God, who knows whereof we are made, wish *us to do under* our existing ignorance and doubt?

. . . As to your questions about the Church of Rome, they are most pertinent; there is nothing unfair or extravagant in them, and you have a right to an answer. I hardly like to recommend my own books; but, having treated of the whole subject in 'Lectures on Romanism,' and it being one far too large for a letter, I think I cannot do better than refer you to it. It is not worth while that you should purchase it. If you find you cannot borrow it, pray let me know, and I will contrive to supply you with a copy.

I should think you would gain great benefit, on the whole subject of religion and ethics, from Bishop Butler's 'Analogy.'

It is a very deep work, and, while it requires, will amply repay your study. But perhaps you know it.

What Mr. Newman was to his friends, and as leader of the Movement, may be gathered from his correspondence. It may interest the reader to be reminded how a stranger to him personally, one who had felt his influence in his undergraduate days, recalled an aspect and manner which so harmonised with the tone of his teaching.[1]

'The influence he had gained without apparently setting himself to seek it was something altogether unlike anything else in our time. A mysterious veneration had by degrees gathered round him till now it was almost as if some Ambrose or Augustine of older ages had reappeared. He himself tells how one day, when he was an undergraduate, a friend with whom he was walking in the Oxford street cried out eagerly, "There's Keble!" and with what awe he looked at him! A few years and the same took place with regard to himself. In Oriel Lane light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper, "There's Newman!" when, head thrust forward and gaze fixed as though on some vision seen only by himself, with swift, noiseless step, he glided by—awe fell on them for a moment, almost as if it had been some apparition that had passed. For his inner circle of friends, many of them younger men, he was said to have a quite romantic affection, which they returned with the most ardent devotion and the intensest faith in him. But to the outer world he was a mystery.'

This was from an undergraduate point of view.

In contrast with this singularly telling and faithful recollection, it will interest the reader to see a specimen of self-portraiture, drawn in self-defence, while Oxford was still his constant home.

The lady with whom Mr. Newman had exchanged letters, meeting him for the first time in passing through Oxford, seems

[1] *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy.* By Principal Shairp, p. 245.

to have implied in a subsequent letter that he had not fulfilled her expectations. The reader will certainly be interested, and perhaps will be amused with the answer:

As to myself, be quite sure that, if you saw me again, you would just feel as you did when you saw me before. I am *not* venerable, and nothing can make me so. I am what I am. I am very much like other people, and I do not think it necessary to abstain from the feelings and thoughts, not intrinsically sinful, which other people have. I cannot speak words of wisdom: to some it comes naturally. Do not suffer any illusive notion about me to spring up in your mind. No one ever treats me with deference and respect who knows me, and from my heart I trust and pray that no one ever may. I have never been in office or station, people have never bowed to me, and I could not endure it. I tell you frankly, my infirmity, I believe, is always to be rude to persons who are deferential in manner to me.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. T. MOZLEY.

St. James's Day, 1840.

James is just now elected Fellow of Magdalen. He passed a capital examination.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. B. MOZLEY.

Oriel: September 17, 1840.

. . . I congratulate you on your French. [J. B. M. had taken up French and had lessons.] Rogers is here; we agree your hand is changing, and guess that it looks like a remarkable development of energy, activity, and business-like despatch. We expect Wilson to-day. H. W. has been written to, but the scaramouch has not answered me.

Mr. Bowden had returned to England in June. Mr. Newman writes, 'So you are back, God be praised! Rogers is going this winter. He is not so well quite as one should wish.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

October 13, 1840.

I was as much surprised as I was pleased by your very kind offer received this morning about the Dedication [of 'Hildebrand'], and yet,' do you know? it is impossible I should accept it. My theory has been that it was out of propriety for two friends to dedicate *to each other*. And I have acted on my theory. Pusey has offered to dedicate to me his 'Types' or sermons (I forget which), and I have strenuously declined on the above ground.

On the same subject he writes in November, no doubt the sense of his friend's precarious health giving it a particular interest:

The loss of your Dedication is one of the most trying things I have had for some time. . . . I think your Dedication to Trinity very happy, and I hope to come in for my share in it in that way.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: November 6, 1840.

I do not think that people here are in a dangerous way. They are very *good-humoured*, as far as I know; and if they criticise me, it is in fun, meaning nothing by it. The only vulnerable point we have is the *penitus toto divisos orbe*. It is the heel of Achilles; yet a person must be a good shot to hit it. I am sorry to hear that R. has been at Lord Shrewsbury's. It is a bad thing stirring one's *sympathies* towards Rome.

I like your plan of Continental Tracts much. I have been thinking of one on the kind of subject you mention.

As to the 'British Critic,' I give it up to T. Mozley from the summer. This I have always wished to do. I shall have

had it three years. I shall write for it, I suppose, as much as heretofore, and I hope our friends will not desert him.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London have allowed ministers the patronage of the Colonial Bishops; and in consequence, I suppose, our friends here will all have much to say to the scheme.

Before seeing the book, I am sorry that Gladstone is committing himself. I agree with you *quite* that we should, as far as possible, confine ourselves to *facts*. Sewell is very unreal. Faber [F. W. Faber, afterwards a Catholic.—J. H. N.], I hope, will turn out well, but I wish he would not write so much.

As to our young anti-Anglicans, I dare say you know (through Johnson) more of them than I do. I do not think anything great of the Continental churches, as you seem to think, or of the Roman Catholics at home. Were there 'sanctity' among the Roman Catholics, they would indeed be formidable.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

November 15, 1840.

We have finished our planting at Littlemore, and it looks very nice. By the time I am an aged person, if ever I am so, it will make a show.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS GIBERNE.

Oriel: November 4, 1840.

What you hear about a convent is a mere mistake. I know nothing of it. But I am very glad to hear that such ideas are spreading, and talking is the first step to doing. Several plans are in agitation for establishing Sisters of Mercy, whether for hospitals, or for parochial visiting; but I expect nothing of them yet. It is a great thing if persons communicate to each other their ideas and wishes. No one can begin

solitarily, but the feeling that there are others like-minded gives at once confidence and opportunity. . . . Women (no, nor men still less) would not live together without quarrelling, as things are among us. A very strong religious principle and a tight discipline would be necessary. But it is a very good thing for people to be thinking about. Nothing would need more counting the cost.

. . . I will give you a story or two in payment of yours:

1. A clergyman of Northamptonshire told Dr. Ogle (he had it on the witness of a lady, a parishioner of his, who was at St. Mary's and *heard* it) that, during the course of the last year, *I* had, in the *service*, not in the sermon, introduced formally a prayer of my own to St. Mary. The lady bore a cross-examination.

2. A person told a person who (I think) told me, that he had called on Dr. Pusey and saw him with his own eyes adore a picture of St. Mary.

3. A French master told a lady at Bath, who told my informant, that he had with his own eyes seen me at St. Mary's with a large cross down the back of my surplice.

Do make a book of good stories.

Rev. J. H. Newman to F. Rogers, Esq. [*In Italy.*]

Oriel: November 25, 1840.

I feel the compliment you pay me at the tail of your letter to Church, just received. You say 'Oriel is a sink of gossip,' and you continue, 'tell him.' The suppressed premiss is not immanifest. But to proceed. Miss Agnew has brought out a little book or tract called 'The Young Parishioners,' which is the most piercingly beautiful thing, and poetically so too, I have read for a long while. I say this to you freely, because you will not see it. Also, persons are sure to be disappointed, I know well, who hear these things said, and then take up the subject of them.[1] Next, you will be glad to hear, Morris

[1] In an early memorandum of Mr. Newman's he speaks of a sick parishioner being visited by a certain Mrs. B., a great professor, whose manner disturbed the

told me yesterday that they have come to a College resolution at Exeter to have the S. S. every week—a great step.

The 'Record' of Monday contains a letter from Oxford signed 'Socius,' protesting against the 'effrontery' of our people here, whereas others were modest, and the most flagrant thing, because the most insidious—was that we had actually taken to argue from Scripture [*i.e.* tradition being our legitimate province], and people ought to be cautious of it. The only reason I mention this is because I thought perhaps that Daman (Fellow of Oriel) was Mr. Effrontery, and, if so, 'Socius' would be a correlative. W. Palmer of Worcester has written me a 'confidential' letter, saying that he is agitating and wishing me to agitate for the addition of 100 or 120 Bishops to the *English* Church. Something is in the wind somewhere, I suspect, for C. Miller has been wishing me to put out again the pamphlet on Suffragans. Also, I tell you as a deep secret, which I have not breathed to a soul, and which I hope William Rogers, Esq., will not have the benefit of, that Cardwell has a plan before the Heads of Houses for introducing 'Divinity Lectures in the University.' Many things conspire; they are jealous of Durham, and Chichester, and Wells, and I suppose would not be unwilling to put down our illegitimate influence.

Johnson is to have an heliometer; there is but one in England. It discovers the parallax of the stars, and hence their distances. I am so much pleased, for it opens for him a *new line*, in which he has no competitor. Airey so warmly backed him up with Peel.

invalid, apparently by its exaggerated tone and want of nature, but which had been accepted by the young curate of St. Clement's as a mark of spirituality. Looking back, he writes this comment:—'I saw her (Mrs. B.) at Mrs. Twells', a year or two ago. She has a smooth, unnatural manner, and I cannot conceive how I could have been taken in by her. But I took things on faith, *i.e.* I had faith that God's presence ever was where people spoke in a certain way. I viewed things through the imagination in a remarkable degree.' The present writer can recall nothing of the tract exciting the above warm panegyric; but accompanying these ardent words—as he writes them—is the expectation, no doubt from experience, that his friends will not feel with him here, that they will suspect him still of 'seeing things through the imagination.'

I think you know that a person has been converted by the 'Remains' back to the Church, and communicated lately at Margaret Chapel. Dr. Wiseman has begun a *Conservative* line on taking possession of his post: is silencing political priests, &c. They say there is certainly a move that way in a portion of the body. Pugin has been here, speaks strongly against the R. C. body, and says that if 200 of the ablest and best of our men were to go over, they would be received coldly. I think our way certainly is to form alliances with *foreigners*; the jealousies (natural) with R. C.'s at home preclude anything good.

I suspect your friend had got the wrong passage of St. Ambrose. There is a very strong passage either in the 'De Incarnatione' or the 'De Sacramentis,' but the truth is, Manzoni saw that (even if he could) it was *endless* arguing from the Fathers, and that the infallibility of the Church was the only real doctrine to take up. Your accounts are very interesting, and I will not betray Hope at all, whom thank for his little bit of letter.

I wrote to Keble some time since telling him at full my difficulties about St. Mary's, and resolving to go by his judgment. I had three heads: (1) my inability to get on with my parish; (2) my exercising an influence on Undergraduates to which I was not called; (3) the tendency of my opinions to create Roman *sympathies*. The third was the only ground he thought much of, and he gave me full leave to resign, if I could do it without creating scandal. At the same time he said he wished me to remain, and did not think it a reason *necessitating* resignation. Upon this I felt I ought to remain; because what I wanted to get from him was *leave* to do so. I mean, there are so many reasons making it a duty to remain, so soon as one comes to the conclusion that it is not a duty to go. Three considerations have gone far to reconcile me to it since his decision: (1) that we don't know yet what the English Church will bear of infused Catholic truth. We are, as it were, proving cannon. I know that there is a danger of bursting; but still, one has no right to

the tendency of what I teach towards Rome, it is no more than I see in Hooker or Taylor; they tend *in Latium*,[1] only they are not so far advanced. I think that Hooker would have just my difficulty in St. Mary's pulpit, unless he set himself formally to preach against Rome, which I don't suppose he would find it easy to do in parochial sermons, and if he did, still I don't think he would get out of the difficulty. I think his difficulty, the difficulty of *all* our divines, would be the same as mine. We all create a sympathy towards Rome so far as our system does not realise what is realised in Rome. (3) For what we know, Liberalism, Rationalism, is the foe at our doors. St. Mary's pulpit may be given me against an enemy which may appear to-morrow. I am more certain that Protestantism leads to infidelity than that my own views lead to Rome. On the whole, though I cannot draw out my reasons, I am more comfortable than I was. I think that, though St. Austin is against us, yet that the case of Meletius is certainly for us, and that our position is much more like the Antiochene than the Donatist. My only solicitude has been to have an answer in *controversy* why an *individual* is not bound to leave the English Church. That we are suffering dreadfully (so are the Romans), and that we are wrong in our separation, I do not doubt. It is quite consistent to say that I think Rome the *centre* of unity, and yet not to say that she is infallible, when she is by herself. Now this is a long prose, and I don't know if you will understand it. The upshot is, whether I continue so or not, that I am much more comfortable than I have been. I do not fear at all any number of persons as likely to go to Rome, if I am secure about myself. If I can trust myself, I can trust others. We have so many things on our side, that a good conscience is all that one wants.

Your boy is very well. He has been variously useful, in the way of transcription principally. I have Atkins in my rooms, hammering in with all his might eight bookshelves. The planting is finished at Littlemore, and looks very nice indeed.

[1] 'Tendimus in Latium.'—Virg. *Æn.* i. 205.

The Provost has set himself against Cholderton Church, stingily granted leave to build at the November audit, and is fidgeting to get the plans before the College. He says that Mozley wishes a fine church on the Wiltshire Downs: that is the truth. Your sister's poles have just come and are lying on my sofa, a goodly length of ten feet perhaps. Mozley [J. B.] has bought *60l.* or *70l.* worth of furniture, which is a great thing for the fund. I suppose *I* shall buy something more of it for Littlemore—my rooms are nearly ready. I hope at length we shall get rid of our schoolmistress, but there is nothing settled. Nor is the design yet made of the organ loft. Keble comes to-day and gives his lecture to-morrow. John Watson's church has been consecrated; he asked 200 people. Copeland went over on Monday (the consecration was to be on Wednesday) and scarcely had got there when a message came from the Bishop of Peterborough (Davies) that his little boy was ill and he could not come. John Watson set off at once, travelled through the night, despatched messengers countermanding his party, saw the Bishop; the child got better, the Bishop consented to come. J. W. sent again to his guests summoning them, and all went off well. Williams's church is postponed *sine die*.

Bowden is at the Isle of Wight, and very flourishing, according to accounts. 'Hildebrand' is daily coming, but not come. R. Palmer writes an article on General Education for the next 'B. C.' T. M. takes the editorship in the summer. W. Palmer of Magdalen seems to have difficulty to convince the Russians that we are much of a Church; their definition of us was a Church which had cast off its Patriarch, was somehow Calvinistic, and had no discipline.

November 26.—Last evening Bowden's volumes came. Either one has drifted, or he is most intensely Anglican in his theory, but he is quite consistent. He looks at things as but errors *in* the Church up to Trent, but thence they have been taken into the system.

Bliss's paper has lately been opening upon us, with Sewell and Golightly; and Bull has this day been preaching a sermon

in which he advocated Oxford being made a school of divinity instead of private institutions (*e.g.* Chichester), and recommended the enforcement of the B. A. residence for that purpose. At the end he spoke in a very *grave* way of present unity being in jeopardy.

In fest. S. Thom.—I almost wonder we have not heard of you. Did I tell you that the Dean of Chichester,[1] when here preaching, contradicted flatly that Golightly had ever had the offer of the Principalship—which has put the same Golightly in a flame of indignation.

Charles (an Oriel servant) has died very much in debt, and his family literally had not a meal some weeks before his death. His place was worth 300*l.* a year. It was the ruin of him, as it turned out, for it enabled him to keep a boy, and then, having time and money, he went to drinking.

I have taken Haddan of Trinity for my curate; he was ordained yesterday, and read prayers for me in the evening.

My sister H. has been writing a juvenile novel,[2] which has come before Mr. Gresley, who is so taken with it that they talk of beginning a new series of tales, &c., with it for the first. It has its faults, of course, as a first publication, but it certainly is very good. But all this, I believe, is quite a secret.

St. Stephen's Day.—Your letter came yesterday, very acceptably. I think I am getting to see my way more clearly. I am expecting daily to hear of Balston's death.

Roundell Palmer has written a beautiful article for me on Public Schools' Education Books, and is to write on Russia, England, and Turkey. We don't like your friends the Turks so much as you do.

I wonder you were *disappointed* at the buildings of Rome. Whom did you ever hear praise their architecture as beautiful or solemn? I never did. Richness of materials—taste in combining them—vastness of design—and *antiquity*, I thought to be their characteristics. Gladstone's book is not open to the objections I feared; it is doctrinaire, and (*I* think) some-

[1] The Very Rev. George Chandler.

[2] The title of this book is *The Fairy Bower*. It had a great success.

what self-confident, but it will do good. Somehow there is great earnestness, but a want of amiableness, about him.

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 1841.

. . . I am surprised yet pleased that you should think so much of what I say of your fifth volume of sermons, because it shows how little you know of the estimation in which they are generally held. I think you will be glad to hear what I hear from all quarters, that they are more read than any of your writings; indeed it is a great comfort to me, for I cannot but think they are calculated to be of immense benefit to the most important class. I am sure it is a great gift, that insight you show into human nature. When I think of people whom one calls decidedly 'clever men,' I see what I estimate in you is not their sort of talent; it is nothing intellectual; it is a sort of spiritual perception; and I wonder whether it is anything like the gifts in the Corinthian Church. Perhaps we might have the same gift in ours now if it was not so sadly neglected. Perhaps it may be met with in private clergymen, but I do not see it in any published sermons as strongly as in yours.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO F. ROGERS, ESQ.

Oriel: January 2, 1841.

A happy new year to you. You do not say how long you stay at Rome, so I write there. . . . The 'Times' has put in three columns on Bowden's 'Hildebrand,' a puff, though confessing he goes lengths. Palmer of Magdalen is returning *ἄπρακτος*. The Russians will not believe him against the evidence of all the English they ever saw before. They think him a theorist or worse. He comes home in the spring. Balston was buried in Magdalen. Daman, Marriott, Church, and Pritchard came up to the funeral, and with Coffin and me were the pall-bearers. He suffered a good deal at last from restlessness, but took it all very gently and patiently, and has left a tender thought of him in many hearts.

Epiphany.—I sent you a slip in Marriott's letter to you just now. I take up my pen to say that Arthur Perceval sent me, in slips, a most beautiful letter in defence of Froude (really against Sewell), which is to appear in the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Journal.' It ought to be written in letters of gold. It is the most striking thing I have read a long while. It quotes his letters of '33, '34; defends him from the charge of conspiracy most happily by extracts, and whitewashes (while he hits) Keble and me. But to say that it hits at Sewell is rather to give *my* feeling than Perceval's intention.

January 10.—The news is as follows: Robert Wilberforce is *Archdeacon of the East Riding.* Claughton is said to be about to marry Lord Ward's sister, and C. L. Cornish to marry Monro's sister. But do not tell these matches, for it is only what is generally said and believed.

The 'Anglo-Catholic Library' is in a tottering condition. Copeland has given up the editorship because our divines do not go far enough for him, and Maitland has withdrawn from the committee because the concern is in Copeland's, &c., hands. Meanwhile Parker has been diligently collecting the subscriptions, and the Protestants of London have started an Opposition Society which is to bring out cheaply Reformation works. To complete it, the first volume (Andrewes' Sermons) is just through the press, and very well edited. I do not see my way at all. It is no plan of mine, and neither Pusey nor I was warm about it, but the question is, What is to be done under the circumstances?

Henry Wilberforce has not been well, and, I think, rather alarmed about himself. If the weather changes (which it is just now promising to do), he is to come this week and pay me a visit here.

I think you are apt to be unfair to those unhappy Romanists. As to the ceremonies, I confess I liked what I saw as little as you; but there is such a thing as uncharitableness. We are much cautioned in Scripture not to go by appearances. How often has a person a pompous, &c., manner in England whom we think well of. Demureness the Roman manner, as pompousness is the Church of Eng-

land's. Marriott says upon it, 'The impression of hollowness in ceremonies is almost necessarily exaggerated, unless one enters into them with complete enthusiasm.' You may be right in being so suspicious of Rome, but still such prejudice and suspicion, I do think, disqualify you as a witness of facts against her. You seem to *like* to catch at something bad. You caught at that Lutheran's saying that Dr. W. was an unscrupulous controversialist. I dare say he is. But who is not? Is Jeremy Taylor, or Laud, or Stillingfleet? I declare I think it as rare a thing, candour in controversy, as to be a Saint. So you see, on the whole, I think that Mr. Close, under the same circumstances, would be as hollow as the Pope, and Mr. Townsend as unfair as Dr. Wiseman. Should you like Manzoni or Vitali to judge of us either by Cheltenham or Durham?

I fear I tire your eyes. Perhaps it is a foolish thing to write so small and keep the letter so long, but I am growing stingy of paper, for my stationer's bill the past year has come to pretty nigh 10*l*.

Carissime, I wish you were here again, and will you give a good account of your health when you write? Were I anxious about you, for which I see no reason, much more should I be anxious about H. Wilberforce, Bloxam, and Bowden, not to say Hope.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

February 12, 1841.

. . . As to Rome, I never heard anyone who did not speak against what it was possible to *get at* of its state. I suppose it is what Oxford was some sixty or seventy years ago. Rogers was pleased with the ecclesiastics of Milan. . . .

I think an anti-papal feeling *is* rising among the English Roman Catholics. I have lately seen a deeply interesting letter from Mr. Phillips, of Leicestershire (though chimerical), who has also written to the 'Tablet.' Pugin, too, is very strong on our side. 'The British Critic' is said to have done good service, particularly the article on 'Antichrist.'

H. Wilberforce has been here for a fortnight, making acquaintance with young Oxford.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

February 24, 1841.

I never had such dreary thoughts as on finding myself forty. Twenty-one was bad enough.

Of the year 1836 Mr. Newman had written (see p. 177) :— 'March 1836 is a cardinal point of time,' and, giving a list of notable incidents, comments on them : 'A new scene gradually opened.' Five years later, the same MS. ('Chronological Notes') concludes with the words : 'The affair of No. 90, March 1841, was a far greater crisis than March 1836, and opened an entirely different scene.'[1]

If the reader will refer to a letter of Mr. Newman's to Mr. Rose, dated March 28, 1831,[2] he will see for how long a time the subject of the interpretation of the Articles had been in his thoughts.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Littlemore : March 5, 1841.

I am writing a miserably prosy review of your 'Hildebrand,' and quite feel I am not doing it justice. It is merely a cento of passages and sentences from you spoiled. . . .

[1] The publication of Tract No. 90 is thus announced in the Rev. J. B. Mozley's *Letters*, p. 111 :

'*March* 8, 1841.—A new Tract has come out this last week which is beginning to make a sensation. It is on the Articles, and shows that they bear a highly Catholic meaning ; and that many doctrines of which the Romanist are corruptions may be held consistently with them. This is no more than what we know as a matter of history, for the Articles were expressly worded with a view to bring in Roman Catholics (see *Apologia*, p. 131). But people are astonished and confused at the idea now, as if it was quite new, and they have been so accustomed for a long time to look on the Articles as on a par with the Creed that they think, I suppose, that if they subscribe to them they are bound to hold whatever doctrines are (not positively stated in them, but) merely not condemned. So if they will bear a Tractarian sense they are thereby all of them Tractarian. But whatever the view may be, there seems to be something brewing, and a man of this college told me just now that he had been canvassed to join in a public protest against the Tract, &c. &c.'

Do you know I am getting into a scrape about Tract 90? Yet it must be; I cannot repent it a bit; unless, indeed, it should get Pusey involved in it. Palmer (of Worcester) has written to me approving of it in very strong terms, and telling me I may use his name. People are so angry, they will attempt to do anything. The Heads of Houses are on the move, but I have not heard whether they mean to do anything. I repeat, I cannot repent it.

P.S.—I have just heard that the Board of Heads of Houses is *most fierce* with the Tract and tracts generally, and means to do something.

In the 'Apologia' is found the following extract from a letter of this date addressed to Dr. Jelf:

The only peculiarity of the view I advocate, if I must so call it, is this—that, whereas it is usual at this day to make the particular belief of their writers the true interpretation, I would make the belief of the Catholic Church such.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. THOS. MOZLEY.

March 9, 1841.

I have got into what may prove a serious mess here. I have just published a Tract (90) which I did not feel likely to attract attention. I sent it to Keble before publishing; he, too, made no remark upon it. But people are taking it up very warmly—thanks, I believe, entirely to Golightly.

Again, to the same sister:

March 12, 1841.

I fear I am clean dished. The Heads of Houses are at this very moment concocting a manifesto against me. Do not think I fear for my cause. We have had too great a run of luck.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: March 13, 1841.

Any other remarks you have to make on my Tract would be very acceptable, since I am writing a pamphlet about it.

I expect the very worst—that is, that a condemnation will be passed in Convocation upon the Tracts as a whole, by the non-resident Establishment men, Liberals and Peculiars.

Do not breathe this lest it should suggest the idea; but I am making up my mind to it, and so is Keble. He saw the Tract before it was published. Perceval and Palmer approve it highly. That it will turn to good I doubt not; but we have been too prosperous. I am only sorry that my friends should suffer through me.

Rev. R. W. Church to F. Rogers, Esq.

Oriel: March 14, 1841.

I quite dread to begin a letter to you, not from lack, but from abundance, of matter. Don't, however, prick up your ears too high, else you may be disappointed: people on the spot can scarcely tell what is great and what little; yet I think that curious things have happened since I wrote last. I think I told you that the 'Times' had been letting in letters signed 'Catholicus' against Sir R. Peel, criticising an address delivered by him in the Tamworth Reading Room, in which he took Lord Brougham's scientific natural-theology line; and not only had let them in, but puffed them in its leading article, without however giving up Peel. These said letters, signed 'Catholicus,' with one or two others of the same sort on duelling, &c., were thought to smack strongly of Puseyism, and brought out furious attacks on the said Puseyites in the 'Globe,' expostulations and remonstrances on political and theological grounds from the 'Standard,' and a triumphant Macaulayism in the 'Morning Chronicle,' in which the writer, with great cleverness, drew a picture of alliance between effete, plausible, hollow Toryism with Puseyism, which he described as a principle which for earnestness and strength had had no parallel since the Reformers and Puritans, and rejoiced greatly over the prospect that Puseyism must soon blow Toryism to shivers. And the 'Globe' admitted that people were most egregiously out in supposing that this same Puseyism was an affair of vestments and ceremonies: that it was, on the contrary, something

far deeper and more dangerous. Such was the state of things out of doors last month.

Meanwhile, about the beginning of the month, a debate took place in the House of Commons about Maynooth, in which Lord Morpeth made a savage attack on Oxford, as being a place where people who were paid for teaching Protestantism were doing all they could to bring things nearer and nearer to Rome, and suggested that this would be a fitter subject for Parliamentary inquiry than Maynooth. Sir R. Inglis, of course, said that the University was not responsible for the 'Tracts for the Times,' and so on; and O'Connell said that the Puseyites were breaking their oaths. This brought a strong article in the 'Times,' in which, without identifying itself with us here *theologically*, it stoutly defended the Tract writers from the charge of being ill-affected to the Church of England, fully entered into their dislike of the word 'Protestant,' and ended by saying that it had said so much because it had been 'misled some time ago by the authority quoted by Lord Morpeth' (the 'Church of England Quarterly') 'to speak of them in terms of harshness, which it now regretted.' This, of course, was called 'ominous' by the Conservatives and Whigs together, and the 'Times' was accused of Puseyism. This led to a second article in the 'Times,' in which, while carefully guarding against identifying themselves, they gave a very good sketch of the history of things from the meeting at Rose's house, written as accurately and in as good a spirit as anyone could wish, and went on to puff the strength and importance of the party, the good it had done, and the strictness, high principle, and so on, of the people up here. This astonished people not a little, but, in spite of wondering letters and remonstrances, the 'Times' kept its ground in a third article, still not professing to be able to enter into the merits of the theological controversy, but maintaining that these Oxford people were the only people who had done or were likely to do any good in the Church, that they had stopped the attacks on the Liturgy and Articles which had been made, or most weakly met, by Conservatives and Evangelicals, and that, let people say what they please, they were making way fast.

Three days before this article in the 'Times,' Newman published a new tract, No. 90, the object of which was to shew *how* patient the Articles are of a Catholic interpretation on certain points where they have been usually taken to pronounce an unqualified condemnation of Catholic doctrines and opinions, or to maintain Protestant ones: *e.g.* that the Article on *Masses* did not condemn the Sacrifice of the Mass, or that on *Purgatory, all* Catholic opinions on the subject, but only that 'Romanensium,' assuming that to be meant which is spoken of in the Homilies: the chief points were, of course, Scripture, the Church, General Councils, Justification, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Masses, Homilies, Celibacy of Clergy, and the Pope: on all these points speaking pretty freely, and putting out explicitly, what of course many must have felt more or less for a long time.

Newman must have the credit of having taken some pains to find out beforehand whether it was likely to make much row. He did not think it would be more attacked than others, nor did Keble or H. Wilberforce. Ward, however, prophesied from the first that it would be hotly received, and so it proved. It came out at an unlucky time, just when people here were frightened to death and puzzled by the tone of the papers, and galled by Lord Morpeth and O'Connell's attack. Tait of Balliol first began to talk fiercely: he had thought himself secure behind the Articles, and found his entrenchments suddenly turned; but he was, after all, merely a skirmisher set on to rouse people by Golightly, whose genius and activity have contributed in the greatest degree to raise and direct the storm. He saw his advantage from the first, and has used it well. He first puffed the Tract all over Oxford as the greatest 'curiosity' that had been seen for some time: his diligence and activity were unwearied; he then turned his attention to the country, became a purchaser of No. 90 to such an amount that Parker could hardly supply him, and sent copies to all the Bishops, &c. In the course of a week he had got the agitation into a satisfactory state, and his efforts were redoubled. He then made an application to the Rector of Exeter to be allowed to come and

state the case to him with the view of his heading a movement, but he was politely refused admittance; he had better success with the Warden of Wadham. It was determined in the first instance to move the Tutors, and accordingly last Monday came a letter to the Editor of the Tracts, attacking No. 90 as removing all fences against Rome, and calling on the said Editor to give up the name of the writer. This was signed by four Senior Tutors:—*Churton*, B.N.C., *Wilson*, St. John's, *Griffiths*, Wadham, and *Tait*, gentlemen who had scarcely the happiness of each other's acquaintance till Golly's skill harnessed them together. He fought hard to get Eden, but failed; as also in his attempts on Johnson (Queen's) and Twiss and Hansell, and Hussey (Ch. Ch.). This absurd move merely brought an acknowledgement of their note from the Editor, and they printed their letter, and so this matter ended. But it soon became known that the Heads were furious and meant to move; driven frantic by Golightly and the 'Standard.' They met, full of mischief, but it was judged expedient to separate *ἄπρακτοι*, partly from press of other business, and especially because it appeared that *many had not read No.* 90. At their second meeting, all present were for proceeding except the Rector of Exeter, and the Exeter Proctor, Dayman; but all the board did not come. The matter was referred to a committee, and we are now waiting their decision. It seems, however, certain that they are afraid to try Convocation: this would be their game, and they would carry it, I think, but they will not venture on the risk.

Meanwhile Newman is very much relieved by having got a load off his back, and has been pretty cheerful. The thought of Convocation harassed him and Keble very much. He is writing an explanation, but he thinks that his tract-writing is done for. He is pretty confident about the Bishop of Oxford; and he has been very kindly backed up. William Palmer (Worcester), as soon as the row began, wrote a very kind letter, speaking of No. 90 as the *most valuable* that had appeared, as likely to break down traditionary interpretations, and lead to greater agreement in essentials, and toleration of Catholic opinions. A. Perceval also wrote to much the same effect.

Keble wrote to the Vice-Chancellor taking an equal share of responsibility in the Tracts. Pusey has also written, but he is very much cast down about the turn things have taken, thinks the game up, and, *inter nos*, does not quite agree with Newman's view of the Articles, though he softens down.

The row, which has been prodigious they say, has made Golly a great man: he now ventures to patronise the Provost, who even condescended to lose his breakfast t'other day to hear G. prose. He has received letters of thanks for his great and indefatigable exertions from four Bishops—London, Chester, Chichester, and Winton. Newman talks of him as a future 'great man.' I shall finish in a day or two. You will be sorry to hear that Sam Wilberforce has lost his wife: his Bamptons are given up.

March 21.—As soon as it became known that the Heads meant to fall upon No. 90, Newman began writing a short pamphlet to explain its statements and objects, and let the Heads know that it was coming, through Pusey and the Provost. However, they thought it undignified or awkward to wait, and on Monday last they 'resolved' that 'No. 90 suggested a mode of interpreting the Articles which *evaded* rather than explained' them, and 'which defeated the object and was inconsistent with the observance of the Statutes' about them. As soon as this was published, Newman wrote a short letter to the Vice-Chancellor avowing the authorship, and without giving up the principle of the Tract, taking their sentence with a calm and lofty meekness, that must have let a new light into these excellent old gentlemen. Newman making an apology to Fox, Grayson, & Co.! this softened many people: even the Provost, who is very strong, thought it necessary to butter a little about '*excellent spirit under trying circumstances*,' &c. And soon after came out Newman's explanation in a letter to Jelf: his point being to defend himself against the charges, (1) of *dishonesty and evasion*, and (2) of *wantonness*. This has rather staggered people, i.e. as to their immediate *move*. I think the Heads feel that he has shown they did not take quite time enough to understand his meaning, and he has brought together for their benefit in a short compass, and in

a pamphlet *that everybody is sure to read*, some disagreeable facts and statements from our Divines. And the Heads show that they feel it rather a floor for the present, by affecting to consider it—which it is not in the least (*judice* Ward)—a *retractation* or *reconsideration*, as our Provost said to Newman. So the matter has ended *here* as far as public measures go. On the one side we have escaped the bore and defeat of Convocation, and the Heads are loudly condemned on all hands for an arbitrary and hasty act, by which they have usurped the powers of Convocation, of which they are supposed to be afraid. Newman personally has appeared to great advantage, has made, argumentatively, a very strong case, which has checked and baffled them for a time, and weakened the effect of their authority, by showing that they did not know who or what they were dealing with. And Newman himself feels that he may now breathe and speak more freely. On the other hand, they have at last been able to deal a hard slap from authority: and the mass of people in the country will be humbugged into thinking this a formal act of the University. Great exertions have been made both in England and Ireland to frighten people, and I should think have been very successful. And then it remains to be seen what the *Bishops* will do. They were at first very much disgusted, and we heard all sorts of rumours about meetings in London, and attempts to stir up the Bishop of Oxford. But whatever their first impulse may have been, they have this week seen reason to think that their best course is to keep things quiet as far as they possibly can.

Last week the Bishop of Oxford wrote to Pusey, expressing the pain he felt at the Tract, and enclosing a letter to Newman which contained a proposal to N. to do something, which he hoped N. would not refuse. Newman's anxiety was not a little relieved when he found, on opening the letter, that what the Bishop wished was that N. would undertake not to *discuss the Articles any more in the Tracts*. Newman wrote back offering to do anything the Bishop wished, suppress No. 90, or stop the Tracts, or give up St. Mary's; which brought back a most kind letter, expressing his great satisfaction (almost as if it

was more than he expected), and saying that in whatever he might say hereafter he (Newman) and his friends need fear nothing disagreeable or painful: and in his letter to Pusey he quite disconnects himself from the charge, brought by the Tutors and Heads, of *evasion*. Newman was encouraged by this to open his heart rather freely to the Bishop and is waiting the answer. *So far* things *look* well.

People in the country have in general backed up manfully and heartily. Newman has had most kind letters of approval and concurrence, from W. Palmer of Worcester, A. Perceval, Hook, Todd, and Moberly. B. Harrison is shocked rather. But Pusey, I fear, has been much annoyed. He scarcely agrees with Newman's view, though he is very kind. A great difficulty with him and with the Bishop is that Newman has committed himself to leaving 'Ora pro nobis' *an open question*. The Moral Philosophy Professor [Sewell] has seized the opportunity to publish a letter, nominally to Pusey, but really to Messrs. Magee and the Irish Evangelicals, in which he deeply laments the Tract as incautious, tending to unsettle and shake people's faith in the English Church, and leading men to receive '*paradoxes and therefore errors*' (good—*vide* Sewell's 'Christian Ethics'); and, after feelingly reminding Pusey of his own services once on a time in the 'Quarterly,' strongly disclaims any connexion with the Tracts and their authors, and recommending that they should cease: 'Longum, formose, vale, vale, . . Iola.' The papers have been full of the row, which has stirred up London itself in no common manner; 2,500 copies sold off in less than a fortnight. The 'Standard' has shown more than usual want of sharpness in the way it has carried on the war, and has attacked Newman personally with all the spite which its dulness enabled it to put forth. The 'Times' has confessed that it knows not what to do, both parties were so loyal and good, so it has contented itself with criticising the style of the four Tutors, reprehending those who could substitute authority for argument, admiring the dignified way in which the controversy has been carried on, and puffing Dr. Jelf, to whom Newman addressed his letter. One hardly knows how things are at the moment. They say Arnold is going to

write against Newman. I have no more room, so good-bye. Just received your letter from Naples. Many thanks.

P.S.—H. B. has brought out a caricature: Nicholas Nickleby (Sir R. P.) coming to Mr. Squeers (Lord Br.), and asking, 'Do you want an assistant?'

On the flaps of the same letter Mr. Newman writes:

In fest. S. Benedicti, March 21, 1841.

Carissime,—Church has told you the scrape I have got into. Yet though my own infirmity mixes with everything I do, I trust you would approve of my *position* much; I now am in my right place, which I have long wished to be in, which I did not know how to attain, and which has been brought about without my intention, I hope I may say providentially, though I am perfectly aware at the same time that it is a rebuke and punishment for my secret pride and sloth. I do not think, indeed, I have not had one misgiving about what I have done, though I have done it in imperfection; and, so be it, all will turn out well. I cannot anticipate what will be the result of it in this place or elsewhere as regards *myself*. Somehow I do not fear for the *cause*.

A letter from Mr. Newman's elder sister may be given as illustrating the anxiety the state of things was causing to many distant friends.

MRS. THOMAS MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 14, 1841.

We hear nothing but ill news, I think, on all sides of us just now. I am glad to hear you are not annoyed at your affair, but it sounds formidable at a distance . . . the tug of war must come some day; let it be now *if you are* prepared, and that I hope is the case. I *trust to you*, as a thousand others will, and you will have their good wishes and prayers, like mine, only better. I look to your late answer to the Roman Catholic letters, as a pledge for your being carried through this matter without harm. We shall get the tract, and though I shall take a long breath before I read it, I will

contrive to believe that it does not go too far. We have for some years been thrust down upon first principles too deep for even respectable divines and theologians to penetrate. We must look to those who are fitted to make such studies their sole business; and all we have to give are our prayers, that no bitter root may spring up in individuals or in the body who are labouring in its cause. Hitherto this has been singularly the case; and I trust the pending event, if it comes to anything, will serve to make everyone more serious, and thin the ranks of those who otherwise might perhaps have eventually proved scandals in some way or other. . . .

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

March 15, 1841.

. . . Of course everything I write has that in it which a vast many persons will dislike, but I do think that they have misapprehended me. I have been this day passing a pamphlet through the press. What will be done I know not. I try to prepare myself for the worst. As yet I am as quiet and happy as I could wish. The Heads are debating now, but I hope they won't decide till my pamphlet comes out.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. THOMAS MOZLEY.

March 15, 1841.

I just hear the Heads of Houses have printed a very strong resolution, viz. that my explanation of the Articles is *evasive*. I assure you it is a *great* relief to me that it affirms no doctrine.

My own character will bear the charge.

March 16.—I have quite enough, thank God, to keep me from inward trouble; no one ever did a great thing without suffering.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: March 15, 1841.

The Heads, I believe, have just done a violent act: they have said that my interpretation of the Articles is an *evasion*.

Do not think that this will pain me. You see no *doctrine* is censured, and my shoulders shall manage to bear the charge.

If you knew all, or when you know, you will see that I have asserted a great principle, and I ought to suffer for it; that the Articles are to be interpreted, not according to the meaning of the writers, but (as far as the wording will admit) according to the sense of the Catholic Church.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

Oriel: March 16, 1841.

Believe me, I am not at all troubled, a word which, being understood in its full sense, excludes everything bad.

March 21.—I have put down on a separate paper all the news I can think of. I do not like there should be any secret between you and A. M.; so if you please to show her Mrs. ——'s letter you can.

What do you mean by 'the sensation I am causing in the world'? Have they caricatured me yet?

P.S.—The day the notice against me came out we read in Church the chapter about Adoni-bezek. I cannot number my seventy victims, but I felt conscious.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. W. Church.

Littlemore: Thursday, 1841.

I wish Cornish, or someone else, would give me some idea whether I shall give up my name (*I* think the V.-C. will *send* to me to ask, on common report. Of course I should give it then). I *do* want to know this.

My idea was to write a sort of explanation of the tract at once, but if they are at all the tracts, that is hardly worth while perhaps.

Could Keble think it over?

Pusey seemed to me to wish me to give my name and defend it. I wish it. The only question is, what will come of it as regards the Vice-Chancellor?

I shall be in Oxford to-morrow afternoon.

The following letter to the Bishop of Oxford is borrowed from the 'Apologia'[1]:

March 20, 1841.

No one can enter into my situation but myself. I see a great many minds working in various directions and a variety of principles with multiplied bearings; I act for the best. I sincerely think that matters would not have gone better for the Church had I never written. And if I write I have a choice of difficulties. It is easy for those who do not enter into those difficulties to say, 'He ought to say this, and not say that,' but things are wonderfully linked together, and I cannot, or rather I would not, be dishonest. When persons, too, interrogate me, I am obliged, in many cases, to give an opinion, or I seem to be underhand. Keeping silence looks like artifice. And I do not like people to consult or respect me from thinking differently of my opinions from what I know them to be. And again (to use the proverb), what is one man's food is another man's poison. All these things make my situation very difficult. But that collision must at some time ensue between members of the Church of opposite sentiments I have long been aware. The time and mode have been in the hand of Providence; I do not mean to exclude my own great imperfections in bringing it about; yet I still feel obliged to think the tract necessary.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

March 21, 1841.

Many thanks for your very pleasant paper. By all means, if not too much trouble, complete it and send it straight to Roworth (printer of the 'British Critic').

Things seem going on tolerably. They say the Bishop of London is not to move. Our Bishop is most kind, and I trust we shall manage matters. But we must not crow till we are out of the wood.

[1] See *Apologia*, p. 170.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

March 25, 1841.

I write to you in some anxiety. The Bishop wishes me, in a letter I am to write to him, to say that, 'at his *bidding*,' I will suppress Tract 90.

I have no difficulty in saying and doing so if he tells me, but my difficulty is as to my *then* position.

The Heads having censured the tract as an 'evasion,' and thereby indirectly condemned the views of doctrine contained in it, the Bishop (even though he put it on the ground of *peace*, &c.) would virtually in the eyes of the world be censuring it.

I do not think I can acquiesce in such a proceeding by any active co-operation of mine. It is stigmatising my interpretation of Articles 6 and 11 quite as much as of any other. I am at this moment the representative of the interests of *many* who more or less think with me.

I think I am observing my duty to the Bishop by suppressing the tract, and my duty to my principles by resigning my living.

Again, it is painful enough as it is to be Vicar of St. Mary's with the whole of the Heads of Houses against me, but if the Bishop indirectly joins them I cannot stand it. cannot be a demagogue or a quasi-schismatic.

The Bishop is himself all kindness, but whether people in London will allow him to yield this point is yet to be seen.

Pusey says there has been a talk of the Bishops, as a body, condemning the tract. Is this [legally] *possible*? Did not the sovereign issue a declaration in the time of King Charles, Queen Anne and King George I.?

You see, though they suppressed my tract, they still would allow answers to it to be circulated, and many will be. And Bishops, moreover, would be charging. This the Bishop of London announces.

I think Wilson's article a most capital one, and very reasonable.

The letter to the Bishop of Oxford is given *in extenso* in the author's work entitled, 'Via Media,' and fills twenty-eight pages. As entering on the subject of Tract 90, it is hardly in place among *Letters*, but the conclusion[1] which touches on personal feelings *is* in place.

. . . And now having said, I trust, as much as your Lordship requires on the subject of Romanism, I will add a few words, and complete my explanation, in acknowledgment of the inestimable privilege I feel in being a member of that Church over which your Lordship, with others, presides. Indeed, did I not feel it to be a privilege which I am able to seek nowhere else on earth, why should I be at this moment writing to your Lordship? What motive have I for an unreserved and joyful submission to your authority, but the feeling that the Church which you rule is a divinely ordained channel of supernatural grace to the souls of her members? Why should I not prefer my own opinion, and my own way of acting, to that of the Bishops, except that I know full well that in matters indifferent I should be acting lightly towards the spouse of Christ and the awful presence which dwells in her, if I hesitated a moment to put your Lordship's will before my own? I know full well your kindness to me personally would be in itself quite enough to win any but the most insensible heart, and did a clear matter of conscience occur in which I felt bound to act for myself, my personal feelings towards your Lordship would become a most severe trial to me, independently of the higher considerations to which I have referred; but I trust I have given tokens of my dutifulness to you, apart from the influence of such personal motives, and I have done so because I think that to belong to the Catholic Church is the first of all privileges here below, as involving in it heavenly privileges, and because I consider the Church over which you preside to be the Catholic Church in this country. Surely, then, I have no need to profess in words, I will not say my attachment, but my deep reverence, towards

[1] *Via Media*, vol. ii. p. 416.

the Mother of Saints when I am showing it in action; yet that words may not be altogether wanting, I beg to lay before your Lordship the following extract from the article already mentioned which I wrote in defence of the English Church against a Roman controversialist in the course of the last year.

'The Church is emphatically a living body, and there can be no greater proof of a particular communion being part of the Church than the appearance in it of a continued and abiding energy, nor a more melancholy proof of its being a corpse than torpidity. We say an energy continued and abiding, for accident will cause the activity of a moment, or an external principle give the semblance of self-motion. On the other hand, even a living body may for a while be asleep. And here we have an illustration of what we just now urged about the varying cogency of the notes of the Church according to times and circumstances. No one can deny that at times the Roman Church itself, restless as it is at most times, has been in a state of sleep or disease resembling death,' &c.

This extract may be sufficient to show my feelings towards my Church as far as statements on paper can show them.

It may be well to give here an extract from the 'Apologia' on Mr. Newman's correspondence with Dr. Pusey on this subject:[1]

'Since I published the former portions of this narrative, I have found what I wrote to Dr. Pusey on March 24, while the matter was in progress. "The more I think of it," I said, "the more reluctant I am to suppress Tract 90, though, *of course*, I will do it if the Bishop wishes it; I cannot, however, deny that I shall feel it a severe act." According to the notes which I took of the letters or messages which I sent to him on that and the following days, I wrote successively: "My first feeling was to obey without a word; I will obey still; but my judgment has steadily risen against it ever since." Then, in the postscript: "If I have done any good to the Church, I do

[1] *Apologia*, p. 207.

k the Bishop this favour, as my reward for it, that he would ɔt insist on a measure from which I think good will not come. owever, I will submit to him." Afterwards I got stronger ill and wrote: "I have almost come to the resolution, if the Bishop publicly intimates that I must suppress the tract, or speaks strongly in his Charge against it, to suppress it indeed, but to resign my living also. I could not in conscience act otherwise." You may show this in any quarter you please.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

March 30, 1841.

The tract affair is settled on these terms, which others may think a disappointment, but to me is a very fair bargain. I am now publishing a letter to the Bishop at his wish, stating that he wishes the tracts to be discontinued, and he thinks No. 90 objectionable as tending to disturb the Church. I am quite satisfied with the bargain I have got, if this is all—as I suppose it will be.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

April 1, 1841.

. . . Pusey, too, is writing. I am sanguine about my letter to the Bishop, which was out yesterday. I have spoken quite what I feel; yet I think I have managed to wedge in a good many bits of Catholicism, which *now* come out with the Bishop's sanction. How odd it is that one should be *able* to act from the heart, yet from the head too; yet I think I have been honest —at least I hope so.

A declaration is coming out, to be signed only by great men, *not* Tractarians. It is expected that the Heads will sign.

Also, Sewell's postscript is to contain a sort of avowal from the Vice-Chancellor, that the Hebdomadal Act is not a theological censure.

We are all in very good spirits here.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

April 1, 1841.

I write a second note about your projected pamphlet. am not at all sure that our game, if I may use the word, is not to let the matter drop at present. We have got the principle of our interpretation admitted, in that it has not been condemned. Do not let us provoke opposition. Numbers will be taking advantage silently and quietly of the admission for their own benefit. It will soon be *assumed* as a matter of course.

Pusey is writing; I wish he were not. Since I don't think he at all enters into my view (No; 'my view' is expressed in the last paragraph of No. 90), but considers what has been done a pure evil (in his heart), and only wishes to soften and remedy it, of course my argument would not tell with him.

By-the-bye, do you see a curious and much to be noticed letter in the 'British Magazine' signed Φ? Besides, the Bishops, I believe, are sorely bent on keeping the peace. It seems that a very strong movement against us was to have been made by the redoubtable London clergy, and I suppose my Bishop's message to me was intended to soothe them.

I do really think that things had better be quiet, and, as to Joshua Watson, I think he will say so too. I am strongly against losing your pamphlet, but think it might come out in another shape by-and-by.

Now observe I say all this, like the men of Laputa, from antecedent notions, without having seen your proof.

BISHOP OF OXFORD TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Cuddesdon: Friday, April 2, 1841.

My dear Sir,—I cannot let our late communications terminate without a few last words to express my entire satisfaction and gratification at your letters received yesterday morning, both printed and written.

It is a comfort to me too (now that a calm has, as I hope, succeeded the threatened storm) to feel assured that, though I have, perhaps, caused pain to one in whom I feel much interest, and for whom I have a great regard, you will never regret having written that letter to me.

It is one calculated to soften and to silence opponents, as also to attach and to regulate friends, whilst the tone and temper of mind with which it is written must please and gratify all who read it.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Faithfully yours,
R. Oxford.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

April 5, 1841.

In order to satisfy any friend, such as my aunt or Aunt C., who cannot *enter into the merits of things*, I enclose this letter, of which you can take down a word or two and let me have it back. You may say also, that the hubbub required the Bishop to do *something*, but that of himself he had no wish. This I believe to be the simple truth. My own Bishop has been as kind as possible. I am not speaking of him at all; but the moving powers of the Church will be severe the more men yield, and will shrink and give way the more men threaten. We are hit because we are dutiful.

Yet as they say that 'honesty is the best policy,' so I have no fear but that submission is victory. I have had no misgiving, and people will see that (like the Whigs) we are ducks in a pond, knocked over but not knocked out. At least, so I trust.

The following letter, already in print, may be introduced here as showing the feeling of the heads of the movement on the stir aroused by Tract 90. Dr. Pusey's remarks bear on the joint subtilty and candour working together, as a characteristic in Mr. Newman's mind:

REV. DR. PUSEY TO J. R. HOPE, ESQ.[1]

1841 [*No date*].

. . . You will be glad to hear that the immediate excitement about Tract 90 seems subsiding, although I fear (in the minds of many) into a lasting impression of our Jesuitism, &c. On the other hand, they who have read what Newman has written since on the subject, must be won by his touching simplicity and humility. I should hope, too, a good deal will have been incidentally explained, which people thought to be done gratuitously. Every one says how Newman has risen with the occasion. Keble writes to-day: 'I cannot but think that Newman's coming out as he does in this whole business will do the cause a great deal more good, than any fresh stir of which this tract has been made the pretence, is likely to do harm. People quite unconnected write to me as if they were greatly moved by it.

The pseudo-traditionary and vague ultra-Protestant interpretation of the Articles has received a blow from which it will not recover. People will abuse Tract 90, and adopt its main principles. It has been a harassing time for Newman, but all great good is purchased by suffering; and he is wonderfully calm.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: April 4, 1841.

Your letter this morning was an exceedingly great gratification to me; and it is confirmed, I am thankful to say, by the opinion of others. The Bishop sent me a message that my letter had his unqualified approbation; and since that he has sent me a note to the same effect, only going more into detail. It is most pleasant, too, to my feelings to have such a testimony to the substantial truth and importance of No. 90 as I have had from so many of my friends, from those who from their cautious turn of mind I was least sanguine about, such as T. Keble, Prevost and Moberly. I have not had one

[1] R. Hope-Scott's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 261.

misgiving myself throughout, and I trust that what has happened will be overruled to subserve the great cause we all have at heart.

Sewell's postscript and declaration are valuable, not on their own account, but as symptoms, at least *φαντασία*, of a reaction.

Now I am thinking of this about you, have you made up your mind what history to take up next? If not, is not *this* an idea? People shrink from Catholicity and think it implies want of affection for our National Church. Well, then, merely remind them that you *take* the National Church, but only you do not date it from the Reformation. In order to kindle love of the National Church, and *yet* to inculcate a Catholic tone, nothing else is necessary but to take our Church in the Middle Ages.

[N.B. This was the line taken by me immediately on feeling the force of Dr. Wiseman's article about the Donatists. It led me to publish 'Lives of the English Saints.'—J. H. N.]

Laud, I believe, somewhere calls St. Anselm his great predecessor. Would not the history of Anselm be a great subject for you. Froude had intended taking it next. Nothing would more effectually tend to disarm people of their prejudice against Catholicity as anti-national than this. But, however, I leave it to your thoughts.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: April 8, 1841.

I quite agree in what you say about your historical subject. Certainly a Continental subject is in all respects better suited to you than an English. It follows upon 'Hildebrand.' However *some one* ought to take up St. Anselm, and I wish we could find who that is.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

April 10, 1841.

I add more words about your pamphlet. My view is this: that we should make good and complete the *argumentative*

ground of our interpretation of the Articles and then leave it to work. If that has not been yet done, as perhaps it has not, and your pamphlet is on it, let it come out; but *protests* and *authorities*, or *numbers*, these let us *altogether discard*.

I cannot help thinking this is right.

As to the Bishops, the one thing they fear is a *disturbance*—

1. Either a secession to Rome.

2. Or a division within.

For this reason I am sure they cannot like the Hebdomadal Act. We may do anything if we keep from disturbance. The more we can yield, the better policy. We can gain anything by giving way.

The following communication in the form of a lithographed circular, from a Bishop to his Clergy, is found among papers of this date:

The Palace, Wells: April 27, 1841.

Rev. Sir,—I hear with surprise and concern of the proposed interference of some of the Clergy of my Diocese, in the proceedings at Oxford, with reference to the (so called) Oxford Tracts.

Allow me to observe that, in my judgment, it would be more correct and judicious for my Clergy to leave the important questions, now in discussion at Oxford, to the decision of the Heads of Houses and to the Bishop of that Diocese.

I am, Rev. Sir, your faithful brother,

GEO. H. BATH AND WELLS.

To the lady of excitable temperament, who had written to him on the No. 90 question, Mr. Newman writes:

Oriel College: April 1841.

I am not surprised at any one being drawn to the Roman Church under your feelings, wrong as I think it. And I lament as much as any one can our present state in the English, in which high aspirations have so little

means of exercise. If you will allow me to add it, I think you were *hasty* in your resolve. So great a matter as a change of religion ought not to be thought of without years (I may say) of prayer and preparation. Nor do I think it God's way, generally speaking, for *individuals* to leave one religion for another—it is so much like an exercise of private judgment. Three thousand *at once* were converted on the day of Pentecost. Where *miracles* are brought before an individual the case is different.

However, it is of course most satisfactory news to me that your purpose was arrested, and a cause of much thankfulness that any work of mine was a means of it.

Your interest in the disturbance which has been raised against me in this place is very kind. I have no misgivings about my past proceedings, and I wait securely (under God's blessing) for all to go right. I think it will. Everything seems in a good train. The cause of Catholic truth, I trust, will not suffer—and if not, then it matters little if some slight inconvenience or trouble falls to my share.

It is good for all of us to have burdens and to have our patience tried. Patience and forbearance are great virtues —perhaps they are more difficult in the case of attacks made on persons we feel an interest in than in our own case. But we must one and all resign ourselves, except where duty comes in, to the disorders with which our Church labours at this day. Yours faithfully.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV J. KEBLE.

July 23, 1841.

Do you think it would be possible to limit the 'B. C.' to certain subjects, or rather to exclude certain subjects? I fear closing the safety-valves. Talk carries off a good deal of irritation; but how to make innocent talk? I have just stopped Robert Williams going on with the printing the translation of the Breviary. He would not print it without my countenance, and that I did not feel I could *give*. But men *will* be doing something. I fear that poor —— is going to Rome, but one is

apt to anticipate the worst. I have just stopped a man (not one you know), *i.e.* for the time, and other friends have stopped another. This in great confidence.

To a lady who in imagination had strong leanings to a monastic life, and to the Church of Rome as the means of entering that life, Mr. Newman writes:

Oriel College: 1841.

Your letter has given me the most heartfelt pain, though I do not feel at the moment quite as much myself as I should like to be in answering so very serious an appeal; yet I do not like to delay.

Let me observe to you, then, what I have no doubt about at all: that were you now a member of the Church of Rome, that were you in her most secret and heavenly abodes, I mean in the quiet of a monastery, you would certainly have, with your particular character of mind, much of the trial, nay as much of it, as you have now. You have not yet subdued your feelings, or your will to the Will of God; you think of yourself more than of Him. You do not enough consider that you are a creature of His, and thus while on the one hand under His care, on the other at His disposal. Here is hope and fear at once—here is an awful thought. You are under His mighty hand: humble yourself under it. You are His creature: rejoice that He has hold of you, submit when He fixes you.

Were you in a monastic retreat you would be full of a tide of feelings and thought, of which you could not dispossess yourself—and you would be doubly miserable, because you could lay nothing to the charge of circumstances. You would reproach yourself for what you then would see arose simply from what you were yourself in yourself.

Let this be your simple and engrossing prayer: to know God's Will and to do it. Who are you to covet with James and John the right and left of your Lord's throne? Know your place. Be humbled, be content to pick up the crumbs even, under the King's table. What are we that we should say

we will not be content unless He seats us with His nobles and feasts us with his best? Be the English Church what you fear it is, yet surely it is good enough for you, surely it has excellences and graces, it has saints, it has gifts, it has lessons, which are above you and me.

Supposing you had your wish at this minute, and joined a Church which I am *for argument's sake* granting to you as the True Spouse of Christ, you would, as I have suggested above, find only disappointment. You are not in a state to enjoy gifts which assuredly would be above you. Did not Cornelius fast and pray and do alms, and was he not thus led on into the Truth? He was in God's hands when a heathen. May not you be, if you follow his course?

Neither you nor I, nor any of us, know what God is now doing and what is His pleasure. He is, to say it reverently, furthering some plan or other. His Spirit is abroad. Shall we presumptuously cross His path, or shall we like well-disciplined soldiers, keep our post, and watch for the signals.

I will never say such a thing as that the Church of Rome is apostate; but still I am sure you have seen but the fair side of that Church as yet. Join it, and you will see our Saviour's prophecy fulfilled there as with us, that she is a net cast into the sea and gathering of every kind.

. . . You are framing in idea a religion all of joy. No, a sinner's religion must have gloom and sorrow. Even in speaking of Rome you dwell upon the more beautiful and glorious views it sets before you: you forget what a true Church must have—its abasing, its chill, its severe doctrines.

The following letter is from a collection of Mr. Keble's letters to Mr. Newman, presented by Cardinal Newman to Keble College:

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: July 19, 1841.

I feel that I am dealing rather unkindly in not having written to you sooner about my new cares, of which probably you have heard ere now; but I will only tell you in general

that our Bishop has refused Young priest's orders, because he did not satisfy him about the doctrine of the Eucharist. There were other points on which he said he should demur, but this was the one he especially took his stand on. I have written a letter to Pusey with a number of particulars, and desired him to forward it to you; so I will only add that since I wrote to Pusey both Young and I have heard from the Bishop, and that he quite discourages me in any notion of conferring on the matter with me, and directs Young to read the 67th chapter of Hooker's 5th Book, and also some portion of 'Hey's Lectures,' after which he says he shall be ready at a fitting time to confer with him; but intimates, I think, pretty clearly, that unless he changes his view, or, as he calls it, gets 'clear views' on the matter, he cannot ordain him. Young had written for his papers, *having had express permission from the Bishop* so to do. However, the *papers are not returned*, but Young is told that they will be sent some time or other to Jacob, who will show them to Young and explain what is objected to. . . . It was plain from the moment Young went into the room that a dead set was to be made at him. Questions were put to him which were not put to others, the first being, 'What is your mode of interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles?' This was on Thursday, and on Friday evening Young made his appearance here. I wish I may be wrong, but I am much afraid that this is the beginning of a system.

The next letter is evidently not the first communication between Mr. Newman and Mr. Keble on this subject, but in September Mr. Newman writes:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

September 14, 1841.

I cannot help hoping that things are better with you than you anticipate. This story has come to Oxford: Ridley advised his father-in-law the Bishop not to send back Young's papers to you, for he said, 'When Keble sees how very mild his statements are, he will give up his living.' The Bishop

was much struck and astonished, and said, 'Then I shall not send them back.'

Again (*entre nous*) from what we hear—though of course we must expect heterogeneous proceedings—it is not at all certain that Sir R. Peel will not be taking men *called* Puseyites, as thinking them more suited for certain places.

On the whole, as things have before now been at the worst as regards the Clergy, so they are now as regards the Bishops, and they will improve I think. Recollect the Clergy left off their wigs before the Bishops did. All in good time.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. R. W. Church.

September 12, 1841.

You will be glad to hear that Ward has had a long talk with Pusey, and, as he says, enlightened him vastly on my opinions. I say 'glad,' because nothing is so bad as a state of twilight; but, at the same time, knowing how very prone Pusey is to catch up his friend's notions (in kindness), it sometimes makes me feel very uncomfortable that he should not know what I think on many points which *others* have learned in great measure by pumping me.

On this subject of not telling Pusey things, I have before now had a talk with Rogers, who felt the difficulty of knowing what is best to do, as fully as myself. But various other causes have brought it about, if Pusey has been as ignorant as Ward declares. A man one constantly sees, one fancies to know things which he does not know, whereas Pusey has not seen me in seasons of free conversation, so that he has not the opportunities which others have. And then, though it may seem absurd to say, looking on Pusey as being in *loco superioris*, I have not replied or criticised what he said in the way I should others. And then he never reads anything. I found to my surprise that he had not seen Dr. Elrington's letter, Mr. Seeley's letter to the Bishop of Oxford or the letter in the 'B.M.' All of which distinctly draw out the difference between him and me. Then again he has been unwilling to see it; when I have mentioned differences, he has either explained

them away or seemed annoyed at the notion. Such was the case, *e.g.*, about the Cranmer Memorial, which I pressed him to join without me.

I think he is beginning, however, to understand what is trite—that we differ historically and not doctrinally; but, though it is a relief to him, yet I do fear that his historical view of the Reformation is his great bulwark against Rome, which is not a comfortable thought.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

October 5, 1841.

I enclose what will be no consolation to you, but think you ought to see it. It really does seem to me as if the Bishops were doing their best to uncatholicise us, and whether they will succeed before a rescue comes who can say? The Bishop of Jerusalem is to be consecrated forthwith, perhaps in a few days. M. Bunsen is at the bottom of the whole business, who, I think I am right in saying, considers the Nicene Council the first step in the corruption of the Church.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

October 12, 1841.

I am overrun with letter-writing. As to the 6th volume [of Par. Sermons], I left it to Rivington, who said that the 5th volume had sold better than any, and so advised it. I am anxious about it; it will be the most doctrinal set I have published, and that on the subject of the Eucharist. I should be sorry to get my sermons into the disfavour which attends some of my writings; but I must take my chance.

Have you heard of this atrocious Jerusalem Bishop affair? He was consecrated last Sunday. The Archbishop is doing all he can to unchurch us.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: October 10, 1841.

Have you heard of this fearful business of the Bishop of Jerusalem? I will send you some papers about it

soon. It seems we are *in the way* to fraternise with Protestants of all sorts—Monophysites, half-converted Jews and even Druses. If any such event should take place, I shall not be able to keep a single man from Rome. They will be all trooping off sooner or later.

Before receiving the above letter Mr. Bowden seems to have written strongly on the same subject.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: October 12, 1841.

So far from thinking lightly of the Jerusalem matter, I said something very strong about it in my 'Private Judgment' article, before most people suspected what was going on. It is hideous; but still I do not think the ground you take is one which is maintainable.

The facts that strike me are the following: 'We have not,' says Mr. Formby last week to me (who is just returned from Jerusalem) 'a single Anglican there: so that we are sending a Bishop to *make* a communion, not to govern our own people.' Next, the *excuse* is that there are converted Anglican Jews there who require a Bishop. Mr. Formby tells me he does not think there are half-a-dozen. But for *them* the Bishop is sent out, and for them he is a Bishop of the *circumcision* against the Epistle to the Galatians pretty nearly. Thirdly, *for the sake of Prussia*, he is to take under him all the foreign Protestants who will come; and the political advantages will be so great from the influence of England that there is no doubt they *will* come. They are to sign the Confession of Augsburg, and there is nothing to show that they hold the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. Next, the Socinian-Mahomedan Druses have asked for an English Bishop, and it is supposed Bishop Alexander will develop in that direction. Lastly there is a notion of coalescing with the Monophysites.

The Bishop, who has no Church principles, *is not to be made under the jurisdiction of the English Bishops*, and thus you have an Episcopate set up to gather, literally, Jews,

Turks [*i.e.* Druses], infidels and heretics from all quarters [*i.e.* without conversion]. And why? Because, Russia being represented by the Greeks, and France by the Latins, it is very desirable that England should have a Church there as a means of political influence, a *resident* power in the country.

I did not speak of Oxford friends in what I said, nor of anything *immediate*; but the case is this: Many persons are doubtful whether we have the Notes of the true Church upon us; every act of the Church, such as this of coalescing with heretics, *weakens* the proof. And in some cases it may be the last straw that breaks the horse's back.

As to myself, I shall do nothing whatever, probably, unless, indeed, it were to give my signature to a protest (Pusey *has* protested to the Bishop of London, and I have been writing to friends); but I think it would be out of place in me to agitate, having been in a way silenced. But the Archbishop is really doing most grave work, of which we cannot see the end.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

October 21, 1841.

Woodgate writes me important news this morning. The Vice-Chancellor talks of putting the Poetry Election on the same day as the Straker Living Election, or the day after. This will *swamp* Williams for certain. He might as well not stand; all the country parsons will be against him.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

October 24, 1841.

I suspect it is something which Pusey scribbled in a note to Jelf, and Jelf sent bodily to the Bishop of London, which is the 'light thing.' Perhaps it may be a letter of mine to Mill. It was not light. The truth is they cannot bear the *plain truth* to be spoken to them. For myself, I am too anxious for others, nay for myself, to say anything light about going to Rome. Our Church seems fast Protestantising itself, and

this I think it right to say everywhere (not using the word 'Protestant'), but not lightly. . . .

J. R. Hope, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Lincoln's Inn: October 15, 1841.

I do not disguise that I am anxious to know how far the recent proceedings of some of the Bishops are tending to dispose our friends towards Rome, or towards retiring from the office of the Clergy in our Church. I do not undervalue the influence of these proceedings as far as my own feelings are concerned; but my circumstances and employments render me unwilling to judge hastily upon the course that Catholics should follow—at least, if such modes of dealing with the question by the authorities of the Church should be much further pursued. I hope, therefore, that you will not think me impertinent if I ask as much information as you think will be good for me—of course understanding that I ask for *myself only*—and that as regards myself I am (perhaps from my ignorance) disposed to judge peremptorily of the difficulties in which we are being involved.

To this question Mr. Newman replies at once:

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Oriel: October 17, 1841.

I assure you I never wish to conceal any of my own thoughts from any one who asks them—so far, that is, as I can analyse them and convey to another a correct impression of them. Least of all would I be deficient in frankness to one like yourself, who from general agreement with me, and from your own earnestness, have a claim upon me. I think then that we must be very much on our guard against what Cowper calls 'desperate steps.' Do you recollect the sheep in 'The Needless Alarm'?

> Beware of desperate steps. The darkest day,
> Live till to-morrow, will have passed away.

We are apt to engross ourselves with the present. Think what ups and downs any course of action has; think how many hills and valleys lie in our way on a journey. One event blots out another.

As to the Bishops' Charges, this too must be remembered, that they have no direct authority except in their own dioceses. A Bishop's word is to be obeyed, not as to doctrine, but as a part of discipline; only in Synod do they prescribe doctrine. There is nothing to hinder anyone in the Oxford diocese maintaining just the negative of what these particular Bishops have said. Till truth is *silenced* among us, I do not see that Catholic minds need be in a difficulty.

Having said this, I will go on candidly to own that the said Charges are very serious matters; as virtually silencing portions of the truth in particular dioceses, and as showing that it is not impossible that our Church *may* lapse into heresy. I cannot deny that a great and anxious *experiment* is going on, whether our Church be or be not Catholic; the issue may not be in our day. But I must be plain in saying that, if it does issue in Protestantism, I shall think it my duty, if alive, to leave it. This does not seem much to grant, but it is much, supposing such an event to be at our doors, for one naturally tries to make excuses then, whereas one safely pledges oneself to what is distant. I trust it not only is distant, but never to be. But the way to hinder it is to be prepared for it.

I fear I must say that I am beginning to think that the only way to keep in the English Church is steadily to contemplate and act upon the possibility of leaving it. Surely the Bishops ought to be brought to realise what they are doing.

But still, on the whole, I hope better things. At all events, I am sure that, to leave the English Church, unless something very flagrant happens, must be the work of years.

The reader will bear in mind that some fifty years have passed since the following letter was written.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

October 31, 1841.

. . . I have no hope at all at present that certain persons will remain in our Church twenty years, unless some accommodation takes place with Rome; but I see no sign at all of any *immediate* move. I think that men are far too dutiful; and in twenty years things must either get much better, or the poor Church must have got much worse or have broken to pieces; and then one's sorrow will be roused by greater events than the loss of one or two of its members. I don't know whether I am intelligible.

On the subject of the approaching election to the Poetry Professorship, Mr. Newman writes to Mr. Keble:

November 6, 1841.

I have been always against Williams standing, but I cannot say that he ought lightly to give up now. And Judge Coleridge's letter, as far as it went, made one stronger against his giving up, because it seemed to show that people thought very lightly of our prospective numbers, and, if so, retiring from the contest would gain us no thanks at all. Again, this seemed to me to account for his tone, and it is a question whether, under the circumstances, he would not think differently if he knew that Williams had a fair chance of success. There is this to be taken into account, on the other hand—these slanders in the 'Standard' having already had the effect of making some of our *promises* draw back and beg off; and, if this continues, we are done for, and it is impossible to calculate how far it may extend.

But here again people say, and truly, that independently of all consideration for Catholic opinions, the University, as a point of principle, ought not to suffer itself to be bullied by newspapers, and that, if we give way, it will be establishing a precedent of a very evil tendency.

But again, on the other hand, Gladstone, &c., feel so strongly on the subject, and seem so to *undertake for Church*

principles, if we now yield to *them* [to Gladstone, &c.], that it is in every respect wise to comply with their wishes if we can.

I think you might make Coleridge understand the facts, and then I do nót know why he should not come to agree with you, and you with him. It really does seem a case in which all are agreed in their view, and, if all had the same knowledge of facts, one might hope that they would have the same opinion of what is expedient. Anyhow, do not you think that we should avoid closing the door at once to some measure of peace, and should beg others to enter into our difficulties and propose one?

Suppose a number of men, like Gladstone, came forward, professing themselves friends of Williams, and of his opinions *generally* (not particularly), begging him to withdraw for peace sake, and pledging themselves that it was no defeat of principle, &c.

The thing which sways with me, and has all along, is the *risk* of a small minority (indeed of a minority at all). I do not think Williams's success is *tanti* for the risk of great interests, but at present retirement seems equivalent to defeat.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.[1]

Oriel College: November 11, 1841.

I thank you with all my heart for the trouble you have been at in my matter and for your advice. I have thought a good deal of it, and wish I could take it. As yet I cannot get my reason to see things differently, and I suppose I must go by *it*. It is very difficult to analyse the mixed considerations which go to make me persist in my intention of a protest. However, since I shall have some hours more, I shall just take the chance of your having something more to say.

I distrust Bunsen indefinitely. I could fancy even he had ambitious views of reforming our Church. This is a great crisis. Things slip through one's fingers by delay. Private communications are among the best weapons of management.

[1] *Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott*, vol. i. p. 307.

Be sure of this, if you would be a Macchiavelli. Great people whisper to Gladstone, and to Selwyn (men whom I respect far too much to be pleased at your thinking it necessary to defend them, for they are above the need of it), and to Pusey, and beg them to wait and see, and then half-promises are added; and meanwhile the business is done. This is what we call temporising.

Now, I know it is a most unpleasant, nauseous thing to make this protest, but I cannot help thinking that the utmost harm it will do is to make people think me a bitter fanatic. I have nothing to lose, I owe nothing (I could almost add I fear nothing), in certain quarters. On the other hand, I think a protest, in spite of the censure which would be heaped on the author of it, might do good. They will believe nothing but *acts*. Representations have been made to them without end. *They* act, why may not I? *Semper ego auditor tantum?* Why may not I be troublesome as well as another? —especially when thereby I seem to ease my conscience. I do not like the very thought of the crisis passing unobserved. One protest is enough for the purpose; more would seem to challenge counting.

A memorial must be formal, measured, private; and such an exposition as you propose, most desirable as it would be, would be a book. It strikes me I have facts enough to go upon. And, to be closer to them, I propose to word my sentence thus: 'Whereas, it is reported that the Most Rev., &c., have consecrated a Bishop, with a view to his exercising spiritual jurisdiction over Protestants—that is, Lutheran and Calvinist congregations—in the East (under an Act made in the last session of Parliament to amend an Act made in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of, &c., intituled an Act to empower, &c.), dispensing at the same time with, &c.'

It is miserable to be in the forlorn situation in which I find myself, and I know I have no *ὄμμα τῆς ψυχῆς*, but am groping in the dark. Yet I do not see better than to do as I propose.

Do you know that Pusey is writing a kind of *Ἀπολόγια*, addressed to the Bishops about their Charges? And now, my

dear Hope, I have inflicted enough sadness, if not dulness, on you.

J. R. Hope, Esq., to Rev. J. H. Newman.

6 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn: November 12, 1841.

On considering your letter, received this morning, I was not much surprised at your adhering to the Protest. Nor am I aware that I can urge anything valid against your view of opposing acts to acts. If you are to *protest*, it had better be before the Bishops have acted collectively than after it. . . .

P.S.—I was amused at your warning about private communications. I had just refused an invitation of Bunsen's to discuss the whole scheme on this ground.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

November 13, 1841.

I do nothing but distress you. After many changes of mind, I have resolved on transmitting to the Bishop of Oxford the accompanying Protest and shall make it public to the world. There are difficulties on all sides, in acting and not acting. By this Protest I shall partly be doing what I complain of in others: exciting and unsettling people. On the other hand, unless a Protest is made, others will determine that our Church is given up and unCatholicised. A Protest may moderate great persons and make them think twice, and it is but fair and straightforward, and a duty to my brethren, to tell them how things are going, and a duty in itself to mark the beginning of any deviation from our customary ways.

The *mode* of acting will of course be censured; I cannot think of any way better, and, though it may make me seem intemperate, nothing else has a chance of being effected.

P.S.—It seems there are certainly plans on foot in some quarters (but I don't wish it mentioned) for effecting a great extended union of Protestants, the Church of England being at its head. I distrust Bunsen without limit.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: November 13, 1841.

After much anxious thought, I have made up my mind to the enclosed Protest, and have sent it to the Bishop of Oxford. It is quite plain that our rulers *can* unchurch us, and I have no assurance that there is not a great scheme afloat to unite us in a Protestant League—the limits of which no one can see. I do not wish this mentioned.

I know well I shall be abused for this act, but if it hinders their going so far as they otherwise would, it will be something.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

It seems as if I were never to write to your Lordship without giving you pain, and I know that my present subject does not especially concern your Lordship; yet, after a great deal of anxious thought, I lay before you the enclosed Protest.

Your Lordship will observe that I am not asking for any notice of it, unless you think that I ought to receive one. I do this very serious act in obedience to my sense of duty.

If the English Church is to enter on a new course, and assume a new aspect, it will be more pleasant to me hereafter to think that I did not suffer so grievous an event to happen without bearing witness against it.

May I be allowed to say that I augur nothing but evil if we in any respect prejudice our title to be a branch of the Apostolic Church? That article of the Creed, I need hardly observe to your Lordship, is of such constraining power, that if *we* will not claim it and use it for ourselves, *others* will use it in their own behalf against us. Men who learn, whether by means of documents or measures, whether from the statements or the acts of persons in authority, that our communion is not a branch of the One Church, I foresee with much grief, will be tempted to look out for that Church elsewhere.

It is to me a subject of great dismay that, as far as the Church has lately spoken out, on the subject of the opinions which I and others hold, those opinions are, not merely not *sanctioned* (for that I do not ask), but not even *suffered*.

I earnestly hope that your Lordship will excuse my freedom in thus speaking to you of some members of your Most Rev. and Right Rev. body. With every feeling of reverent attachment to your Lordship, I am, &c.

PROTEST.

WHEREAS the Church of England has a claim on the allegiance of Catholic believers only on the ground of her own claim to be considered a branch of the Catholic Church:

And, whereas the recognition of heresy, indirect as well as direct, goes far to destroy such claim in the case of any religious body:

And, whereas to admit maintainers of heresy to communion without formal renunciation of their errors, goes far towards recognising the same:

And, whereas Lutheranism and Calvinism are heresies, repugnant to Scripture, springing up three centuries since, and anathematised by East as well as West:

And, whereas it is reported that the Most Rev. Primate and other Right Rev. Rulers of our Church have consecrated a Bishop, with a view to exercising spiritual jurisdiction over Protestant, that is, Lutheran and Calvinistic congregations in the East (under the provisions of an Act made in the last session of Parliament to amend an Act made in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of His Majesty King George III., intituled, 'an Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being, to consecrate to the office of a Bishop persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions'), dispensing at the same time, not in particular cases and accidentally, but as if on principle and universally, with any abjuration of errors on the part of such congregations, and with any reconciliation to the Church on the part of the presiding Bishop; thereby

giving in some sort a formal recognition to the doctrines which such congregations maintain:

And, whereas the dioceses in England are connected together by so close an intercommunion, that what is done by authority in one immediately affects the rest:

On these grounds, I, in my place, being a Priest of the English Church, and Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, by way of relieving my conscience, do hereby solemnly protest against the measure aforesaid, and disown it, as removing our Church from her present ground, and tending to her disorganisation.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

November 11, 1841.

The Bishop of Oxford's answer to Mr. Newman's letter was not preserved. Its tenor may be gathered from the following letter to Mr. Keble (just after November 13):

I think you will like the enclosed letter of the Bishop of Oxford's, which I have just received. Please burn it, as it was not intended to be sent about. I accompanied my Protest with so free a note that I expected to be reproved.

P.S.—The cat is let out from the Wadham bag: that if the Protestant interest succeeds against Williams, stringent measures are to follow. It will be a very sharp contest.

In reviewing the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric, Mr. Newman was disposed to attribute to it a strong influence on his subsequent course of action. He writes in the 'Apologia pro Vita sua':

Looking back two years afterwards on the above mentioned and other acts on the part of Anglican Ecclesiastical authorities, I observed: 'Many a man might have held an abstract theory about the Catholic Church, to which it was difficult to adjust the Anglican, might have admitted a suspicion or even painful doubts about the latter, yet never have

been impelled onwards, had our rulers preserved the quiescence of former years; but it is the corroboration of a present, living, and energetic heterodoxy, that realises and makes such doubts practical; it has been the recent speeches and acts of authorities, who had so long been tolerant of Protestant error, which has given to inquiry and to theory its force and edge.'[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

November 16, 1841.

. . . The Jerusalem matter is miserable and has given me *great* uneasiness. At length (what no one yet knows of) I have delivered in a formal Protest to my Bishop, which, when it comes to be known, will make a stir. It is to the effect that I consider the measure, if carried out, as removing the Church from her present position and tending to her disorganisation.

I do not believe I can be touched for it; and I have not any intention of doing anything more. But future events are quite beyond us. I assure you I fully purpose, having done this, to sit quite still.

Do not believe any absurd reports. They talk in the papers of secessions among us to Rome. Do not believe it. Not one will go. At the same time I cannot answer for *years hence*, if the present state of things is persevered in. The Heads are refusing testimonials for Orders. The effect in time will be to throw a number of young men on the world.

Again, if the whole Church speaks against me, if the Bishops, one by one, &c. &c., of course the effect ultimately will be very fearful; but I assure you, my dearest Jemima, that every one I know tells me everything about himself, and there is nothing done, said, or written but what in some way or other I see (though I do not mean to make myself responsible for everything), and, unless some strange change comes over me, there is *no fear* at present.

[1] See *Apologia*, p. 146.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

November 17, 1841.

It was a great relief and satisfaction to me to hear from you that you thought my Protest had better not be published, so much so that I hardly like to tell you that Pusey is rather strong *for* its publication. He does not concur in that part which says that Lutheranism is a heresy, but he thinks that a very strong step now *may* stop matters. The 'Standard' of yesterday speaks out about the necessity of our coalescing with the *Nestorians*; the Monophysites we have already heard of; in short, before we know where we are, we shall find ourselves in communion with heretics. I am *told* that an agent of the Christian Knowledge Society writes them word in their printed papers that he communicated in Nestorian churches.

I am sorry you do not think my Protest respectful, but on the whole I have greatly relieved my mind by it. I doubt much whether others should make protests; people will be counting how many.

As to your objection from the case of Dissenters, do not the Canons prescribe some punishment, &c., for those who speak against the Church of England? But, to tell the truth, I fear our Bishops, &c., have so recognised the Dissenters here that they cannot simply be called an external body. We take their baptisms, they are buried in our churchyards, and they have been countenanced to any extent by individual Bishops. Further, we have not gone so far as to *give them* Bishops without any renunciation of error on the *part of congregations*, and that is what we are doing for the Lutherans and in the East. It does seem to me quite an unparalleled act of communion, and at all events it is a *new* instance in a new field. I have sent the Protest to the Bishop of Oxford and to Harrison (the Archbishop's Chaplain); nothing further.

P.S.—I have learnt that the Bishop of Oxford knew nothing whatever of the Jerusalem matter; had never been consulted. The Act speaks of English or *other* Protestant congregations. I have been thinking of something of the kind for a month

past [a protest?]. Palmer's [of Magdalen] intended protest is what determined me. Pusey, Copeland, C. Marriott, Palmer and Hope saw it, but of course I have the responsibility.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. R. HOPE, ESQ.

Oriel: November 19, 1841.

Keble was frightened at my Protest, and against its publication. Pusey is disappointed if it is not published. I have just heard from the Bishop of Oxford, and enclose a copy of his note, *which pray burn*. I accompanied the Protest with a strong note, for which I expected a rebuke, saying that we were in some quarters not only not sanctioned but silenced, and that if men who believed the articles of the Creed were taught from authority that the English Church was not the Church Catholic, they would seek it elsewhere. You see how kind he is.

It also gives me hope. Does the Bishop of Exeter know of the proceedings at Lambeth more than the Bishop of Oxford? Is he not likely to put a spoke in the wheel? The Duke of Wellington has disgusted him; would that he could get disgusted with Protestantism. Why should he not split up this Bunsen league? But I do not like to criticise.

Every nerve is being exerted against Williams. Wadham is rising *as* a college, and has told one of its members that if Williams is beaten, Convocation is to go on to other stringent measures against us. I think all persons should know the exact state of the case. Nothing would more delight the Heads, in their own dominions, supreme as they are, than to drive certain people out of the Church. Mordecai can neither do them good nor harm, and but annoy them. Whether the Bishops, or at least some of them, would like it is another question.

P.S.—Our Provost (*entre nous*) has asked a man why he was not at Chapel on November 5, and because he did not like the State Service has said he will not give him testimonials for Orders.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

November 21, 1841.

Our present great discomfort is the matter of Williams's election to the Professorship. I have been against his standing throughout, from a great dread of Convocation, but, considering I am the cause of the opposition by No. 90, it would have been ungenerous to press my view, and I cannot complain of the difficulty, though I foresaw it. I have a dread of Convocation exceedingly great. And now we hear that if our opponents succeed in this contest, which I fear they will, there is already a plan to proceed to measures which are to have the effect of 'driving us clean out of the University.' I suppose this means, when put soberly, something like a test about the sense in which the Articles are subscribed, which need not be retrospective. Now the effect of W.'s failure will be bad enough in itself; and, I am sorry to say, I fear some friends of mine, though they do not say so, would not be sorry for it. . . . They look out, with some sort of relief, for signs of our Church retrograding and withdrawing her Notes. . . .

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

November 23, 1841.

Thank you very much for your interesting and important letter. It is the darkest view I have seen of things a long time. That does not show it is not a true one. But still . . . there is so much good and hopeful around that I trust there may, without presumption, be ground for hope. Indeed, I cannot believe the mere rejection of Mr. Williams would embolden the University to act. At any rate, dear John, I do not see how any decision of the University can affect you . . . while you are protected by your Bishop. Certainly this Jerusalem Bishopric seems a very superfluous wound to the Church. May I keep a copy of your Protest?

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. R. HOPE, ESQ.

Oriel College: November 24, 1841.

. . . What has startled me in this reported measure is this: the setting Bishops to preside over Protestant bodies. Those who have been for centuries separated from the Episcopal succession, and who are in the profession of heresy, require reconciliation. They should come into the Church, not the Church set Bishops over them as she finds them. Surely this is an act not parallel to the mere admission of individuals *from* them *into* our communion *sub silentio*. Those individuals, whether native or foreign, come *into us*. We do not thereby acknowledge any substantive body external to us; such accessions tend to diminish those bodies. But here is contemplated the actual acknowledgment of such bodies as already parts of the Catholic Church—a point which has ever been *open* among us, and that by Act of Parliament, ratified by an Episcopal Consecration in the face of Europe, in the heart of the East.

We do not allow even our own members to come to the Holy Communion without Confirmation, which is a rite both of profession and of recognition, but the Protestant congregations are to be admitted without one or the other. When a Dissenting Minister is ordained (by some individual Bishop) at least he makes a profession and takes oaths. On the other hand, the Canons of 1603 at least show the principles of our Church towards Dissenters, whatever be their obligation, and whatever practices have crept in. Now, they declare that 'Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the Communion of Saints, as is approved by the Apostles' rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, accounting the Christians who are conformable to the doctrine, government, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, to be profane and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not *restored* but by the Archbishop after *their repentance* and *public revocation* of such their wicked errors. And I suppose that a *body* (though not individual members of

it) has such a continuance from first to last that it may be considered to have 'separated itself.' How, then, is it to the purpose that we admit individuals who have *not* separated 'without public revocation of error'? Do we propose to give Bishops to the Methodist *Body*, or the Baptist persuasion, or to the Unitarian? For this is the parallel to the measure now in contemplation. And as to any past recognition of foreign Protestants, so far is clear, that in 1689 the Lower House of Convocation hindered an acknowledgment that our religion and theirs might be classed together under the title of 'the Protestant Religion in general.'

I do not see that I am called upon to state what I mean by the *heresy* of Lutheranism and Calvinism. Heresy has its external notes, like the Church: any novel doctrine, any doctrine which meets with general condemnation, is a heresy. Again, there are heresies which contain so many aspects that it is difficult to say which is their appropriate form. Such might be mentioned in antiquity, except that it would be thought offensive to do so.

Lastly, we have, I fear, in prospect, though I fervently trust it will not be realised (for, alas! where, then, will be our Candlestick?), an alliance with Monophysites and Nestorians. This is a reason for moving at once, lest we begin when all is lost. Already is our Church committed, without her own act, to much that is miserable. In the judgment of some persons, it is always too early to move or too late.[1]

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

November 15, 1841.

Of course no one can read your sermon without being struck by it, but my feeling is that you had better not preach it. I think it will add to our excitement, without effecting any object.

It will increase, upon a separate authority, the impression, which is not well founded, that there are men in Oxford who are on the point of turning to Rome, with a sort of confession

[1] *Memoirs of J. B. Hope Scott*, vol. i. p. 339.

to the world at large, and as a triumph to the foe over you and us.

I know of none such. There is, doubtless, *great* danger in prospect; but the persons in danger are far too serious men to act suddenly, or without waiting for what they consider God's direction, and I should think *very few indeed* realise to themselves yet the prospect of a change, nay, would change, provided our rulers showed us any sympathy, or their brethren kept from saying or believing of them that they would change. In that case dangerous seed might lie dormant, like a disease, for *many* years. It is a very bad policy to accustom them to the notion, that the world *thinks* they will change.

The persons most in danger are *not* resident in Oxford; for example, Sibthorpe.

. . . I am not very fond of making University sermons opportunities for a display of anything extraordinary. It does our cause harm. Now all this is very free in me, so I must tell you on the other hand that Cornish, whom I thought I might give a sight of your sermon, *wishes* it preached. But he has seen very little of men this term, and believes, what I think a mistake, that there are men here hanging on from day to day. He thinks that it may do them good, and comfort men like the Rector [Richards?], Jelf, &c., who are alarmed.

It does not alter my opinion. Rogers, who has heard of the subject of the sermon, is, I am told, decidedly against it, and so is Church. My own notion is that you should preach a *good* parish sermon, and Wilson might select, if you would trust him.

Pusey's circular,[1] which Gilbert has answered, is, I fear,

[1] The following is the circular spoken of:—

Sir,—Understanding that a circular is being sent round to all the members of Convocation, soliciting their votes for the Rev. J. Garbett, late Fellow of Brasenose, and now Rector of Clayton, Sussex, in the approaching election for the Professorship of Poetry, I take the liberty of mentioning some circumstances which may influence your decision, and with which you are possibly unacquainted.

The Rev. Isaac Williams, M.A., Fellow of Trinity, was, before our recent unhappy divisions, generally thought by resident members of the University to be marked out by his poetic talents to fill that chair whenever it should become

considered a failure. It looks like hoisting a flag of party, and allowing the others to deny they *meant* to do so, yet to say at the same time: 'Well, if you do, we must do so too. And they say, 'You did the like in the cause of Maurice and Vaughan, and now *you* are the persons to cry out.'

I think the 'Ulterior Measures' *τόπος* a most effective one in our favour. Williams alone can give you satisfaction upon it. I will inquire of him.

They give out they are going to beat us by four to one. If these are not random words, since they cannot reckon us less than 150, they make themselves 600, which is within the limit of possibility. It is a great many to reach. We must do all we can.

Towards the close of the year Mr. Newman confides to Mr. Rickards his uneasy state of mind.

Oriel College: December 1, 1841.

My dear Rickards,—My silence must seem to you quite unkind, though it does not at all arise from not thinking of you and Mrs. Rickards; but, besides my very great engagements, these lie so much in writing that my hand is in a state of con-

vacant. In 1823 he gained the prize for Latin Verse; his subsequent larger works, 'The Cathedral' and 'Thoughts in Past Years,' speak for themselves, both bearing the rich character of our early English poetry.

To those unacquainted with his character, or who know him only through the medium of newspaper controversy, it may be necessary to state, that the uniform tendency of his writings and influence has been to calm men's minds amid our unhappy divisions, and to form them in dutiful allegiance to that Church of which he is himself a reverential Son and Minister.

He is also a resident; whereas employments which involved non-residence were considered a sufficient reason to prevent a member of a leading college from being put forward by its Head.

On the other hand, it is a known fact, that Mr. Garbett would not even now have been brought forward, except to prevent the election of Mr. Williams.

Under these circumstances it is earnestly hoped that the University will not, by the rejection of such a candidate as Mr. Williams, commit itself to the principle of making all its elections matters of party strife, or declaring ineligible to any of its offices (however qualified) persons, whose earnest desire and aim it has for many years been, to promote the sound principles of our Church, according to the teaching of her Liturgy.—I have the honour to be your humble servant,

E. B. Pusey.

Christ Church, Nov. 17, 1841.

tinued weariness, and it is a great effort to me to sit down to a letter. However, now that I am about it, I will try to tell you one or two things of myself, which, by-the-bye, I doubt whether I have told, or at least set about telling, or told in any connected way, to any one else.

For two years and more I have been in a state of great uneasiness as to my position here, owing to the consciousness I felt, that my opinions went far beyond what had been customary in the English Church. Not that I felt it any personal trouble, for I thought and think that such opinions were allowed in our Church fully; but that, looking on my position here, I seemed to be a sort of schismatic or demagogue, supporting a party against the religious authorities of the place. In what I have done in my parish, whether in the ordinary routine of duty, or any improvements or additions which I have attempted, I have uniformly kept my parishioners before my mind, and wished to act for *them*. But almost in every case my endeavours have fallen dead upon them as a whole, but have been eagerly apprehended and welcomed by University men, and of these a great many Undergraduates. In proportion, then, as I had reason to believe that the Heads of Houses were dissatisfied with me, did I seem to myself in the position of one who, to the neglect, at least virtual, of his own duties, was interfering with those committed to the charge of others against their will, and that for the propagation of feelings and opinions which I felt were not so truly those of the English Church as their own. And all this in spite of my preaching very little on directly doctrinal subjects, but on practical; for somehow what came out from me in an ethical form took the shape of doctrine by the time it reached other minds. In consequence, for two years past my view of my duty and my prospective plans here have been very unsettled. I have had many schemes floating on my mind how to get out of a position which of all others is to me most odious—that of a teacher setting up for himself against authority, though, I suppose, (if it may be said reverently), our Saviour bore this Cross as others—The most persistent feeling on my mind has been to give up St. Mary's.

The reason I say all this to you now is that, whether it will turn ultimately for the better or worse, yet certainly at present the greater gloom in which the prospects of the Church lie, has had for the time the effect of clearing away clouds before my own path. I mean that the most serious things which are happening, in word and deed, around us have in great measure taken away that delicacy towards authorities which has hitherto been so painfully harassing to me. . . As to this Jerusalem Bishopric, I seriously think that, if the measure is fairly carried out, it will do more to unchurch us than any event for the last three hundred years. With these feelings it is not wonderful that I should see my present position here in a very different light. O my dear Rickards, pray excuse all this sad talk about myself, which disgusts me as I make it, and I fear I am writing you a most pompous sort of letter, but I think you will like to hear about me, and it is a comfort to me to write it out, and I have no time to pick and choose my words. But to return. It really seems to me that the Heads of Houses are now not defending the English Church, but virtually and practically, though they may not mean it, joining with this heretical spirit and supporting *it*; so that the contest is no longer one of what would be represented as a quasi-Romanism against Anglicanism, but of Catholicism against heresy. And thus, to my mind, at present a much broader question swallows up the particular one.

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

December 3, 1841.

I do feel very anxious about prospects in general, especially since your last alarming letter. My great trust is that you will be supported through this trial; that you may act as firmly as you have hitherto done. You must not think that I am at all afraid of you or doubtful of you. . . . I only feel more and more thankful that you have more judgment and clearsightedness than the rest of the world, so as to steer through a most difficult course.

In December 1841, Mr. Peter Young, Mr. Keble's curate at Hursley, was a second time refused priest's orders by the Bishop of Winchester, for giving answers at his examination on the subject of the Eucharist which did not satisfy the Bishop. This step on the part of the Bishop naturally caused trouble and anxiety.

REV. JOHN KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: 3 S. in Adv., December 12, 1841.

I send you Peter's account of his Confession, if one may venture to call it so. I have written the case and sent it with all the documents to Hope, who has received them and takes a few days to advise about appealing; though I do not suppose myself there is any chance of that, I thought it best to know for certain. I think of stating the case by way of Protest to the Archbishop, and perhaps sending copies to all Anglican Bishops.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

December 16, 1841.

We all feel very sad at your news. . . . It is here that it will tell painfully. . . . I really cannot feel any great grief about you, much as it must distress you, for it must turn to good. I do not see you can do better than send round your statement to the Bishops if there is no appeal. Young's answers are just what they should be. I suppose they are as near as possible verbatim. Certainly it does present a strange view—a Bishop refusing any but one certain *explanation* of a point left open! . . . It is only wonderful at such an interview that he acquitted himself so very well.

I have not had time to study the Charge. I hear people speak of it as mild, considering. It really suggests to me the hope that the matter may be smoothed over; but I am quite sure the worst possible effect will follow if you do not act *bona fide* on your letter to Judge Coleridge.

I wish you would impress on all bystanders, patrons, friends and the like what a miserable effect is produced on the minds of young and sensitive persons, when they are accused or remonstrated with as suspected Romanists. This is now going on largely. Letters are flying about—Mr. Poole's already in print. It is bad enough to be rudely told by enemies that they have no business in the English Church, but are dishonest in remaining in it (and this is going on without scruple or limit); but when *quasi* friends take up the tone of alarm, when great people take up the Oxford Calendar, and go through the Colleges, then a man says to himself, 'I certainly fear there is something *in me* which I am not aware of,' just as if every one were to stare at him as he walked the streets. Then the familiarity it creates with the idea of Romanism is miserable; and the dreadful unsympathetic, chilling atmosphere created around him by it is a distinct evil. All this added to his inward scarcely recognised tendencies towards Rome.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Oriel: St. Thomas' Day, 1841.

I hear that a large number of Professors have removed their names from the Camden [Cambridge Architectural Society?] as well as the Bishop of London. What is the meaning of all this?

On the whole I am in good spirits[1] about the Jerusalem matter. If the Prussian plan is carried out, it will cut my ground clean from under me. For eight years I have been writing, either to *prove*, or on the *ground* that we *are* a branch of the Catholic Church, that we were committed to nothing inconsistent with it; therefore I have a sort of right to make a protest; and a pretty strong one. Certain people will believe nothing but *acts*, and assuredly I will waste no more *words*. I am sanguine that acts will tell; and this protest is an act.

Palmer's [of Magdalen?] pamphlet on the Jerusalem Bishopric just published is a very important one, and must

[1] *I.e.* with his own strong measure of a protest.

produce an impression. Another pamphlet, too, is coming out in a few days, very important also [Hope? or Gladstone?], and more influential. Of course the cry is, 'Why don't you *wait* till you see what the Bishops have done? just as in the Chapter business it was, 'Why did not you speak sooner?' It is always too early or too late with some people; and by speaking soon one hinders the *very* things they then go on to protest they never meant to do.

On September 22 came my first proof of Athanasius, and I have been at it ever since at the rate of from eight to twelve hours a day [I wrote the notes to the text already in type], yet have done so little as to be almost ashamed to make this avowal. But it has hindered me writing letters, except under necessity.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. W. CHURCH.

Oriel: Christmas Eve, 1841.

Carissime . . .

I suppose it would be no relief to M. to insist upon the circumstance that there is no immediate danger. Individuals can never be answered for, of course, but I should think lightly of that man who for some one act of the Bishops should all at once leave the Church. Now, considering how the Clergy really are improving, considering that this row is even making them read the Tracts, is it not possible we may all be in a better state of mind some years hence to consider these matters? and may we not leave them meanwhile to the will of Providence? I *cannot* believe this work has been of man; God has a right to His own work, to do what He will with it. May we not try to leave it in His hands and be content?

If you learn anything about B. which leads you to think that I can relieve him by a letter let me know. The truth is this—our good friends do not read the Fathers; they assent to us from the common sense of the case; then, when the Fathers, and we, say *more* than common sense they are dreadfully shocked.

I guess W. Palmer, the deacon (for this is the simplest designation), has not satisfied our Winchester friends in his Golightliad.

P.S.—The Bishop of London has rejected a man for holding (1) *any* sacrifice in the Eucharist; (2) the Real Presence; (3) that there is a grace in Ordination.

Are we quite sure that the Bishops will not be drawing up some stringent declarations of faith? Is this what M. fears? Would the Bishop of Oxford accept them? If so, I should be driven into Miss Burford's refuge for the destitute! But I promised M. I would do my utmost to catch all dangerous persons and clap them into confinement there. After all, I have repented about the Bollandists (a defective copy lately bought). Am not I shilly-shally?

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. W. CHURCH.

Christmas Day: 1841.

An odd compliment of the season to bore you with this note. Yet I have been dreaming of M. all night, and so write again, and that in spite of your saying, what I am annoyed at, that you are not well.

Should not M. and the like see that it is unwise, unfair, and impatient to ask others what will you do under circumstances which have not, which may never come? Why bring fear, suspicion and dissension into the camp about things which are merely *in posse*? Natural and exceedingly kind as Barter and another friend's letters were which I received, I think they have done great harm. I speak most sincerely when I say that there are things which I neither contemplate nor wish to contemplate, but when I am asked about them ten times at length I begin to contemplate them.

And, again, M. surely does not mean to say that *nothing* could separate a man from the English Church—*e.g.* its avowing Sociniapism, its holding the Holy Eucharist in a Socinian sense. Yet he would say it was not right to contemplate such things.

Again, our case is altered from that of Ken's—to say nothing of the last miserable century, which has given us to start from, a much lower level and with much less to spare than a Churchman of the seventeenth century. Questions of

doctrine are now coming in—with him it was a question of discipline.

If such dreadful events were realised, I cannot help thinking we should all be vastly more agreed than we think now. Indeed, is it possible (humanly speaking) that those who have so much the same heart should widely differ? But let this be considered as the alternative. *What* communion could we join? Could the Scotch or American sanction the presence of its Bishops and congregations in England without incurring the imputation of schism, unless, indeed—and is that likely?—they denounced the English as heretical?

Is not this a time of strange providences? Is it not our safest course, without looking to consequences; to do simply *what we think right* day by day? Shall we not be sure to go wrong if we attempt to trace by anticipation the course of Divine Providence?

Has not all our misery as a Church arisen from people being afraid to look difficulties in the face? They have palliated acts when they should have denounced them. There is that good fellow Worcester Palmer can whitewash the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Jerusalem Bishopric, and what is the consequence? That our Church has through centuries ever been sinking lower and lower, till a good part of its pretensions and professions is a mere sham, though it be a duty to make the best of what we have received. Yet, though bound to make the best of other men's shams, let us not incur any of our own. The truest friends of our Church are they who boldly say when her rulers are going wrong and the consequences. And (to speak catachrestically) they are most likely to die in the Church who are (under these black circumstances) most prepared to leave it.

And I will add that, considering the traces of God's grace which surround us, I am very sanguine, or rather confident (if it is right so to speak), that our prayers and our alms will come up as a memorial before God, and that all this miserable confusion will turn to good.

Let us not, then, be anxious and anticipate differences in prospect, when we agree in the present.

P.S.—I think, when friends get over the first unsettlement of mind and consequent vague apprehensions which the new attitude of the Bishops and our feelings upon it have brought about, they will get contented and satisfied; they will see that they exaggerated things. There is our good friend of Exeter, who at first was very unhappy, is now cheerful. Of course it would have been wrong to anticipate what one's feelings would be under such a painful contingency as the Bishops charging as they have done; so it seems to me nobody's fault. Nor is it wonderful that others are startled; yet they should recollect that the more implicit the reverence one pays to a Bishop, the more keen will be one's perception of heresy in him. The cord is binding and compelling *till* it snaps. Men of reflection would have seen this if they had looked that way. Last spring a very High Churchman talked to me about resisting my Bishop; asking him for the Canons under which he acted, &c. But those who have cultivated a loyal feeling towards their superiors are the most loving servants or the most zealous protesters. If others became so too, if the clergy of —— denounced the heresy of their diocesan, they would be doing their duty and relieving themselves of the share they will otherwise have in any possible defections of their brethren.

But I have wandered. I really do think that after this distress is over our friends will see that they have exaggerated the cause of it.

Rev. J. Keble to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Christmas 1841.

This comes with my Christmas wishes and a copy of the Protest such as it has occurred to me; on which I shall be glad of your judgment. Hope said, Why not send it to Convocation? but I am much more inclined to my original plan, as being more canonical, quieter and more respectful, and quite as likely to prove effectual. Would it be at all better to put it into Latin? It would be quieter, but would it not destroy all or nearly all chance of effect?

I shall send it, I suppose, to Farnham first, enclosing with it

a copy of Young's loyal statement. . . . I thought to have it *lithographed* to send to the other Bishops.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

December 26, 1841.

Copeland and I have been studying your Protest [about Young], which we like very much.

It seems to me exceedingly good. I am very pleased indeed. In every way it is important. It brings together a number of very strong grounds, nor is it the least valuable on this ground, that it reminds our friends of the strong points in favour of our Church's Catholicity. It will do much good in this way. I long for a decision from Sir Herbert Jenner; it would quiet many distressed consciences by putting before them a *fact*. It is not love of Rome that unsettles people, but fear of heresy at home.

And your Protest is very important as a bold looking of difficulties in the face. The Church of England has been ruined by people shutting their eyes and making the best of things.

I dislike Convocation, and on first hearing was averse to Hope's suggestion, but on second thoughts I incline that way. The question is how to do most good to the English Church. I distrust the Bishops altogether; *e.g.* the Bishop of —— told a person, from whom it comes to me, that when he was appointed Bishop he had not read a word of theology, but, since that, he had begun studying Scott's Bible. Convocation is *fairer to the Church*, inasmuch as the clergy are sounder than the Bishops. Again, it *delays* a decision, and time is our friend; every year (so be it!) will make us stronger.

P.S.—I own my feeling is that your Protest should go far and wide—as far as the Bishop's act. How else shall we save the Church from being committed?

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: December 28, 1841.

I am very glad indeed that you think the Protest likely to do good: nor have I the least objection to lay it before Con-

vocation if you think that better: only I do not like the delay, as I want to communicate with our Bishop on the matter of his Charge besides, and I think it best on many accounts for the two to go together. How would it be if I were to send the copies to the members of Convocation singly instead of waiting for their session? I will attend to your suggestions on some of the reasons, for which I am much obliged to you.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

January 3, 1842.

I did not contemplate any delay in your act. When I mentioned Convocation, I only spoke of delay in the decision which would be the answer to it. I do not see why you could not lodge your Protest with the Archbishop as President of the Convocation. So he was addressed, I believe, in the 'Declaration' of 1833 at the beginning of matters. And you might also send it round to the Bishops as members of the Upper House.

All this is on the supposition that we must go to Convocation, which is a great difficulty indeed. Convocation, though it might restrain the acts of the Bishops, would also abridge our liberty. It might alter Rubrics, and if Hook has subscribed to the Jerusalem Fund, and Palmer [of Worcester] defended, and if Manning and Sam Wilberforce are at least not for Isaac Williams, what can we expect from Convocation, of which they are the best specimens? One has no right to anticipate evil, but I fear that Convocation would only perplex the path of duty (perplexed enough already) by leaving it more uncertain than now how far we were a Catholic Body. Even Pusey, *in his first impulse*, was ready enough to grant the Archbishop the term 'Protestant,' who asked him to allow it. I think he would if left to himself. Is there not a great chance of Convocation, by way of saving other points, recognising our Protestantism? which would be fearful.

All this being considered, I, on the whole, come to your opinion to leave Convocation alone, merely as not liking to take the responsibility of a step which *may* be miserable. The

Bishops are a real and existing power; the Convocation is not. If it is to be called into existence, let others call it. At the same time I do think we should be safer in the hands of Convocation than in those of the Bishops; that is, such extreme things would not be done in Convocation as by the Bishops. Yet what right have we to perplex our own line of duty for ourselves by our own act? Yet it may be selfish not.

You will see I am rather making suggestions to you, and wishing your opinion, than saying things definitively.

The Archbishop, you observe, receives and answers the Cheltenham lay address, at such a moment! as if there was not excitement enough, as if we had not persons enough against us. 'Grave considerations' are strong ones. And, besides, it marks a change of policy in him; for last March he stopped all addresses *for* the Tracts *because* there were sure else to be addresses *against* them. They talk (but this is a secret) of an address of Lawyers to him *for* the Tracts.

They say that some of the Heads of Houses are getting much frightened at the whirlwind they have let loose, and that Hawkins and Gilbert are keeping them up to it. I cannot help thinking you are rather hard upon Gladstone, but I don't enter into what you mean enough to judge. Hope's letter is admirable. I like what you mean to do about your Bishop; but (though I know it is most difficult to express it) I think you *must* imply that your reason for not swerving from your pamphlet is that questions of heresy are coming on.

Things were beginning to press anxiously on Mr. Newman's sisters, as Mrs. J. Mozley's letters show. She watched events intelligently and with trustful sympathy. His keen family feeling, which especially needed this sympathy, was never blunted by the public claims upon him. Her letters were promptly answered, as the reader has seen, and always with the endeavour to set her mind at ease by giving the cheerful view—his hopes and general expectations—though not wholly concealing, as time went on, the conflict that under discouragement arose in his own.

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 3, 1842.

Perhaps you contrive not to see the papers, which I am sure is the wisest plan if it does not involve an inconvenient ignorance in important matters. I do not much care what such a paper as the 'Standard' says in its fury, but I am a good deal annoyed by the Archbishop's answer to the lay petition from Cheltenham. I am a very bad one to write to you, for, instead of viewing things in a cheerful light, I rather call upon you to dispel my alarms; but I am really anxious to know how far the hostile party are likely to proceed. I cannot conceive what should induce the Archbishop and the Bishop of London just now to pay such court to Prussia unless the Government is in some way concerned in it, which perhaps may be, seeing the King of Prussia is invited over to be a sponsor for the Prince of Wales.

F. ROGERS, ESQ., TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

January 4, 1842.

I hardly like troubling you about Williams's election, but I think somebody in Oxford should know the state of the case.

A proposal to withdraw both candidates, and letters of the committee here, will come down to the President of Trinity by this post. You will see the kind of thing it is. A letter, however, which I received from Gladstone this morning, made me call upon him, and I found him obviously set on getting the matter finished *quoquo modo*, if not by the withdrawal of both, by the withdrawal of one, and urging the signatures of five out of seven Bishops (members of Convocation), the known sentiments of all, &c., as motives in conscience for the withdrawal of one, even if the other refused. He seems to have got them (especially the Bishop of Oxford) to sign, by the notion (on *their* parts) that their authority *would* put an end to the contest, Llandaff and Chichester (alone) refusing, because they wished a stigma thrown upon Williams. He insisted much on the Bishops' real wish that Williams should

withdraw, and, as far as I understood, wished to establish that the presumption of this wish, arising from the mere fact of their signatures, was sufficient to bind us either to act on it or to take measures to draw out a more distinct statement, especially from the Bishop of Oxford.

I say all this, because else, it appears to me, you might fancy things going differently from what they really are. I could not get a clearer notion, because I did not wish to commit myself, though I suppose this is clear enough.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

January 6, 1842.

I do not see that you can do better than send round your Protest to the Bishops and Members of Convocation as you propose. . . .

I do not agree with Gladstone, but I think he hopes that, if no collision takes place, Catholic opinions will gradually gain the ascendency. Again, his great object is the religionising of the *State*; you must recollect this. He thinks that even a division of opinion in the Church, though real, does not hinder that up to a certain point.

January 12, 1842.

Williams just writes me word that the Bishop of Oxford has just put it upon him to retire. Surely he is in the hands of his College, and must not act without them. *They* are very jealous of such an assumption on the part of the Bishop.

Next, I earnestly entreat he may not be allowed to retire without some public evidence that *it is not his act*. I think he should bargain for the Bishop's letter being published. I see so much deep and unlimited evil arising out of it, that I quite conjure Williams not to have the responsibility of it.

If we have, as it were, minute guns, to tell us that our Angels are going from us, to a certainty we shall lose our members too.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

January 19, 1842.

People in London have put on the Bishop of Oxford to oblige Williams to retire. Why do they not lay their commands on Garbett? Because he will not obey.

I fear it is a prelude to some act on the part of the Archbishop, who would have been embarrassed by a large minority, apparently committed the other way. This was Mr. Conybeare's advice, as it appeared in the 'Standard.' I certainly dread the Archbishop speaking. I can defend things as they are; but who can promise that he can defend a possible state of things? It is remarkable, indeed, that the Archbishop should go on. *What have I done?* Last March I submitted, and was told that *therefore* nothing would be done from authority. What has happened since? I have been silent; has anything happened but *clamour*? Is it not, then, the *clamour* which calls up the Archbishop?

You may think that I have no *intention* of leaving St. Mary's by the fact of my having taken *a lease* of the cottages at Littlemore, and having laid out a large sum of money on them; but it is quite certain that an Archbishop's letter, admitted by my own Bishop, might be of a nature to drive me away. Yet they know so well that, had they ordered the suppression of No. 90, I should have given up St. Mary's, that they cannot possibly be acting in the dark in anything they do now.

On the subject of Mr. Keble's Protest Mr. Newman writes:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

February 1, 1842.

I don't quite understand whether you think it of importance to set the matter before all the Bishops as a matter of *judgment*, or by way of *acquainting* them of what was going on. I think Badeley's objection is of weight; if we have (providentially) safeguards, ought we ungratefully to put them aside? Would it not be enough if you acquainted other

Bishops of what you had done by sending them the Protest? and, if so, is there no way of showing that this was your meaning *in* sending it? This would save Badeley's point, which seems to me important without interfering with your method of proceeding. . . .

I wish the Bishop had a little heart, only a little, but I hear he believes the most atrocious things of us, which is his excuse. I think your letter to him a very successful one indeed.

You should look at the article on Church matters in the 'British Magazine,' in which a member of Canterbury Convocation takes Badeley's line. Hope thinks the Bishops will do nothing; but they wish to do something, and where there is a will there is a way.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

February 6, 1842.

I am going up to Littlemore [*i.e.* for good] and my books are all in motion—part gone; the rest in a day or two. It makes me very downcast; it is such a nuisance taking steps. But for years three lines of Horace have been in my ears:

> Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
> Tempus abire tibi est; ne potum largius æquo
> Rideat et pulset lasciva decentius ætas.[1]

Of Tract No. 90, 12,500 copies have been sold, and a third edition is printed. An American clergyman, who was here lately, told me he saw it in every house.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: February 15, 1842.

I am in Oxford only on Saturday evening and Sunday morning. My books are all up, but not my bookcases. You may think it makes me somewhat downcast, but I don't know how I frightened you. For some years, as is natural, I have felt that I am out of place at Oxford, as customs are. Every one almost is my junior. And then, added to this, is the

[1] Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2. 214.

hostility of the Heads, who are now taking measures to keep the men from St. Mary's. But I think I have made up my mind, unless something very much out of the way happens, to anticipate them by leaving off preaching at St. Mary's. I shall tell no one. My being up here is an excuse, and I can at any time begin again. But I think my preaching is a cause of *irritation*, and, for what I know, any moment they may do something against me at St. Mary's, and I would rather anticipate this. . . . A year and a half since (as Harriett knows) I wanted to retire from St. Mary's, keeping Littlemore. If I could do so at the cost of losing my Fellowship I think I would. Perhaps the Provost would listen to so great a bribe. There is a talk of —— taking Orders, coming into residence, becoming tutor, &c. Now, if so, he will be the new Provost on a vacancy. I have *long* given up all intention, if it were in my option, of being Provost myself, but what keeps me Fellow principally is the hope of voting for Marriott, but —— would cut him out.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

February 19, 1842.

I am very well pleased with your determination not to send to all the Bishops, though I hope they will have means of knowing of your Protest and seeing it. Really I cannot repent of your letter in the spring. Your view of the Bishop's office is the only one I can take; I cannot take what is called a *constitutional* view, though I can understand the Bishops apportioning the rights of the one Episcopate *among themselves*, which they hold *de solito*, and giving part of their own powers, as also part—nay, the greater part—of their Catholic territory to other Bishops, and becoming Bishops by restraint, or limit their jurisdiction, in point of function as well as of extent. At the same time, if I think a Bishop is verging on heresy in any of his decisions—since I am absolved so far from obedience to him and may resist him—it seems nothing wrong, as St. Paul appealed to Cæsar, so to appeal, as in our case, to the Convocation, or to a lay judge in an ecclesiastical court [*i.e.* Sir Herbert Jenner].

Now, if I understand you, this is very much your position (though you add a second reason arising from your finding that, according to the late Ecclesiastical Discipline Act, you could be cited, did the Bishop think fit), and, if so, I do not think you have brought out simply and clearly enough, though it is a most delicate thing to do, that you oppose the Bishop, instead of submitting, on the ground of a Catholic doctrine being in jeopardy; and that not as an afterthought but on a principle, and indeed mentioned in your letter, but always assumed by everyone who holds primitive views. However, I may be fidgeting myself and be no fair judge.

The question being so *very* important, do not for an instant be sorry that you could not keep silent. I really think that it is a point as favourable for us as it is important in itself, and, with reference to your question in a former letter, cannot name one in which we should have *safer* ground in an ecclesiastical suit. On the other hand, it is *the* point on which people are most especially in error. The Bishop of London has been using to clergymen within the last week or two language—though he has in a manner retracted it—which, if repeated by other Bishops, would do as much as anything to unsettle men's minds regarding our Catholicity. Now consider how *very* important it will be if things are working for us towards a judicial issue of the question, and a silencing of such Antichristian speeches. . . .

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: February 21, 1842.

. . . I have several things that puzzle me about St. Mary's pulpit. One special thing is this, which I have felt for years: is it right to be preaching to those who are not, in any sense, my charge, and whose legitimate guardians, the Heads of Houses, wish them not to be preached to? This seems to me a *view*, to which others might be added, cogent also. But, as you say, there are great difficulties on the other side. Of course, I shall not pledge myself to anything for the future.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS H.

February 27, 1842.

Will you let me turn your thoughts, if I have not done so already, to the duty and, in one sense, task of cultivating *interior religion*, and, in doing so, of leaving all matters of opinion for your Almighty Protector to determine for you in His good time? So far is certain, whatever misgivings you may have had about the Catholicity of the English Church, that men may *in it* be far, far holier—may live far nearer to God than most of us do. Let us beg Him to enable us to aim at those inward perfections, which He certainly does vouchsafe in our Communion. We cannot be wrong here, we must be pleasing Him in this proceeding; we are in the safest way putting ourselves under the shadow of His wings. Depend upon it, at this day and in our present state, we are unequal to the great work of judging Churches, and had better leave it alone.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Littlemore: February 28, 1842.

Thank you for your most kind note, *secundum morem*, on occasion of this day week, which came to me here in due course. I am very sorry indeed to hear that you still speak of yourself as so delicate, but am glad that *you* speak of it, because care and watchfulness are everything. . . .

I am out of the way here of seeing the papers, and so am no judge, or I should say that the Tract [No. 90] ferment is lulling again. The Bishops seem to have decided on doing nothing; and Golightly has happily so little tact as to have disgusted his own friends by his ultra statements. The Winton and Keble case remains, and is an uncomfortable one; yet I think it must end in Keble's favour.

I have got my books nearly all in their places, and talk of insuring them. Not, one would trust, that there is much danger of fire, but I am somewhat given to fancy mischances.

and when they *are* insured I shall be dwelling on the chance of their being destroyed, as Dr. Priestley's, by a mob shouting 'No Popery,' as in 1780 [*i.e.* in which case the insurance would not hold]. The dwelling-rooms are still in a damp state, waiting for the March winds to blow through them.

Some time or other I must come up to London for a day or two, and then I shall joyfully accept your hospitality. I always reproach myself that I come to you as a matter of my own convenience, when I have business in London; and then, in one way or another, I tire myself through the day, and then in the evening inflict my dulness on you. . . .

I hope I shall not get to idolise my library; but I assure you, for its size, it is a very fine one. I regret I have no observatory here for Charlie.

On the action of the Bishop of Winchester in refusing priest's orders to his curate Mr. Young, Mr. Keble finally made his public Protest, which goes over the whole ground of the Bishop's objection to Mr. Young's answers. The Protest is an important document, and, as his letters show, was felt to be so by Mr. Newman.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

April 7, 1842.

Your packet last night was very welcome. I had been anxious about what you were doing. Every one I hear speak of your Protest is much struck with it, and it cannot but do good. It may prevent (so be it!) other acts such as have happened in the case of Young. You do not say whether you mean to prosecute matters further. Perhaps this Protest may morally and virtually settle the matter without your having further annoyance on the subject. Certainly it would be more pleasant not to have the responsibility of taking the initiative, though with the very strong case we have, and the clear prospect of a decision in our favour

In the 'Apologia'[1] Dr. Newman looks back to the curiosity his move to Littlemore excited. 'After Tract 90 the Protestant world would not let me alone. They pursued me in the public journals to Littlemore. Reports of all kinds were circulated about me. Imprimis, why did I go to Littlemore at all? For no good purpose certainly; I dared not tell why. Why, to be sure it was hard that I should be obliged to say to the editors of newspapers that I went up there to say my prayers; it was hard to have to tell the world in confidence that I had a certain doubt about the Anglican system, and could not at that moment resolve it, or say what would come of it; it was hard to have to confess that I had thought of giving up my living a year or two before, and that this was the first step to it. It was hard to have to plead that, for what I knew, my doubts would vanish if the newspapers would be so good as to give me time and let me alone.'

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

April 12, 1842.

. . . So many of the charges against yourself and your friends which I have seen in the public journals have been, within my own knowledge, false and calumnious, that I am not apt to pay much attention to what is asserted with respect to you in the newspapers.

In [a newspaper], however, of April 9 there appears a paragraph in which it is asserted as a matter of notoriety, that a so-called Anglo-Catholic Monastery is in process of erection at Littlemore, and that the cells of dormitories, the chapel, the refectory, the cloisters all may be seen advancing to perfection, under the eye of a parish priest of the Diocese of Oxford.

Now, as I have understood that you really are possessed of some tenements at Littlemore, as it is generally believed that they are destined for the purpose of study and devotion,

[1] *Apologia pro Vita sua*, p. 171

and as much suspicion and jealousy are felt about the matter I am anxious to afford you an opportunity of making me an explanation on the subject. I know you too well not to be aware that you are the last man living to attempt in my Diocese a revival of the Monastic Orders (in anything approaching to the Romanist sense of the term) without previous communication with me, or indeed that you should take upon yourself to originate any measure of importance without authority from the Heads of the Church, and therefore I at once exonerate you from the accusation brought against you by the newspaper I have quoted; but I feel it nevertheless a duty to my Diocese and myself, as well as to you, to ask you to put it in my power to contradict what, if uncontradicted would appear to imply a glaring invasion of all ecclesiastical discipline on *your* part, or of inexcusable neglect and indifference to my duties on *mine*.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.[1]

April 14, 1842.

I am very much obliged by your Lordship's kindness in allowing me to write to you on the subject of my house at Littlemore; at the same time I feel it hard both on your Lordship and myself that the restlessness of the public mind should oblige you to require an explanation of me.

It is now a whole year since I have been the subject of incessant misrepresentation. A year since I submitted entirely to your Lordship's authority; and with the intention of following out the particular act enjoined upon me, I not only stopped the series of tracts on which I was engaged, but withdrew from all public discussion of Church matters of the day, or what may be called ecclesiastical politics. I turned myself at once to the preparation for the press of the translations of St. Athanasius to which I had long wished to devote myself, and I intended and intend to employ myself in the like theological studies, and in the concerns of my own parish and in practical works.

[1] *Apologia*, p. 173.

With the same view of personal improvement I was led more seriously to a design which had been long on my mind For many years, at least thirteen, I have wished to give myself to a life of greater religious regularity than I have hitherto led; but it is very unpleasant to confess such a wish even to my Bishop, because it seems arrogant, and because it is committing me to a profession which may come to nothing. What have I done that I am to be called to account by the world for my private actions in a way in which no one else is called? Why may I not have that liberty which all others are allowed? I am often accused of being underhand and uncandid in respect to the intentions to which I have been alluding: but no one likes his own good resolutions noised about, both from mere common delicacy, and from fear lest he should not be able to fulfil them. I feel it very cruel, though the parties in fault do not know what they are doing, that very sacred matters between me and my conscience are made a matter of public talk. May I take a case parallel, though different? Suppose a person in prospect of marriage: would he like the subject discussed in newspapers, and parties, circumstances, &c. &c., publicly demanded of him at the penalty of being accused of craft and duplicity?

The resolution I speak of has been taken with reference to myself alone, and has been contemplated quite independent of the co-operation of any other human being, and without reference to success or failure other than personal, and without regard to the blame or approbation of man. And being a resolution of years, and one to which I feel God has called me, and in which I am violating no rule of the Church any more than if I married, I should have to answer for it, if I did not pursue it, as a good Providence made openings for it. In pursuing it, then, I am thinking of myself alone, not aiming at any ecclesiastical or external effects. At the same time, of course, it would be a great comfort for me to know that God had put it into the hearts of others to pursue their personal edification in the same way, and unnatural not to wish to have the benefit of their presence and encouragement, or not to think it a great infringement on the rights of conscience if

such personal and private resolutions were interfered with Your Lordship will allow me to add my firm conviction tha such religious resolutions are most necessary for keeping a cer tain class of minds firm in their allegiance to our Church; bu still I can as truly say that my own reason for anything I have done has been a personal one, without which I should not have entered upon it, and which I hope to pursue whether with or without the sympathies of others pursuing a similar course. .

As to my intentions, I purpose to live there myself a good deal, as I have a resident curate in Oxford. In doing this I believe I am consulting for the good of my parish, as my population in Littlemore is at least equal to that of St. Mary's in Oxford, and the *whole* of Littlemore is double of it. It has been very much neglected; and in providing a parsonage-house at Littlemore, as this will be, and will be called, I conceive I am doing a very great benefit to my people. At the same time it has appeared to me that a partial or temporary retirement from St. Mary's Church might be expedient under the prevailing excitement.

As to the quotation from the [newspaper] which I have not seen, your Lordship will perceive from what I have said that no 'monastery is in process of erection,' there is no 'chapel,' no 'refectory,' hardly a dining-room or parlour. The 'cloisters' are my shed connecting the cottages. I do not understand what 'cells of dormitories' means. Of course I can repeat your Lordship's words, that 'I am not attempting a revival of the Monastic Orders in anything approaching to the Romanist sense of the term,' or 'taking on myself to originate any measure of importance without authority from the Heads of the Church.' I am attempting nothing ecclesiastical, but something personal and private, and which can only be made public, not private, by newspapers and letter-writers, in which sense the most sacred and conscientious resolves and acts may certainly be made the objects of an unmannerly and unfeeling curiosity.

The following is a reply to some report (unknown) that Mr.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.[1]

Dabam e Domo S. M. V. apud Littlemore: April 22, 1842.

My dear Hope,—Does not this portentous date promise to outweigh any negative I can give to your question in the mind of the inquirer? for any one who could ask such a question would think such a dating equivalent to the answer. However, if I must answer in form, I believe it to be one great absurdity and untruth from beginning to end, though it is hard I must answer for every hundred men in the whole kingdom. Negatives are dangerous; all I can say, however, is that I don't believe, or suspect, or fear any such occurrence, and look upon it as neither probable nor improbable, but simply untrue.

We are all much quieter and more resigned than we were, and are remarkably desirous of building up a position, and proving that the English theory is tenable—or rather the English state of things. If the Bishops will leave us alone the fever will subside.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

Littlemore: April 22, 1842.

I do not think I shall achieve my journey to London just now, and shall still have the pleasure of seeing you at home.

I am just come here [N.B.—The 19th of April was the *first* night that I slept in the new house], and must set things going; and that requires close residence for a while. At this very moment I am literally solus, without servant or anything else; but I suppose we shall accumulate in time. [The last day that I was at Littlemore I was also solus, Quinquagesima Sunday, February 22, 1846; without any inmate, without my books, amid the ruins of my bookcases. I left with my baggage at 4 P.M.]

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Littlemore: April 29, 1842.

I write for a copy of your Protest, if I can have one, but use your discretion. It is for a good man, as I believe him,

[1] *Memoirs of Hope-Scott*, vol. ii. p. 7.

though I do not know him—Mr. Scott, the republisher of 'Lawrence on Lay Baptism.' His curate was rejected by the Bishop of London on the ground of Young's rejection, though his Lordship repented next day. If you choose to send straight, direct 'Parsonage, Hoxton, London.' If not, at least I shall profit by a letter from you, which will be a treat.

I have long been very anxious about Pusey's loneliness,[1] and it has now come upon me more than ever. There is the coincidence of your Poetry Professorship expiring, Isaac Williams leaving, and my going to Littlemore. I had hoped that Lucy would have been by this time old enough to be a companion, but I think what he wants is, someone to consult and talk to, and he does not take to younger men; else there is Barker in the house, and at a word he could attract to him whom he would. There is Marriott. There is no good telling you all this, but it relieves me to do so.

My Bishop sent me a letter requiring an *explanation* what I was doing here. I wrote him a very full answer. He answered me most kindly, saying that the assertions about me were proved by my explanation to be 'cruel and unjust and calumnious,' and saying that he much approved of my residing here, where a resident incumbent was wanted. . . .

The Margaret Professor (Dr. Faussett) has not been consulted in the late theological statute affair, and is in dudgeon.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

May 24, 1842.

You will be glad to hear that the Bishop's Charge delivered yesterday was very favourable to us, or rather to our cause, for some of us suffered. He began by a description of the Movement, and of the bitterness with which it had been assailed; spoke against newspaper writers and meeting spouters, and praised us in contrast. This took up some time. Then he went to the Tracts; said part were very obscure, others wrong, and that the writers seemed not to care about offending people. Then No. 90 came in. Then

[1] Mrs. Pusey died May 26, 1839.

there must be some delicate wording for which I shall look anxiously in the Charge when published; but I understood him to say that he thought No. 90's interpretation not the obvious, that he wished to take the obvious, that he was against all interpretations which made the Articles anything or nothing, and yet he did *not* see why Calvinists and Puritans should be allowed to consider that the Articles admitted *them*, but men who agreed with Bull, Beveridge, Andrewes, &c., might not have the same liberty the other way.

Then he went to the disciples of the Movement, and here his regular censure began: 1, Palmer's Anathema (Magdalen Palmer); 2, Vestments; 3, Oakeley's translation of St. Buonaventura; 4, the speaking against the Reformers; 5, leaning to Rome, and an unreal unity. He concluded by saying that he expected hardly any clergymen to go to Rome but only very young persons; and that if people attempted to dam up the Movement, there would be a great inundation and a fearful schism. And he also said some strong things against the Church of Rome. I have left out some topics from forgetfulness.

As to the 'Dublin,' poor Dr. Wiseman is dying to get us, and this makes him write in an anxious, forced, rhetorical way, being naturally not a little pompous in manner, though I believe it is principally manner.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Littlemore: May 24, 1842.

I have just heard that the Heads of Houses have *passed* a repeal of the Statutes against Hampden, and the question is to be brought into Convocation in ten days.

What I mean to do myself is this: at all events to go and vote myself against it, but not to write about to bring men up unless a committee is formed in Oxford against Hampden, and not to take part in the formation of, or in, a committee. [My feeling was that it did not become me, being myself under Hebdomadal censure, to take a forward part now against Hampden, though I might give my vote against him as a private

M.A.] I cannot believe that a committee will *not* be formed. You had better get some one who is *in* Oxford to keep you *au courant*. Since the young M.A.'s of six years are, I trust, mainly with us, I trust the repeal will be rejected, provided only an Oxford committee is formed. The 'Record' in its last number *took Hampden's* part expressly.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

Littlemore: June 13, 1842.

I am full of work, and this last week have been well-nigh knocked up with fatigue.

The Bishop's Charge gives great satisfaction. It is plain which way he leans, and everything I hear goes the same way. He means to pay me a visit at my new abode, not as a Bishop, but as a friend, out of kindness. They want to work an altar-cloth for Cuddesdon after the pattern of yours.

There is no chance, I fear, of my getting to Derby this year. I am a family man, and cannot leave home.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. Thomas Mozley.

June 3, 1842.

[illegible] you tell Tom [then editor of the 'British Critic'] to [illegible] are so much is not said about me in future numbers. [illegible]'t like to say so to Ward or Oakeley—it would be [illegible]ious; and they do it really because they think it comes [illegible] way to do it; but it will seem as if I gave up the [illegible]hat I might be puffed in it, which could not be decently [illegible]le I was editor.

[illegible] following letter was written by Mr. Newman in reply [illegible]stion put to him by the Venerable W. R. Lyall, Arch- [illegible] of Maidstone and afterwards Dean of Canterbury. It [illegible]rwarded in 1886 to Cardinal Newman by a relative of [illegible]ate Archdeacon Lyall and transmitted by him to the [illegible]or.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Venerable W. R. Lyall.

Littlemore: July 16, 1842.

. . . Your question is just the difficult one of English theology, and as time goes on it will be more and more felt. It is as deeply feeling it that some persons at present have been called ultras and thought to sympathise with Rome. While the Catholic Church is broken up into fragments it will always be a most perplexing question, 'What and where is the Church?' And those who maintain the Article of the Creed which declares the fact that there is a Church, will be looked upon by hard-headed Dissenters and Liberals as unreal and cloudy in their views.

I consider that, according to the great Anglican theory (by which I mean the theory of Laud, Bull, Butler, &c., upon which alone the English Church *can* stand, as being neither Roman nor Puritan), the present state of the Church is like that of an empire breaking or broken up. At least I know of no better illustration. Where is the Turkish Empire at this day? In a measure it has been, and is no more. Various parts of it are wrested from it, others are in rebellion. There is no one authority which speaks; individuals in particular localities know not whom to obey or how they shall be best fulfilling the duty of loyalty to the descendants of Othman. Sometimes the truest allegiance is to oppose what seems to come with authority. In many cases there is only a choice of difficulties. For the most part, a Turk speaking of precepts, prerogatives, powers, speaks but of former times. He appeals to history; he means the earlier empire when he speaks of Ottoman principles and doctrines. In whatever degree this is true of the Turkish power, at least it is true of the Church. Our Lord founded a kingdom: it spread over the earth and then broke up. Our difficulties in faith and obedience are just those which a subject in a decaying empire has in matters of allegiance. We sometimes do not know what is of authority and what is not; who has credentials and who has not; when local authorities are exceeding their power and when they are not; how far old precedents must be

modified in existing circumstances, how far not. This view might be illustrated in detail to any extent from the controversies and difficulties of the day. Lay baptism, the poor law, the Irish Roman Catholic Acts, the Jerusalem Bishopric, are all, in very different ways, difficulties which rise out of a sick or rather dying kingdom. Under these circumstances, when we are asked, 'Where is the Church?' I can but answer, 'Where it *was*'—the Church only *is* while it is one, for it is individually as He who animates and informs it. It is under an eclipse or *in deliquio* now, or, as Bellarmine says of the tenth century, 'Christ is asleep in the ship,' and a curious collateral witness to this is found in the difficulty which the Roman Catholics themselves find in determining *where* the seat of infallibility is. The Church has authority only while all the members conspire together. In such strange circumstances as those in which we find ourselves we can but do what we think will best *please* the Lord and Master of the Church—what is most pious: we rule ourselves by what the Church did or said before this visitation fell upon her; we obey those that are set over us, first, because they *are* set over us; next, because at least the Apostolical Succession is preserved (which is like *de facto* rulers being of the blood royal); further, because they are the nearest representatives we can find of the whole Church, and are to a very great extent her instruments. We consider the local Church the type and deputy of the whole.

Should you think it of use to ask me any further questions by way of clearing my view I will gladly attempt it.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

Littlemore: July 31, 1842.

I have just finished my essay preliminary to Fleury, which I thought never would come to an end. I have long wished to write to you, but my hand is fatigued.

As to new verses, when my plantations are grown up into trees, and I have built a nest in the topmost boughs, then will you get me to sing a fresh tune.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Littlemore: August 28, 1842.

The only thing I have to tell you is that Mr. Ogilby, the Ecclesiastical History Professor in the Theological Seminary of New York, called on me the other day, and told me that your 'Hildebrand' was one of the books most in request among the divinity students in his department.

I fear these Americans have done a most serious thing, about which a row must be made. I have seen nothing in print, but am told that their presiding Bishop, Griswold, has formally admitted a Nestorian, as a Nestorian, to Communion, expressing at the same time the concurrence of his people, or a good part of them. Acts like this will drive men out of their Church. . . .

Another agitation for Hampden is proceeding. His friends are getting 600 names for some purpose by a certain time. More I do not know.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Littlemore: September 12, 1842.

I rejoiced to hear from you and of your doings. I am so idle about letter-writing, and my hand is so tired, that I had preferred to inquire about you from others to trying to elicit a line from you by a direct address.

As to your paper, which I return, I had heard of the intention (as I suppose you had) several months back, and certainly my own impression was, supposing the object of the Memorial to be confined to Arnold's merits in his school, that if called on, I might join in it, and therefore much more you. It strikes me that such as we may do things *now* which we could not do ten years ago, because now we are so well known that no one can mistake our meanings. I recollect Froude and myself keeping off in 1832 from the meeting in Oxford about the Walter Scott Testimonial, because it was taken up by the Liberals; but then our opinions were unknown, and to have joined it would seem adopting Liberal notions.

Moreover, I think there would be nothing inconsistent or hypocritical, or exemplifying the 'Virtutem incolumem,' &c. in my taking part in this Arnold Memorial, because I am conscious of having always done justice to his great merits at Rugby [1]—nay, having always defended him in many other respects, as considering him widely different from —— and —— and many other persons with whom he is associated; as being more real and earnest than his friends; as having done a work when they are merely talkers. I think I never spoke harshly of him except on the occasion [at Rome, *vide* 'Apol.' pp. 33, 34] which gave me the opportunity [on his taxing me with it sharply] of doing so, and which I really cannot reproach myself with. I put all this as my own case, thinking it applies *a fortiori* to you. I believe the only controversial piece we have put out against him is Froude's fragment.

However, Pusey does not like it, or rather is against it. He does not like Whately's name as one of the committee, though I don't think this goes to the root of his difficulty. What is uncomfortable, he adds that if I subscribe he certainly will. I wish he would not do this. It is exceedingly kind, but I doubt the wisdom of it; certainly it embarrasses me a good deal. Did you subscribe I should like to do so, but it is very hard that Pusey will not have a view of his own.

It would be painful to me not to subscribe, but you shall give me your advice, please, as you ask mine. [I was advised *not* to offer a subscription. I suppose this meant that it would not be received.]

[1] In this relation the following letter from Dean Lake may be extracted from the *Guardian*:—

January 25, 1888.

There is indeed a great deal more to be said of Arnold's remarkable mind—for many of his faults can be traced to his being a solitary thinker—than can be expressed in a single letter. But it is a constant pleasure to me to remember that no man would have been a more earnest upholder of the supernatural truth of Christianity than Arnold if he was still with us, and that while on many points he entirely agreed with the noblest of his opponents in his own time, he is also in a very real sense a support to the higher worship of the present day. And, lastly, I have good reason for believing that no person has so fully recognised his high character, both moral and intellectual, as the very greatest of

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 '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. . . .

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

Littlemore: September 17, 1842.

. . . The publishers in London are gaping after the Church line, each trying to outrun the other in securing writers. . . . It shows most surprisingly the spread of Catholic opinions. . . . but meanwhile I and others, who see how things are going, do not feel the less uneasiness, spread as they may. They have no solid bottom. . . . But, I suppose, if one feels certain things to be right and true, it is want of faith not to preach them merely because one cannot systematise.

If I come to you I think you will think me vastly aged in this year and a half. I begin to think myself an old man.

On the doings of certain Religious Professors the question of ridicule as a legitimate engine comes forward.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Oriel: October 21, 1842.

As to ridicule, to state the doings of —— is in fact to ridicule them. The ridiculous is a natural principle; it is not *made*. Of course a writer may make a thing ridiculous, but then it is by exaggeration, &c., but I cannot help thinking that our friends are [Qy. one friend is] intrinsically ridiculous. But if so, is not stating the *fact* a sort of providential means of disabusing people?—the thing, when stated, thus carrying its refutation with itself. I know that it has been said that it

more. Froude says that Apostolicals may be hated, but cannot be ridiculed.[1] I should like to analyse the reasons of the individuals who are offended by it—that it is so irresistible may be a great reason. It is perfect poison to affectation and mock solemnity. Is it not often a most merciful weapon, because, if you were serious, you must be so much more severe? How merciful it is to assail a man for 'preaching prayers,' considering what might be said of it.

The Bishop of Llandaff [Copleston] has been charging most violently against us. His manner was violent, I am told. He hinted almost at a Royal Commission, because the Bishops *could* do nothing, and views were spreading so fast. What! is free trade no longer a good?

The Warden of Wadham has been preaching on the duty of attending and submitting to the Church—*i.e.* the Protestants. Haddan says he borrowed some pages from Bramhall. Is he reduced to this?

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: November 26, 1842.

Everything is quiet in Oxford except the interiors of Heads of Houses, and such like, who, I am told, fume and fret the quieter things are, because there is a steady move onward.

Mr. Newman only allowed his nearest friends to see his Bishop's letter. His sister Jemima thanks him for his confidence, and at the same time betrays some natural misgivings.

December 1, 1842.

Thank you very much for your kindness in allowing me to see the enclosed. They are very interesting papers. I should hope the Bishop quite understands you; he seems to do so. I am glad to hear Oxford is quiet externally. I should think

[1] Of course, Froude's view, so far as there is truth in it, only holds good while Apostolical principles were unpopular and interfered with worldly prospects: there was not the ridiculousness of *sham* in his day. Where principles are adopted because they are the fashion, there will certainly be some ridiculous holders of them.

the Bishop's Charges must have done a great deal towards composing people's minds: they have only made some like Mr. Close more furious.[1] . . . I suppose you are able to make use of your violin again now you are at Littlemore. I have been practising hard lately and wish you could come, that I might turn my practice to good account.

I shall long very much to see your University sermons.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Littlemore: December 20, 1842.

As to reminding my people about Confession, it is the most dreary and dismal thought that I have about my parish, that I dare do so little, or rather nothing. I have long thought it would hinder me from ever taking another cure. Confession is the life of the Parochial charge; without it all is hollow, and yet I do not see my way to say that I should not do more harm than good by more than the most distant mention of it. Reading the first Exhortation at the Communion is the only thing I do of a direct kind. I hope that that is of a nature to startle those who listen, though not enough perhaps to persuade them.

Mr. Sibthorpe, a well-known popular preacher, who had lately surprised the world by becoming a convert to Rome, and after a year or two had renounced her Communion, was now in the winter of 1842 in Oxford, at Magdalen, of which College he had been a Fellow.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

Littlemore: December 29, 1842.

. . . Sibthorpe has been here, dressed very impressively and eating fish; else just the same. He dined in Magdalen College Hall with no embarrassment, I am told, on either side; he shutting his eyes and turning up the balls [N.B. This was

[1] Cheltenham was a sort of headquarters against the Movement, and hard words were current. A letter has come into the Editor's hands of this date which contains this sentence: 'Close disclaims all personality, but calls Newman

habitual with him as a Protestant], and talking, and the scouts in waiting as grave and unconcerned as usual.

I am publishing my University sermons, which will be thought sad, dull affairs; but, having got through a subject, I wish to get rid of it.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Mrs. J. Mozley.

Littlemore: January 23, 1843.

Some of my University sermons will be very hard, but I have now for twelve years been working out a theory, and whether it is true or not it has this recommendation, that it is consistent; and this is the only encouragement I have to publish, considering its unpopularity and my own ignorance of metaphysical writers. I have kept to the same views and arguments for twelve years, and am obliged to watch myself lest in new [the later] sermons I stumble upon what I have already said; therefore I think I may safely publish. They are not theological or ecclesiastical, though they bear immediately upon the most intimate and practical religious questions.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. R. Hope, Esq.

Littlemore: in Fest. Conv. S. Pauli, 1843.

In return for your announcement of some change of purpose, I must tell you of one of my own in a matter where I told you I was going to be very quiet.

My conscience goaded me some two months since to an act which comes into effect, I believe, in the 'Conservative Journal' next Saturday—viz. to eat a few dirty words of mine. I had intended it for a time of peace, the beginning of December, but against my will and power the operation has been delayed, and now unluckily falls upon the state of irritation and suspicion in good Anglicans which Bernard Smith's step has occasioned. I had committed myself when all was quiet. The meeting of Parliament will, I hope, divert attention.

P.S.—I am publishing my 'University Sermons.' You got a headache from *one*; it will be an act of gratitude to send you *all*. Shall I do so?

In a letter written later Mr. Newman says:

Since you have had a specimen of the book, I may add, in opposition to you, that it will be the best, not the most perfect, book I have done. I mean there is more to develop in it, though it is imperfect. My 'University Sermons' are the least theological book I have published.

Mrs. J. Mozley to Rev. J. H. Newman.

February 20, 1843.

. . . Are you pretty *quiet* in Oxford now? We see the 'Oxford Herald' now and then. The last contained Golightly's last letter, which seems a very choice production. He really is boiling over. I have not seen what has gone before, but one can infer.

We hear that that letter which appeared in the 'Conservative Journal,' which bears every mark of belonging to you except your name, is making a great hubbub in the world. It seems rather a mysterious document; pray what is the history of its appearance? . . . Have you seen the amusing articles in the 'Record' lately? There is one imputing the Tractarians' dislike to *pews* to their desire of first shortening and in the end discontinuing, sermons altogether, abolishing pews being a means of discouraging the higher classes (the especial supporters of sermons) from attending church. . . .

Now, good-bye, dear John. I wish you sometimes gave yourself a rest, but do not try yourself too far.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

Littlemore: February 21, 1843.

I had been thinking of you before the arrival of your most kind letter, which is now almost a usual part of the day. How fearful or even awful the number of years has become since we knew each other! It seems to make time such a mystery, as if it could not be a reality, since it seems nothing though

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: February 21, 1843.

I was in Oxford for a fortnight lately, and only returned here on Saturday, and it will be a comfort to you to know that, as far as I have means of learning, there is no excitement or agitation in the place at all. Golightly is writing for friends in the country; in Oxford he either cuts people or is cut by them. As to your question about the letter [containing the Retractation?], I believe it is making very little talk here [Oxford], nor do I see anything in the papers. If there is a secret fermentation, such as you describe, I suppose it will at some time show itself, but I don't see what it promises to do by any manifestation. It is hard, indeed, if everyone may condemn me and I may not condemn myself. As to the *mode* being ill-judged, strange, &c., what mode would be good? What time would be right? In all these matters one has not oneself the choice of time, mode, organ, and the like; the actual choice is a choice between difficulties.

The President of Magdalen, it seems, is to ask me, for the fifth time, to be an examiner for the Johnson Theological Exhibition.

My 'University Sermons' made their appearance on Saturday. The last which I preached, on the 'Purification,' lasted an hour and a half! People went about saying there was a good deal of mischief in it, and that it must be answered; but I am under no apprehensions. And so, you see, I am altogether very tranquil.

Here is a letter all about myself, only excusable because it is my birthday.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. S. RICKARDS.

Littlemore: March 7, 1843.

Your letters are always kind and welcome, and I received your last with a mixture of feelings. I prize most highly the good opinion of friends, perhaps too highly, but an evil conscience always is haunting me that they place more con-

fidence in me than I deserve. This, I know full well, is the case with many, and consequently I am ever feeling it to be a duty which presses on me, to do all I can to make them sit looser of me than their kindness naturally allows them. Also people from without, friends even some of them, who my conscience tells me may be thinking me like those not over-respectable persons who 'palter with us in a double sense,' and are understood to promise, what nevertheless their words do not convey. I assure you, nothing has haunted me more continually for years than the idea that undergraduates are trusting me more than they should, and I have done many things by way of preventing it. I should not wonder if the feeling ended in separating me from St. Mary's, about which I have thought many times.

And yet, of course, I could not but be much pleased with your sending me the messenger who brought your note, who seems just what you describe him—an amiable, modest man. I believe, too, he has considerable academical attainments, though I am not much in the way to hear about them.

I have just heard to my surprise that my 'University Sermons,' which have been published little more than a fortnight, have come to a second edition. This is unaccountable; every volume of my sermons hitherto has been a year in running through the first. As many of these are on very abstruse subjects, I cannot think that they have been bought for their contents.

Our Library here is growing so much that I do not know how we shall manage for room. All our beds have been full for months, and I think we must cut our sets of rooms into two to admit more inmates. We have found no inconvenience from the winter, though certainly, on the whole, it has been a very mild one.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MISS H.

Littlemore: March 8, 1843.

Religious truth is reached, not by reasoning, but by an inward perception. Anyone can reason; only disciplined

educated, formed minds can perceive. Nothing, then, is more important to you than habits of self-command, as you say yourself. You are overflowing with feeling and impulse; all these must be restrained, ruled, brought under, converted into principles and habits or elements of character. Consider that you have this great work to do, to change yourself; and you cannot doubt that, whatever be the imperfections of the English Church, and whatever the advantages of the Roman, there are gifts and aids in the former abundantly enough to carry you through this necessary work.

. . . I would without scruple offer to be of such use to Mr. L. as one of your letters seemed to suggest, except that I am very sceptical about my being really of use to him. The truth is that I have a great dislike of controverting or the like with people I do not know. I do not think it answers. Very seldom have I been persuaded into the attempt, and never, I think, with success. I have hitherto succeeded in keeping people in our Church whose turn of mind, aspirations, &c., I know, but I have failed whenever I have been asked to write to strangers. As to Mr. L.'s thinking I evade the particular question he asked, it is hardly one which, as I consider, he *could* ask of me. I do not see that the Tridentine Decrees and our Articles are in certain points reconcilable; if I had a clear view in favour of the Decrees, as a belief in the ecumenicity of the Tridentine Council would involve, I could not sign the Articles. The very fact that I am under subscription to the Articles, implies that I cannot affirm the Council to be ecumenical.

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

March 25, 1843.

I have been daily wishing to write to you, but had made up my mind I would finish your 'University Sermons' before I did so. Now I find one edition has run out before John [her husband] and I have got through our methodical reading. . . . You know all are new to me after 'Saul'; I could not have believed unless I saw it that I had not heard you preach from

the University pulpit since that occasion. I do not know any volume I have ever read that was so attractive and satisfying to the mind except Butler's 'Analogy.' It makes deep things so very simple. I was particularly pleased with the second sermon, as laying down principles so clearly. It seems to account for things one has wondered at all one's life, and to reconcile one's instinctive feelings against certain worldly views and motives, as supplying a good reason for the repugnance one felt towards them. I tell you this because I think you sometimes like to know the impression your works make on readers, though perhaps I am not a fair person to take, as I am so much better acquainted with your mind than many people. Yet it seems curious to me that I have read this second sermon before and did not see as much in it as I do now. Of course I am a good deal different from what I was when it was written. I suppose most people see more in things than they did ten years ago. I have mentioned one sermon only, though there is a great deal to remark on in each. Each seems to have a little world of its own . . . We are pleased at your tribute to music; but what do you mean by fourteen notes? Do you mean the twelve semitones, as some suggest? I am indignant at the idea, and think you knew what you were saying. Please tell me when you write.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: March 27, 1843.

I assure you what you say about my 'University Sermons' is very acceptable and cheering, as I am not in the way of knowing at all what is thought of them. Their rapid sale took me quite by surprise, but did not prove the impression they made. I certainly thought it, though incomplete and imperfect, yet my best volume, but there did not appear any clear reason that others should think the same. By-the-bye, do you mean the second sermon? I have been looking at it and cannot see what you allude to.

I had already been both amused and provoked to find my

I *doubled* the notes for semitones, though it looks very like it. The truth is, I had a most stupid idea in my head there were fifteen semitones, and I took off one for the octave. On reading it over when published I saw the absurdity. I have a great dislike to publishing hot bread, and this is one proof of the inconvenience. The greater part of the sermons, at least, cannot plead haste for their imperfection. . . .

In answer to a question the letter goes on :

As for —— [one long dead], it is difficult to speak without saying more than I wish. I impute nothing unkind or insincere, or otherwise faulty to him. It is his *misfortune* by the course of accident to know what very few people indeed know, and he naturally shapes his course from his anticipation of the future. If the future does not confirm his anticipation, he will seem timid and ungenerous ; but if it does, he will seem more sharpsighted and wary than he deserves to be accounted. I believe I wrote under the sad feeling (for the passage had hurt me a good deal) that I was losing friends.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

April 3, 1843.

Of course you have heard before this of dear Wood's alarming state, which is a great grief to me, as to you. How wonderful the ways of Providence are ! One is carried back to the memory of this time four years [to that time when Bowden was all but given over, and Wood was at once well and the correspondent who informed us of Bowden's state.—J. H. N.]. I just now heard from him, and he gives himself quite over. He speaks of his extreme state of weakness. . . . He seems to hope that it may be God's will that his trial should be short. [He died April 22.] What a real trouble this is !

I was going to write to you about a plan I have of editing in numbers 'Saints of the British Isles.' Is there any one which you would like to take ? Some are appropriated, but I hardly know which are in your way since you are a Conti-

nentalist. St. Boniface struck me. Anselm and Lanfranc are in Church's hands, who has a sort of right to them.

I mean the work to be historical and devotional, but not controversial. Doctrinal questions need not enter. As to miracles, I think they may be treated as matters of faith—credible according to their evidence.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: April 30, 1843.

I have lost a great friend in Wood. . . . God makes me new friends when I lose old; to be sure they are younger, but there are compensations even then. My dear Jemima, my life is done before it seems well begun.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

May 24, 1843.

Do you know that the Vice-Chancellor has taken to a sermon of Pusey's, preached last Sunday week at Christ Church, and that six doctors are about to sit upon it? . . . I am not without anxiety as to its effect upon him personally. I could fancy it making him retire into himself and breaking his spirit. . . . But this may be foolish croaking.

A present from a *quasi* stranger [Mr. Rhodes] has just been made to me for our chapel, of two red granite columns; they are only five feet high, but, if Egyptian, will cut up into many thin shafts. Perhaps these may be enough to form part of a stone pulpit [and another anonymous 200*l.* for the same purpose]. We think of reseating the chapel this summer. A finger organ has been given us [by an undergraduate]. We shall do everything we can at once, for, for what we know, our time at Littlemore may be short. I do not see how I can go on holding the living in the face of the episcopal Charges of the two last years—but I shall not decide the point myself.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Littlemore: May 29, 1843.

T. Morris of Christ Church has been taken to for his (first)

enclose what will throw light on the state of the case. We think it a very bad move of the Heads, and the V.-C. is getting frightened and told Morris he was against it. Also he i veering round about Pusey, and he told M. he meant to b impartial and receive charges on the other side.

S. is cast off by the 'Quarterly,' and appears holding ou signals of distress and flags of truce to us.

George Denison has been very urgent with us here to ge up a protest against the unecclesiastical clauses of the Factory Bill, a subject on which he is full of fury. I told him nothing would be done. . . .

Pusey is much better, though hardly off his sofa. No news about his sermon beyond what I have said above.

Again:

Saturday, June 3, 1843.

They have suspended Pusey from preaching for two years. He is making a protest, which will be in the Common-Rooms to-day. His sermon will be published in a day or two.

To a lady residing at a distance from Oxford, Mr. Newman writes on the subject of Dr. Pusey's suspension:

Oriel College: June 4, 1843.

I daresay by this time you have heard pretty nearly the rights of Dr. Pusey's matter. This day three weeks he preached a Catholic, not over strong, sermon in the Cathedral, and for it he has been suspended from preaching for two years.

Every one here thought it from the first a very impolitical step on the part of the Heads of Houses, for if there is a Puseyite who is revered it is Dr. Pusey, by all parties. And their mode of proceeding—appointing a board known to be hostile to him, and not giving their reasons, or marking particular passages—has increased the annoyance even of moderate men.

It is difficult to predict the ultimate effects. If his cause is taken up extensively it will damage the Heads. If not, it

whose attachment to it there is already cause to be suspicious. It is one of those events which tend to bring matters to a crisis, without carrying with them any intimation on which side it will be decided.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

Littlemore: July 25, 1843.

. . . The papers tell us that Lord Ashley [afterwards Lord Shaftesbury] has had a meeting in London in some public place to consult upon the expediency of petitioning the Duke of Wellington to put down Puseyism in Oxford. . . .

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

July 27, 1843.

I am so sorry to hear you are out of spirits. I really think, while there is one Bishop like your Bishop, there is every reason for hope. Indeed, if there were not, yet how soon everything might be changed! The principles you fight for must reach the higher clergy in time. I daresay I understand the matter quite superficially, but it seems to me that there is a great difference between our time and that of the non-jurors. Then Catholic doctrines were on the decline, and Liberal doctrines rising into fashion. . . . Now surely the Catholic movement will prevail if we are not utterly unworthy. People are beginning to be moved by the meek, unresentful spirit of those whose zeal and ardour in the cause have all along been undisputed. Indeed, dear John, I cannot but believe many in our day will live to see things very different. Perhaps I am sanguine without reason, because I have nothing to bear; but then remember, perhaps you may be dejected with insufficient reason, because you have to bear the brunt of the battle. You are indeed in a wonderful position; may you be able to bear up in it, as one of the true champions of our Church, not tired by all the opposition and calumny which have assailed you on all sides.

Jacob Abbott's visit was quite romantic. I should like to hear his side. His explanation reminds me of your saying that No. 90 was written for one set of people and read by another.

The following particulars relating to Jacob Abbott's call on Mr. Newman, here alluded to, are taken from 'Essays Critical and Historical.'[1]

'The author of the "Corner Stone" met my strictures with a Christian forbearance, and a generosity which I can never forget. He went out of his way, when in England in 1843, to find me out at Littlemore, and to give me the assurance, both by that act and by word of mouth, that he did not take offence at what many a man would have thought justified serious displeasure. I think he felt, what really was the case, that I had no unkind feelings towards him, but spoke of his work simply in illustration of a widely spread sentiment in religious circles, then as now, which seemed to me dangerous to Gospel faith.'

I have no other record of the incident than the following two paragraphs in a well-known newspaper of the day:

From the 'English Churchman.'

A few Sundays ago a stranger who had been observed joining very attentively both in the morning and afternoon services at Littlemore, begged permission in the evening to introduce himself to Mr. Newman. It proved to be none other than the well-known author of the 'Corner Stone' and the 'Young Christian,' and the object of his call was to express his deep and sincere obligations to Mr. Newman for the severe strictures which had been made upon his work some time since in the 'Tracts for the Times.' He confessed that they had the greatest effect upon his mind, and that he should write very differently now. Mr. Newman asked if there were anything that he should wish altered in a subsequent edition

of the Tract, but Mr. Abbott admitted the entire fairness of the review, and wished nothing to be withdrawn or altered.

To the Editor of the 'English Churchman.'

Littlemore: October 6.

Sir,—I am very sorry to observe a paragraph in your paper of yesterday on the subject of the call with which I was favoured in this place, some time since, by Mr. Abbott. It has been evidently sent to you with a friendly feeling towards myself, to which I am not at all insensible, but it is kinder to me than it is respectful towards Mr. Abbott. What I saw of him impressed me with such feelings in his favour, that it would grieve me indeed did he think from anything that has got abroad that he had reason to charge me (in my report of our conversation) with rudeness or want of consideration towards himself. I will add, what I stated to him, that if in my remarks in the 'Tracts for the Times,' upon one of his publications, I was betrayed into any expressions which might be considered personal, instead of confining myself to the work itself which I was criticising, I am sorry for them and wish them unsaid. I saw him but for half an hour in his rapid passage across the country; but wherever he is, and whether I shall see him again or no, he has my good wishes and my kind remembrances. I am, &c.,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Friday, August 25, 1843.

I have just received a letter from Lockhart, one of my inmates, who has been away for three weeks, saying that he is on the point of joining the Church of Rome, and is in retreat under Dr. Gentili of Loughborough. . . . You may fancy how sick it makes me.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: August 28, 1843.

Perhaps you know already from your proximity to Loughborough that Lockhart, who has been living here with me for

a year past, has, at Dr. Gentili's at that place, conformed to the Church of Rome.

It has taken us all by surprise. . . . When he came here I took a promise of him that he would remain quiet for three years, otherwise I could not receive him.

This occurrence will very likely fix the time of my resigning St. Mary's, for he has been teaching in our school till he went away.

. . . These are reasons enough to make me give up St. Mary's, but, were there no other, this feeling would be sufficient, that I am not so zealous a defender of the established and existing system of religion as I ought to be for such a post.

Years before, Mr. Newman, in his article on 'Religious Parties,' had written, 'You cannot make others think as you will, even those who are nearest and dearest to you.'[1] Experience had taught him this truth; but he had to feel it with heavier force as time went on. His correspondence with his sisters pressed this growing divergence upon him, however tenderly expressed.

Mrs. J. Mozley to Rev. J. H. Newman.

August 30, 1843.

Your letter has, as you may imagine, concerned me greatly. I do hope you may not have quite settled on the step of giving up St. Mary's just at this critical time. I know you have long had your thoughts turned to this point, and I have by degrees learned to reconcile myself to the prospect, but I cannot think you are aware of the effect of everything you do upon people in general, to decide upon this step just at this moment. Of course I allude to Mr. Lockhart's change just now, with which your step would naturally be associated by friends and enemies in a manner you would not wish. There are so many anxious minds waiting and watching your every motion, who would

[1] *British Critic*, April 1839, p. 426.

misunderstand your proceeding and consider it a beginning of a formal disengaging of yourself from your own Church, whose perplexities would be sadly increased. I trust you will think not only of yourself, but of others, before you decide on it. . . .

You must not think me very presuming. I am so very anxious you should always be as right in everything as you have been hitherto. . . . I have written a great deal with very little in it, and I hardly can hope you will find anything of weight in it, for I know you do not make up your mind on slight grounds. If the matter is settled in your mind, and must be so, I trust the sense of having done what you thought right will be your reward and my great consolation; for what would become of me if I could not think of you, as I always have thought with joy and gratitude, that I am your sister? Yes, dear John, I feel it cannot be otherwise; whichever way you decide it will be a noble and true part, and not taken up from any impulse, or caprice, or pique, but on true and right principles that will carry a blessing with them.

Poor Aunt is a good deal distressed at what you are doing. I mentioned it, as it was better to do so now than to take her by surprise.

Mr. Newman seems to have answered his sister at once. We gather this from the following letter, written the day but one after that just given:

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

September 1, 1843.

I am very sorry indeed if my letter increased the pain you must feel. I know well that must be very great. In return, I must say your to-day's letter has greatly lessened mine. You have such a clear view on the subject that I cannot for a moment wish you to do otherwise than you have decided. It must be right for *you* to act when you feel so strongly. I should be the last person to urge you to a contrary course;

and, further, your confidence (and that of others on whom you depend also) makes me think you must be right in your judgment. So I shall be reconciled to what must still be a very sad event to me. . . .

The following letter, from a lady—the name unknown to the Editor—must have been forwarded to Mr. Newman by Mrs. J. Mozley :

FROM A LADY TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

August 30, 1843.

I have been thinking that among all the opinions and feelings your brother is called upon to sympathise with, perhaps he hears least and knows least of those who are, perhaps, the most numerous class of all, people living at a distance from him, and scattered over the country with no means of communication with him as with one another, yet who all have been used to look up to him as a guide. These people have a claim upon him : he has witnessed to the world, and they have received his witness ; he has taught and they have striven to be obedient pupils. He has formed their minds, not accidentally : he has *sought* to do so, and he has succeeded. He has undertaken the charge and cannot now shake them off. His words have been spoken in vain to many, but not to them. He has been the means under Providence of making them what they are. Each might have gone his separate way but for him. To them his voluntary resignation of ministerial duties will be a severe blow. If he was silenced, the blame would rest with others ; but, giving them up of his own free will, they will have a sense of abandonment and desertion. There is something sad enough and discouraging enough in being shunned and eyed with distrust by neighbours, friends, and clergy, but while we have had some one to confide in, to receive instruction from, this has been borne easily. A sound from Littlemore and St. Mary's seems to reach us even here, and has given comfort on many a dreary day ; but when that voice ceases, even the words it

have sad thoughts as we read them. Such *was* our guide, but he has left us to seek our own path; our champion has deserted us—our watchman, whose cry used to cheer us, is heard no more.

In spite of the sorrow and the fear that such a step may excite, I know it *may* be right to do it—and if your brother does so, I shall try to think it is; but it seems right that he should know all the consequences. We shall not leave the Church as others may. We have no longings for Rome; but it is a strong step to make our home feel cheerless, and this will tend to do it—at least for a time. But it is a large subject and you will say it far better than I. I have said this as a sort of relief to my feelings; you will judge whether this view of the subject is worth noticing.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

August 31, 1843.

I am sorry to put you to such pain. Your letter and ——'s[1] to you, would have brought me to many tears unless I had so hard a heart. You must take what I do in faith at least; if not, I fear I cannot find a better way of consoling you.

I wonder my late letters have not prepared you for this. Have you realised that three years since I wished to do it; and that I have said so in print, and that then only a friend prevented me?

It has been determined on since Lent. All through Lent I and another kept it in mind; and then, for safety, I said I would not act till October, though we both came to one view. October is coming!

No time is '*the*' time. You may have thought as you read, 'three years ago it would not have mattered.' Will three years hence be easier? The question is, *Ought* it to be done?

I mention a great secret, because I do not wish others to share in the responsibility; but I will say this, that I have always said, 'I cannot go wrong when A [Keble] and B

[1] The letter, August 30, enclosed by Mrs. Mozley.

[Rogers] agree that I should do a thing.' These two men agree in *this*. *I* have not persuaded them.

I wrote to one of them the other day, whether I should assign some reasons. He answered to this effect: 'No one who knows the history of No. 90 can be surprised at it. Anyone but you would have taken the step before.'

My dearest Jemima, my circumstances are not of my making. One's duty is to act *under* circumstances. Is it a light thing to give up Littlemore? Am I not providing dreariness for myself? If others, whom I am pierced to think about, because I cannot help them, suffer, shall not I suffer in my own way?

Everything that one does honestly, sincerely, with prayer, with advice, must turn to good. In what am I not likely to be as good a judge as another? In the consequences? True, but is not this what I have been ever protesting against? the going by expedience, not by principle? My sweetest Jemima, of whom I am quite unworthy, rather pray that I may be directed aright, rather pray that something may occur to hinder me if I am wrong, than take the matter into your own hands.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. Keble.

Littlemore: September 1, 1843.

I have just got your note. I am ready still to keep St. Mary's if you think best. Will you turn it in your mind, however? 1. That a noise will be made at my resigning *whenever* I resign. It seems to me a dream to wait for a quiet time. Will not resignation become more difficult every quarter of a year? 2. That Lockhart's affair gives a reason for my resigning, as being a very great scandal. So great is it that, though I do not feel myself responsible, I do not know how I can hold up my head again while I have St. Mary's. 3. If it did for a moment alarm people, as if something were to come of my resigning which they did not know, yet a very little time would undeceive them.

Should you think it advisable for me to retain St. Mary's

awhile, would you object to my trying to get someone to take my duty at Oxford *entirely*, i.e. Sermons and all?

As to Lockhart, he was all but going over a year and a half ago, before I knew him. His friends got me to take him by way of steadying him, and I made him promise, as a condition of his coming, that he would put aside all thought of change for three years. He has gone on very well, expressed himself several times as greatly rejoiced that he had made the promise (though I saw in him no change of *opinion*), and set himself anxiously to improve the weak points in his character.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. B. MOZLEY.

Confidential.] *Littlemore: September* 1, 1843.

My dear James,—Thank you for your most kind letter. I thought you would know already the prospect of my leaving St. Mary's without my speaking to you of a subject which was *but* in prospect, and which (as you may think) makes me very sick. I have been thinking of it these three, I may say four, years, nor do I act without advice.

Really it is no personal feeling or annoyance under which I do it. I hope I am right in speaking openly to you, which I have not done but to a very few, but now I will tell you the real cause—which others besides those to whom I have said it may guess—but which (as far as I recollect) I have only told to Rogers, H. Wilberforce, R. Wilberforce, and Keble. . . . Tom may suspect it and Copeland, so may Church and Marriott. Indeed, I cannot name the limit of surmisers.

The truth then is, I am not a good son enough of the Church of England to feel I can in conscience hold preferment under her. I love the Church of Rome too well.

Now please *burn this*, there's a good fellow, for you sometimes let letters lie on your mantelpiece.

This matter of Lockhart's (who seems regularly to have been fascinated by Dr. Gentili against his will) may have the effect of delaying my measure, but I shall be guided by

In the 'Chronological Notes' for September 1843 are these entries:

September 17.—Preached in the afternoon at St. Mary's.

September 18.—Had no sleep last night; went to town with Goldsmid to Doctor's Commons; resigned St. Mary's before a Notary; Mr. Rollery [?] came back; George Denison in the train; walked to and fro as far as Abingdon.

September 19.—My resignation given in by Copeland to the Archdeacon.

September 24.—Preached [at St. Mary's].

September 25.—Littlemore commemoration; Pusey administered sacrament; H. W. came; I preached No. 604, my last sermon.[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

September 22, 1843.

[As to ——.] You cannot estimate what so many (alas!) feel at present, the strange effect produced on the mind when the conviction flashes, or rather pours, in upon it that Rome is the true Church. Of course it is a most revolutionary, and therefore a most exciting, tumultuous conviction. For this reason persons should not act under it, for it is impossible in such a state of emotion that they can tell whether their conviction is well founded or not. They cannot judge calmly. . . .

It pains me very deeply to pain you, but you see how I am forced to it. You will not say, I think, that I am less affectionate to you from the bottom of my heart and loving, than I ever have been.

[1] Professor Shairp eloquently recalls his feelings at hearing no longer Mr. Newman's voice in St. Mary's. 'On these things, looking over an interval of five-and-twenty years, how vividly comes back the remembrance of the aching blank, the awful pause which fell on Oxford when that voice had ceased, and we knew that we should hear it no more. It was as when, to one kneeling by night, in the silence of some vast cathedral, the great bell tolling solemnly overhead has suddenly gone still. . . . Since then many voices of powerful teachers may have been heard, but none that ever penetrated the soul like his.' —Shairp's *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, p. 255.

In his sister's answer are these words, 'I see what we all need is *patience* with the course of events, and with each other.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

September 29, 1843.

As you may suppose I have nothing to write to you about, pleasant. I *could* tell you some very painful things; but it is best not to anticipate troubles, which after all can but happen, and for what one knows may be averted. You are always so kind, that sometimes, when I part from you, I am nearly moved to tears, as it would be a relief to be so, at your kindness and at my hardness. I think no one ever had such kind friends as I have, far beyond my deserts.

We collected altogether 61*l.* at the offertory on Monday [anniversary of Dedication], and had I had my wits about me, I might have added a 5*l.* which had been given me for such a purpose.

Eden [new Vicar of St. Mary's] seems desirous of taking Copeland as curate; but this is *entre nous*.

What shall I add? I daresay when I have closed this I shall recollect something I ought to have said.

Believe me, my very dear Bowden, my old and true friend, ever yours affectionately,

J. H. N.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. THOMAS MOZLEY.

September 29, 1843.

I do so despair of the Church of England, and am so evidently cast off by her, and, on the other hand, I am so drawn to the Church of Rome, that I think it *safer*, as a matter of honesty, *not* to keep my living.

This is a very different thing from having any *intention* of joining the Church of Rome. However, to avow generally as much as I have said, would be wrong for ten thousand reasons. People cannot understand a man being in a state of *doubt*, of *misgiving*, of being unequal to *responsibilities*, &c.; but they will conclude that he has clear views either one way

or the other. All I know is, that I could not without hypocrisy profess myself any longer a *teacher* and a *champion* for our Church.

Very few persons know this—hardly one person, only one (I think) in Oxford, viz. James Mozley. I think it would be most cruel, most unkind, most unsettling to tell them.

My dear Harriett, you must learn patience, so must we all, and resignation to the will of God.

Mrs. J. Mozley to Rev. J. H. Newman.

October 8, 1843.

Your letters are indeed sad for me to read. I feel I am very unfit to judge of what you say. As Harriett requests you to be candid, you cannot say less than you have.

Knowing all I do of you and your present opinions, I do not call in question anything you have done, or your manner of doing it. I may deeply lament, but I cannot find fault; I cannot accuse you of being impatient, precipitate, or insincere. Far from me ever be the thought of this last. I cannot say you have not acted wisely under the circumstances, and I am sure you have acted kindly and considerately. But for many years I have anxiously watched the course, and endeavoured to ascertain particulars concerning converts to Romanism, and I must say I have never heard of anyone like yourself. All other conversions I have known anything of, men and women, seem more the fruit of excitement and restlessness than of straightforward honest conviction. . . .

. . . We are indeed in a dark cloud. That small body in the Church that seemed to be at unity is rent asunder. Still I feel hope that we shall not be utterly forsaken. Amid all our troubles we have as yet our greatest privileges spared to us.

Rev. J. H. Newman to J. W. Bowden, Esq.

Littlemore: October 31, 1843.

. . . Our Provost stuck out strongly against giving Eden testimonials for Institution at St. Mary's; with no one to

second him. Finding, as it would appear, that he would only be creating a precedent of Institution *without* testimonials, he has given in. Eden would not let him impose on him an abjuration of No. 90 *as a test*, as he claimed to do.

Have you seen Gladstone's article in the *Colonial Quarterly*? It is very kind; but like a statesman he takes a non-practical view of the matter, and gives no solution of the difficulties that cause our present distress. When persons have got into their minds that a union with Rome is *necessary* for *their* being Catholics, it is vain to tell them that they have no chance of making *the English Nation* submit itself to Rome. They have no *plans*, but view the matter as a personal one.

On my return last night I found your welcome letter. [I was then at Derby from Monday to Saturday.]

Under the pressure of his own misgivings and earnest desires to check impatient thought and action in others, glimpses come before us that this was a time when 'Everyone that was in distress and everyone that was discontented gathered themselves unto him.' Some of these letters of counsel seem to throw a light on Mr. Newman's habit of religious thought. In answer to the same lady[1] whose difficulties have already been quoted, and who had sought his counsel, he writes:

Littlemore: November 3, 1843.

I am not quite satisfied at the way you speak of your own powers. It is dangerous to say 'I have great powers' though it be true, and one knows it to be true. It becomes a temptation to dwell on the fact. I think it a duty for a person to turn away from the thought as a suggestion from an evil principle, and to note it down as such; nay even to mention it in confession as an approach to sin. In consequence of

[1] This lady's enthusiastic temperament and her dependent circumstances equally excited Mr. Newman's sympathies. His regard for her lasted till the end of her restless life—one of his latest notes comparing her to one saint in the calendar 'who never could settle.' In 1844 she conformed to Rome.

saying this, you are led on to another declaration which seems to me rash—'I must have an infallible guide.' I do not quite like the tone of this.

As to my not speaking out, if so, you have not taken the way to make me. When a person wishes the advice and guidance of a director, he asks definite questions, he does not give a narrative at length, from which the other is to pick out by a constant unflagging acuteness the points on which he wishes or ought to have advice. It was not putting yourself in the relation of a patient to a physician.

. . . My mind is full of various matters, many of them so painful that I have sometimes been tempted to smile at the ingenuity with which you have invented for yourself troubles. I confess I have not had time to pursue the progress of an active mind like yours from day to day, when I have so many thoughts pressing on my own, and when each successive letter from you perhaps changed or reversed the state of things in which you found yourself shortly before.

I quite understand the inconveniences of your present situation. But you must recollect all places have their temptations—nay, even the cloisters. Our very work here is to overcome ourselves and to be sensible of our hourly infirmities; to feel them keenly is but the necessary step towards overcoming them. Never expect to be without such while life lasts; if these were overcome, you would discover others, and that both because your eyes would see your real state of imperfection more clearly than now, and also because they are in a great measure a temptation of the Enemy, and he has temptations for all states, all occasions. He can turn whatever we do, whatever we do not do, into a temptation, as a skilful rhetorician turns anything into an argument. It is plain I am not saying this to make you *acquiesce* in the evils you speak of; if such be the condition of this life, to resist them is also its duty, and to resist them with success.

Nothing is more painful than that sense of unreality which you describe. I believe one especial remedy for it is to give a certain time of the day to meditation, though the cure is, of course, very uncertain. However, you should not attempt it

without a good deal of consideration and a fair prospect of going on steadily with it. What I mean is the giving half an hour every morning to the steady contemplation of some *one* sacred subject. . . . You should begin by strongly impressing on your mind that you are in Christ's Presence. . . . Of course, there is the greatest care necessary to do all this with extreme reverence, not as an experiment, or a kind of prescription or charm. . . .

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. B. MOZLEY.

Oriel: November 23, 1843.

Will you dine here in the Common-Room at half-past 5 on Monday? I have nothing to tempt you, but I want to see your face: it is so long since we met.

You cannot tell how much I have been anxious about you, as to what you heard not so long ago. After your father and mother and my own aunt, you have been uppermost in my thoughts. I fear your so-called indisposition is really mental disgust—nothing bodily. Gladly, my dear James, would I say anything to relieve you, but I can only say I wish to do so, if there is any good in that; nothing more.

For myself, I have so long divested myself of hopes for the future, if I ever had them, that I seem to have nothing to grieve for, except the grief of others.

The answer to this note does not appear, but its tone may be gathered from the following reply to it:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. B. MOZLEY.

Private.] *November* 24, 1843.

Your note made my heart ache—it is the simple truth, so I may say it. I don't know whether it will comfort you, yet I hope it may (as *omne ignotum pro magnifico*), to tell you that my present feelings are not new, nor have they come upon me gradually, nor from disgust and despair, nor have they been indulged.

Last summer four years (1839) it came strongly upon me, from reading first the Monophysite controversy, and then turning to the Donatist, that we were external to the Catholic Church. I have never got over this. I did not, however, yield to it at all, but wrote an article in the 'British Critic' on the Catholicity of the English Church, which had the effect of quieting me for two years. Since this time two years the feeling has revived and gradually strengthened. I have all along gone against it and think I ought to do so still. I am now publishing sermons, which speak more confidently about our position than I inwardly feel, but I think it right and do not care for seeming inconsistent.

I trust you may quite rely on my not admitting despair or disgust, or giving way to feelings *which I wish otherwise*, though, from the experience of the last four years, I do not think they are likely to be otherwise.

A lady of recognised ability, the friend of a correspondent of Mr. Newman's, had earnestly wished to enter into controversy with him. In his answer to this request Mr. Newman writes :—

She may—of course she has full right to—differ from me in opinion, and she remains (I fully grant) just where she was. She has not changed. I have read what she has not read, and have changed. I read first (as I was bound to do) with other people's eyes, and since I have read with my own, not being able to help it; but still I do not force my views upon *her*, I have not obtruded them in any way. I have felt nothing but pain; but she is resolved to get into argument with me, and I am resolved (so be it) not to argue with her. I wish to have an argument with no one; by which I mean anything between person and person. And it is very bad tact in her, for it is just the way to drive one in one's feelings further from her opinions. She is doing just what our rulers are doing on a large scale—trying to show us that we are in a false position, that we are not in our place. . . .

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

February 21, 1844.

Half-past 10 A.M. I am just up, having a bad cold; the like necessity has not happened to me (except twice in January) in my memory. This winter has been very trying here. But you may think you have been in my thoughts long before rising—of course you are continually, as you well know. I could not come to see you, there were so many difficulties in the way, and (though I shall pain you by my saying so) I am not worthy of friends. With my opinions, to the full of which I dare not confess, I feel like a guilty person with others, though I trust I am not so. People kindly think that I have much to bear externally—disappointment, slander, &c. No, I have nothing to bear but the anxiety which I feel for my friends' anxiety for me, and perplexity.

This is rather an Ash Wednesday than a birthday letter [February 21 was Ash Wednesday in 1844], but I cannot help writing what is uppermost. We have had a heavy fall of snow this morning, but it is now melting.

We have just got our new oak benches into the chapel, and you cannot fancy what a great improvement it is.

And now, my dear Bowden, all kindest and best wishes to you, my oldest friend, whom I must not speak more about, with reference to myself, lest you should be angry.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: May 21, 1844.

I am very sorry to make you anxious, but do not know what to do. I don't like you to be ignorant of my state of mind, yet don't like to tease you with my rigmarole statements. Unless anything happened which I considered a divine call, and beyond all calculation, I never should take anyone by surprise, and therefore you need not alarm yourself as if anything were happening. But if I judge of the future by the past, and when I recollect the long time, now nearly five years, that certain views and feelings have been more or less familiar

to me, and sometimes pressing on me, it would seem as if anything might happen. And I must confess that they are very much clearer and stronger than they were even a year ago. I can no more calculate how soon they may affect my will and become practical, than a person who has long had a bodily ailment on him (though I hope and trust it is not an ailment) can tell when it may assume some critical shape, though it may do so any day.

The following letter answers a question just put to him by his sister, glad always of subjects *not* harassing, in her constant correspondence with her brother. She seems also to have seen mutual friends, and to have heard a cheerful report of Mr. Newman from them. He answers on the question of a book recalling his own school days.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: June 3, 1844.

. . . 'Calmet's Dictionary' was a book the boys had (*i.e.* brought from home) at school, and was popular. It is, in fact, a very popular book, as well as a good book, and I am surprised aunt and you should not know it. I have never seen it myself since I was a boy. I wish I had, but it is too dear to buy. For a long while I used to think Calmet was a Protestant; but he was a good monk of the Benedictine Order, a strict man, and a reformer in his day. I know two other of his works—his Comment on the Rule of St. Benedict, and his Literal Commentary on Scripture, which I think Adam Clarke (!) pronounced the best commentary on Scripture extant; it is very good certainly. . . .

You must not be surprised if I should determine on giving up my Fellowship; but at present I have no plan formed.

I was glad to see J. Fourdrinier and Mr. Deane. You must not suppose I put on a cheerfulness because people do not find out I have cares; the truth is (thank God!) I *am* cheerful. And though it so entirely depends on Him that I

of course, what is before me, yet having sound sleep at night, and quiet days, and trying to serve Him without aims of this world, however imperfectly, how can I but be cheerful, as I am? And I trust He will overrule all painful things which myself or others have to bear, to our good. Of course the pain of my friends is what cuts me, and I do not know how I shall bear it; but He gives us strength according to our day.

Rev. J. Keble to Rev. J. H. Newman.

Hursley Vicarage: June 12, 1844.

You will easily imagine how dissatisfied I am with every word I write to you, and will excuse one's fidgeting and continually adding more 'last words.' I want now to speak to you about two things: one, the idea which seems to pervade your letter that if after all you should be allowed to be erroneous in this your judgment it is equivalent to judicial blindness, or something of that sort. I do not exactly see why you should assume this, unless the error were supposed deadly or fundamental. I can imagine there might be providential purpose in allowing even a saint to mistake the degree of harm in communicating with or separating from a particular portion of Christ's people, or the necessity or sacredness of such and such an institution; so that even if after a time he found himself to have been in error, he need not of course assume that the error was judicial. If your present view is right, Pusey's, I suppose, is wrong; should one, therefore, infer that his prayers for light and guidance are not heard?

Do you not think it possible (I dare say I borrow the view from yourself) that the whole Church may be so lowered by sin as to hinder one's finding on earth anything which seems really to answer to the Church of the Saints? and will it not be well to prepare yourself for disappointment, lest you fall into something like scepticism? You know I have always fancied that perhaps you were over-sanguine in making things square, and did not quite allow enough for Bishop Butler's notion of doubt and intellectual difficulty being some men's intended element and appropriate trial.

The other thing I wanted to say to you, or rather to make you feel, was of one of your friends at least, and he believes a great many would be of the same mind, that nothing which may happen will make any kind of separation or hinder confidence. It is so utterly different from a change in the other direction; but of course one fears how it may be on your part—I mean, what duty may suggest to you.

P.S.—Of course you make allowance for the longing to be at rest as a secondary influence possible in your case.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. KEBLE.

Oriel College: June 12, 1844.

. . . As to Arnold's 'Remains,' I cannot put myself enough in your place to know the precise point which pains you so much, but for myself there seems much to take comfort in, in things as they are. I do not think that the book will take any great effect in a wrong direction. Of course there is a great deal in it to touch people, but there is so little *consistency* in his intellectual basis that I cannot think that he will affect readers permanently; and then it is very pleasant to think that his work has been so good a one—the reformation of public schools. This seems to have been blessed, and will survive him, and forms the principal, or one of the two principal, subjects of the book. And, further, if it is right to speculate on such serious matters, there is something quite of comfort to be gathered from his removal from the scene of action at the time it took place, as if so good a man should not be suffered to commit himself *cominus* against truth which he so little understood.

. . . Since I began this letter Church came into the room, and began to talk on what he and others fear in Oxford, the growth of scepticism. He gave me instances. It seems to me certainly likely to be more and more a pressing evil.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO J. W. BOWDEN, ESQ.

June 17, 1844.

Arnold's book is a very mournful one; so much good and so much bad. And Ward's [the 'Ideal'], there is a great deal

of good in it, and a great deal which to me reads like a theory. And I wish he had more vigour of style.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Temple, London: August 13, 1844.

. . . I have seen Bowden for a quarter of an hour. This damp day tries him sadly. He goes down to Clifton in a few days, and I suppose I shall be able to go to him there as here. . . . It is, of course, quite an event in my life, and cannot happen again. My oldest friend, whom I knew for as much as nine years before I knew dear Froude, and whom a habit of affection has made part of my life, though I cannot realise things yet.

I do fancy I am getting changed. I go into Oxford, and find myself out of place. Everything seems to say to me, 'This is not your home.' The college seems strange to me, and even the college servants seem to look as if I were getting strange to them. I cannot tell whether it is fancy or not, but to myself I seem changing. I am so much more easily touched than I used to be. Reading St. Wolstan's Life just now almost brought tears to my eyes. What a very mysterious thing the mind is! Yet nothing that my feelings suggest to me is different from what has been engraven more or less strongly on my reason long ago.

Now I dare say that if I kept this a day or two it would seem unreal, and I could not bear to send it; and yet I do think there is truth in it, making allowance for accidental feeling.

We have been made very sad by the suddenly hopeless state of a person probably you never heard of—Mr. Fortescue, a clergyman who married William Spooner's sister, and a great friend of Henry Wilberforce. He is of a nonjuring family, and was taught secretly Catholic doctrine and practice from a child. From a child, I have heard, he has gone to confession. When at Wadham people could not make him out, he lived by himself. After a while, to his surprise, he found the things he had been taught to keep secret as by a *disciplina arcani* common talk. He has had most wonderful

influence in his neighbourhood, more than anyone in the Church, I suppose. He is suddenly found to be dying of consumption, his left lung being almost gone. They speak as if a few weeks would bring matters to a close.

In the autumn of 1844 James Mozley and Mr. Scott of Hoxton became joint editors of the 'Christian Remembrancer,' up to this date a *monthly* periodical, now changed to a quarterly. James Mozley seems to have informed Mr. Newman of the undertaking, receiving the following answer:

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. B. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: August 18, 1844.

The 'Christian Remembrancer' doubtless will much improve in its quarterly shape. Essays are so much more readable quarterly than monthly. The *name* is not good for the purpose. I heartily wish it success, and shall be pleased to find you have found a basis of view on which to go. I suppose, *e.g.*, you will review Ward's book, which I am surprised to find is very successful in quarters where I should have expected it to be disregarded and to fail. The notice in the last 'English Churchman' is a proof of this. They would not praise unless they found a number of persons did so. Dodsworth (I am told) likes it, Dr. Wootten, Mr. Watson, Mr. Evans of Hampstead, Copeland, Mr. Crawley, &c., and others as unlike each other as these. Yet for myself I cannot see the ground of his main position—that a Church may be utterly without the gift of teaching, yet possessed of the gift of the Sacraments. Perhaps the 'Christian Remembrancer' will throw some light upon it, either refuting it or maintaining it.

I return Arthur's (Mozley) note. Will you tell him that if his friend will pay us a visit here for a week I shall be truly glad, and then I can have more talk with him on his project. Could he come at once?

In the autumn of 1844 an opposition was raised to the

election of Dr. Symons as Vice-Chancellor in succession to Dr. Wynter. This succession to the office was so according to all precedent that opposition to it was felt from the first a very doubtful measure; but Dr. Symons had not only been one of the six doctors who had suspended Dr. Pusey, but had shown especial animosity to the party of which Dr. Pusey was one of the leaders. On the question of expediency James Mozley consulted Mr. Newman. The answer shows that it cost Mr. Newman a decided effort to throw himself again into party politics. However, whatever concerned his friends could not fail to interest him, when by an effort he brought his mind to fix upon and to warm to the question.[1]

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. B. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: August 22, 1844.

I wish I could say anything to your purpose on the question of the V.-C., but somehow I cannot get my mind to grasp these things as I ought. My own position is so different that I cannot throw myself into them. This I feel very painfully when my opinion is asked on many occasions. I feel stupid and as if I had nothing to say, and must speak at random if I speak by way of saying something. And if I do say nothing, then I seem reserved and unfriendly.

As his friend, Mr. Bowden, lay dying, Mr. Newman writes to Mr. Keble:

September 14, 1844.

. . . One forgets past feelings, else I should say that I never have had pain before like the present. I thought so yesterday and said so, but I suppose it is not so. Yet I am in very great distress, and do trust I shall be kept from gloom and ill-temper. I have given him up since October last, yet have not realised his loss till now, if now. He is my oldest

[1] Readers who wish to know more of this subject will find it further discussed in *Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley, D.D.*, p. 154.

friend; I have been most intimate with him for above twenty-seven years. He was sent to call on me the day after I came into residence; he introduced me to college and University; he is the link between me and Oxford. I have ever known Oxford in him. In losing him I seem to lose Oxford. We used to live in each other's rooms as undergraduates, and men used to mistake our names and call us by each other's. When he married he used to make a like mistake himself, and call me Elizabeth and her Newman. And now for several years past, though loving him with all my heart, I have shrunk from him, feeling that I had opinions . . .

Mr. Newman continues the letter three days after:

Grosvenor Place: September 17.

It is a great comfort to all parties that he is here and not at Clifton. . . . He died and lies in a room I have known these twenty-four years. . . . And there lies now my oldest friend, so dear to me—and I, with so little faith or hope, as dead as a stone, and detesting myself.

[John William Bowden died September 15, 1844. I sobbed bitterly over his coffin to think that he had left me still dark as to what the way of truth was, and what I ought to do in order to please God and fulfil His will.—J. H. N.]

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: September 19, 1844.

You are very kind to send me so many particulars [J. W. Bowden's death], so many which, I hope and believe, will soon begin and always continue to be a great comfort to you. Just now you are stunned with the blow, but as to being hard-hearted, I have too sad and shameful experience how soft-hearted people who cry easily, may soon let go the good thoughts which came to them from such death-beds, and have their hearts hardened in another sort of manner. But really and truly may one not accept such a calm departure as this as a pledge of mercy and comfort in

one's own cares and perplexities?—the gleam has gone behind the cloud, but we know it is still there, and are permitted and encouraged to hope for a sight of it again at no very long distance.

Altogether it seems very much to realise George Herbert's notion of going from earth to Paradise, as from one room to another.

Mr. Newman's feelings, as expressed with such bitterness in the last letter to Mr. Keble, may well have been aggravated by the state of his own health at this period of trial. There is a letter, September 26, 1844, from his friend and physician, Dr. Babington, in reply to a report of himself from his patient, which shows him, as it were, glad of an opportunity to use very plain language on the subject of overwork and deficient nutriment and rest—a warning founded on observations made in their last interview in the spring of this year.

DR. BABINGTON[1] TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

September 26, 1844.

I have not read your letter without anxiety. . . . I think you must consider seriously whether you take sufficient support and sufficient rest. When I last saw you—about the close of Lent, I believe—I was much struck with your appearance, which was shrunk and debilitated; and it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that, partly by overwork, and partly by deficient nutriment, you are rendering yourself unfit for exertion.

This serious warning had its effect. There are words in Mr. Newman's writing that seem to imply that from this time he altered his mode of living.

Writing late in the autumn to his sister, in reply to a question from her relating to a person always interesting to him, Mr. Newman indulges in an act of self-portraiture most

[1] [My medical adviser since 1827.—J. H. N.]

unusual with him—of which, indeed, the letters and papers before the Editor offer no precedent; but those who knew him best will, perhaps, be most struck with the truth of the image he raises.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

October 31, 1844.

I begin this letter for a not very complimentary reason, but from having a headache, a very unusual visitor, which hinders me from working.

You ask me about my meeting Arnold, and though there is nothing but what is commonplace to tell, I cannot tell it without introducing myself more than is pleasant. Indeed, the less I have to say, the more I must bring in myself, if I am to say anything; but even then I have little enough.

The second of February, as you know, is our great Gaudy of the year. The Provost dines in Hall at the top of the table; and in the Common-Room, to which the party adjourn, sits at the right hand of the Dean, as being the guest of the Fellows. Eden was Dean, and was taken ill, I think, when the news came that Arnold was coming with the Provost, and I, being Senior Fellow, must take the Dean's place. My first feeling was to shirk. 'It is not my place,' I said, 'to take the office upon me. It is nothing to me. I am not bound to entertain Arnold,' &c., &c. However, I thought it would be cowardly, so after all I went, knowing that both in Hall and Common-Room the trio at the top of the table would be Provost, Arnold, and I, and that in the Common-Room I should sit at the top between them as the entertainer.

The Provost came into Hall with Arnold and Baden-Powell (who made a fourth), I being already in my place at table, waiting for them. The Provost came up in a brisk, smart way, as if to cut through an awkward beginning, and said quickly, 'Arnold, I don't think you know Newman'; on which Arnold and I bowed, and I spoke. I was most absolutely cool, or rather calm and unconcerned, all through the meeting from beginning to end; but I don't know whether you

have seen me enough in such situations to know (what I really believe is not any affectation at all on my part; I am not at all conscious of any such thing, though people would think it) that I seem, if you will let me say it, to *put on* a very simple, innocent, and modest manner. I sometimes laugh at myself, and at the absurdities which result from it; but really I cannot help it, and I really do believe it to be genuine. On one occasion in the course of our conversation I actually blushed high at some mistake I made, and yet on the whole I am quite collected. Now, are you not amused at all this? or ought not I to blush now? I never said a word of all this about myself to anyone in my life before; though, perhaps, that does not mend the matter that I should say it now. However, to proceed.

So when the Provost said, 'I don't think, Arnold, you know Newman,' I was sly enough to say, very gently and clearly, that I had before then had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Arnold, for I had disputed with him in the Divinity School before his B.D. degree, when he was appointed to Rugby. At which Baden-Powell laughed, and Arnold seemed a little awkward, and said, 'Oh, I thought it had been Pusey.' You must know that in the said disputation I was doing him a favour, for he could get no one to go in with him, when I volunteered; though in the event it turned to my advantage, for I had not to dispute before Hampden when I actually took my degree [in 1836].

We then sat down to table, and I thought of all the matters possible which it was safe to talk on. I recollected he had travelled with William Churton, and that made one topic. Others equally felicitous I forget. But I recollect the productions of North Africa was a fruitful subject; and I have some dream of having talked of a great tree, the name of which I now forget, as big as a hill, and which they bring as an argument for the indefinite duration of the present earth *a parte ante*.

In the Common-Room I had to take a still more prominent part, and the contrast was very marked between Arnold and the Provost—the Provost so dry and unbending, and seeming to shrink from whatever I said, and Arnold who was natural

and easy, at least to all appearance. I was told afterwards that on one occasion Baden-Powell made some irreverent remark, and people were amused to see how both Arnold and myself in different ways, as far as manner was concerned, retired from it. At last the Provost and Arnold rose up to go, and I held out my hand, which he took, and we parted.

I never saw him again; he died the June [June 12, 1842] after. He is a man whom I have always separated from the people he was with, always respected, often defended, though from an accident he got a notion, I believe, that I was a firebrand, and particularly hostile to *him*. There is no doubt he was surprised and thrown out on finding I did not seem to be what he had fancied. He told Stanley that it would not do to meet me often. When Stanley tried to clench the remark, he drew back, and said he meant that it was not desirable to meet often persons one disagreed with, or something of the sort. This is what I heard, to the best of my recollection, after his death. For myself, I don't think I was desirous of pleasing him or not; but was secretly amused from the idea that he certainly would be taken aback by coming across me *in propria persona*; at least so I think.

For Mr. Newman the sympathy of those nearest him was a need of his nature, though as time went on he had to bear the want of it in matters nearest his heart. A letter from his sister, Mrs. John Mozley, shows that he had felt disappointment in a seeming failure of response on her part to his confidences on the state of his mind and feelings; a suspicion certainly ill-deserved as far as her heart was concerned, and which she meets in the following answer.

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

November 20, 1844.

Your letter to John (her husband) has given me great concern, that part of it which imputes to me (though indirectly) want of sympathy with your feelings, and it pains me much to think I may have given you real cause for such

an impression. . . . In the present instance I really am not conscious of having been intentionally silent on any one point, except, perhaps, in one of your letters (last August), in which you complain of the strangeness of feeling when you enter the college walls, &c. I hesitated whether to notice this or not; at last decided not—not because I could not enter into your thoughts, but because I did so too much. I could not try to persuade you that your feeling was fantastic, because I feared there might be that on the part of the college towards yourself that might justify your impression independent of your having simply outgrown your *position*, of which I think nothing at all. Also, there were passages in two letters to my aunt which she showed me. . . . Whatever may have been the cause, I am exceedingly sorry that anything positive or negative on my part should have caused you pain, or made you think your confidence misplaced. You must know, dear John, that your slightest act or feeling awakens my interest and anxiety, and so I need hardly tell you what pain that report a fortnight ago caused my aunt and myself—indeed, I may say, our whole circle. I felt I could not do anything while the suspense lasted. I could write no letters and ask no questions, and dreaded to be spoken to by anybody I saw. I had just written to you, and if not, I could not have written to ask you for the world. Yet I had some little hope and consolation left, and did my best to impart it to poor aunt. She is always thinking of you, and you have her prayers, as I believe those of many others, that you may be kept in the right way, whatever that is. I hope I have said nothing to distress you unnecessarily; I believe not, for I know how you always realise things you do not see. I am afraid I shall not at all have succeeded in justifying myself, because I know reserve and all feelings and habits connected with it are a great fault in me.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

November 24, 1844.

I knew very well I should have a kind letter from you, as

but from an unconscious feeling—in the most pointed way pass over various things I said about my feelings, taking hold of one half sentence, leaving the other half; speaking of Bowden, not of myself, when I spoke of both at once. I knew how very painful the whole matter was to you, and was far indeed from blaming you, but when it had gone on some time I sincerely thought you wished me to drop the subject, and I did drop it.

As to late reports, I did not properly hear them till they were over—that is, I heard that there was a paragraph, but did not realise its preciseness and plausibility. When I did, I wrote to several friends, and should have written to you but that I thought you had really, so far, given me up. And I thought you would hear from James. It is astonishing what little feeling certain people have. Golightly and the newspapers would think it very wrong to put out a statement on doubtful authority to the effect that I had broken my leg, yet they have no remorse in circulating what is adapted to shock friends indefinitely more. But the said G. is a man literally without bowels. I doubt whether he has any inside, or is more than a walking and talking piece of mechanism.[1]

[1] In a paper in the *Guardian*, Jan. 13, 1886, on Mr. Golightly, Dean Goulburn writes:—

'It had better be frankly admitted by those who, like myself, are desirous of paying a tribute of friendship to his great worth and many merits, that Golightly sometimes lost himself in controversy. I saw a great deal of him at the time of the publication of Tract XC.; indeed we studied that famous Tract together, and I had the benefit of his quaint, racy, and always shrewd observations upon every part of it. And, in bar of a harsh judgment upon certain things which he did and said in the heat of controversy, I may observe that *I do not think he was quite himself at that period.* His mind, harassed and excited by what he conceived to be the disingenuousness of the Tract, and the danger to which the Church would be exposed, should such a method of dealing with the formularies prevail and find acceptance, was momentarily thrown off its pivot. One night, when our reading at his house was ended, and I was returning to my college, and he on a visit to the rooms of some friend (the late Archbishop Tait, I think), he (quite seriously, for indeed he was in no frame for joking) expressed his apprehension that at some street corner a party of Tractarians might be lying in wait for him, with the view of doing him some grievous bodily harm. All my laughing at him did not seem to dispel the illusion. He had Tract XC. on the brain. I only mention this incident, because it seems to me considerably to extenuate certain parts of his conduct

I have gone through a great deal of pain, and have been very much cut up. The one predominant distress upon me has been this unsettlement of mind I am causing. This is a thing that has haunted me day by day. And for days I had a literal pain in and about my heart, which I suppose at any moment I could bring on again. I have been overworked lately. The translation of St. Athanasius is, I am glad to say, just coming to an end, and I shall (so be it) relax. I suppose I need it. This has been a very trying year.

. . . Besides the pain of unsettling people, of course I feel the loss I am undergoing in the good opinion of my friends and well-wishers, though I can't tell how much I feel this. It is the shock, surprise, terror, forlornness, disgust, scepticism to which I am giving rise; the differences of opinion, division of families—all this it is that makes my heart ache.

. . . I cannot make out that I have any motive but a sense of indefinite risk to my soul in remaining where I am. A clear conviction of the substantial identity of Christianity and the Roman system has now been on my mind for a full three years. It is more than five years since the conviction first came on me, though I struggled against it and overcame it. I believe all my feelings and wishes are against change. I have nothing to draw me elsewhere. I hardly ever was at a Roman service; even abroad I knew no Roman Catholics. I have no sympathies with them as a party. I am giving up everything. I am not conscious of any resentment, disgust, or the like, to repel me from my present position; and I have no dreams whatever—far from it indeed. I seem to be throwing myself away.

Unless something occurs which I cannot anticipate I have no intention of any early step even now. But I cannot but think—though I can no more realise it than being made Dean of Ch. Ch. or Bishop of Durham—that some day it will be, and at a definite distance of time. As far as I can make out I am in the state of mind which divines call *indifferentia*,

in controversy which no one will be prepared to justify. I never knew a man who was more public-spirited and had the Church's interests (*as he conceived of them*) more at heart than he.'

inculcating it as a duty to be set on nothing, but to be willing to take whatever Providence wills. How *can* I at my age and with my past trials be set upon anything? I really don't think I am. What keeps me here is the desire of giving every chance for finding out if I am under the power of a delusion. Various persons have sent me very kind letters, and I really trust that many are bearing me in mind in their prayers.

I say to myself, 'What have I done to be given up to a delusion, if it be one?' It is my full intention to give up my Fellowship some time before anything happens. And now what a deal I have said about myself! I wonder how many I's are in this letter.

This is a most abrupt letter, but I have no time, and am tired and out of spirits.[1]

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

November 29, 1844.

. . . I have felt comparatively satisfied while your health and spirits bore up, as they seemed to do; but what if they fail, and you are left in the power of the painful alternation of feeling of which you give so distressing an account? . . . This is my especial trouble, that I cannot defend you as I would desire through everything; and I have to throw a damp of reserve and discouragement on unsuspicious and generous spirits who are ready to answer for your steadfastness. I am afraid of adding to your trouble, but I really do wish you would take the whole matter into account, and consider it, not merely as counting the cost, but, as Mr. Oakeley puts it, whether such impediments as the troubling the minds of the better sort of people and long chosen friends, &c., may not be providential warnings of the course in which we should walk. . . . For myself I cannot help going a little further, hoping, dear John, I shall not shock you by the confession. I cannot help feeling a repulsion from that Church which has so many

[1] One who knew Mr. Newman well has written of this period: 'He was drifting, fast drifting, and yet he was struggling against the current. And people are hard to persuade that such a state of mind is possible consistent with fairness and honesty.'

stains upon her. I do not, of course, believe all the vulgar charges which prejudice and bad feeling have brought against her during the last three centuries; but things which Roman Catholics themselves admit, and which seem to me as contrary to the spirit Christians should cultivate as the practices of ultra Protestants, or, I would rather say, those most to be objected to which have crept into our Church. I should not have said this, but that I thought it fair that you should know how I stand, or rather where, in these shifting days. But you must also believe that I can, in spite of all this, appreciate the pain and struggle which causes your suffering, and indeed sympathise entirely with it, looking upon it, in your case, as truly a matter of conscience.

Would it were not so, and that you were more like other men! though, I allow, your way of going on ought in justice to do credit to a cause. We do really seem in a desperate state of things nowadays, when even Christ's little flock must bite and devour one another. How difficult it is to believe that our times are not indeed worse than those that have gone before!

Many thanks for your kind promise, as I take it, that we shall not be taken by surprise by anything you do—this gave me hope before. I hope you will forgive anything wrong I have said in this letter, and believe that my first wish is that you should see the truth, whatever it is. I hope and trust I desire this for you above all things. Worldly fame is a vulgar thing enough—with your talents you are sure to have plenty of that; but I *have* valued for you the respect and admiration of good people, but this I would give up if I could feel sure you were in the right course. I trust you will have the blessing of that conviction, and that one day we may all approve ourselves in His sight who sees all our struggles, and feels for them as having Himself condescended to partake in some measure of human infirmity.

Aunt is pretty well, and for the present has got over her alarm about you. I have not annoyed her by telling her how poorly you are, hoping the next account may be better. I should be very glad of a few lines soon, dear John, to say you are better, but hardly like to ask it.

Some apology may possibly seem to be due for giving both sides of a correspondence where the writers stand in such different relations with the public, where one is of world-wide fame, the other known only to a private and narrow circle. But properly to understand and appreciate one side of a correspondence it is really necessary to see both, and it may be observed there is no sign either of condescension or impatience in Mr. Newman's tone. He feels his sister had a right to his fullest, most earnest, and most intimate revelations of himself, and that she would understand him with the comprehension of life-long intimacy.

It may be pleaded, too, that the correspondence between brother and sister is carried on in a spirit surely rare under such circumstances, and as such, from its gentleness, forbearance, tenderness of tone, may not be without use as an example to disputants.

The right and the wrong will be decided by readers according to their convictions and habits of thought, but all will agree in commending the spirit in which each party approaches the other. Again, these letters in their fulness and confidingness, written at such a time, are a telling illustration of Mr. Newman's strong family feeling. Nothing was dearer to him at any time than the sympathy of those connected by ties of blood and associated with earliest memories, and where this was missing it left a void of which he was always keenly conscious.

His aunt is frequently alluded to in this correspondence, and among Mrs. John Mozley's cares was the dread of the blow her brother's projected change would be to Mrs. Elizabeth Newman.[1]

[1] When, in late years, a young lady shortly to become his niece was introduced by H. W. M. to Cardinal Newman, he gave her at parting a gold ornament which had belonged to his grandmother, saying that to her he mainly owed his earliest love of the Bible. Mrs. Elizabeth Newman must have had her share in this early teaching, indeed her illustrated Bible bore emphatic marks of his intelligent reception of her instruction. He ever retained

In a letter to his sister, Mrs. J. Mozley, Mr. Newman speaks of his health, which had been suffering under the mental strain of this time. She had been anxious, and he answers:

Littlemore: in fest. S. Andr., 1844.

You will be pleased to know that I am to all appearance quite well, I am thankful to say. . . . I have had no relapse. I have returned to my customary diet, and only have to be careful in exercise, &c., &c. About Epiphany I propose going to see Mrs. Bowden at St. Leonards, and perhaps shall be away from home about a month, but we are so few here that it is a trouble to me to be absent.

I am not unwilling to be in trouble now, and for others to be—for it is what must be—and the more of it the sooner over. It is like drinking a cup out. I am far from unmindful of what you say about unsettlement of others being a providential intimation; but there must be a limit to its force, else Jews could never have become Christians in early times, or Nestorians or Monophysites, Catholics in more recent. How St. Paul must have unsettled quiet Jews who were serving God, and heard nothing but ill of our Lord as a Samaritan and 'deceiver'! And this suggests what has ever been said against the Church at all times—namely, that it was corrupt, anti-Christian, &c. This has ever been a note of the Church. And I do believe the Church of Rome has the imputation only in this sense (allowing for our Lord's parable of the Net). It is no new thing that the Church has been under odium and in disgrace. And I confess the atrocious lies—I can call them nothing else—which are circulated against myself have led me to feel how very false the popular impression may be about Jesuits, &c. I say this because one of the most plausible arguments against the Church of Rome is, 'We do not understand these things, but we are quite sure that there could not be so much suspicion, so much imputation, without cause for it at bottom, in spite of prejudice, exaggeration,' &c.; just what people may say, or do say, about myself.

But to return. I do think the unsettlement of

quite a reason for not moving without a clear and settled conviction that to move is a duty. It throws the *onus probandi* on the side of moving, were it not so before. And this is what has kept me quiet hitherto. Still there is a point beyond which this impediment will not act.

Ever yours very affectionately,

J. H. NEWMAN.

P.S.—Thank John for his kind letter before the last, and for the last also.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: December 22, 1844.

I do not wonder at anyone's first impression being, when he hears of the change of religion of another, that he is influenced by some wrong motive. It is the necessary consequence of his thinking himself right; and I fully allow that the *onus probandi* that he is not so influenced lies with the person influenced. While, then, I think you are rather hard on the various persons who have joined the Church of Rome, I think you are justified in being so, for they have to prove that they do not deserve a hard opinion. I say the same of myself. A person's feeling naturally is, that there must be something wrong at bottom; that I must be disappointed, or restless, or set on a theory, or carried on by a party, or coaxed into it by admirers, or influenced by any of the ten thousand persuasions which are as foreign from my mind as from my heart, but which it is easy for others to assign as an hypothesis. I do not quarrel with persons so thinking.

But still I think that as time goes on, and persons have the opportunity of knowing me better, they will see that all these suppositions do not hold; and they will be led to see that my motive simply is that I believe the Roman Church to be true, and that I have come to this belief without any assignable fault on my part. Far indeed am I from saying 'without fault' absolutely, but I say without fault that can be detected and assigned. Were I sure that it was without fault

absolutely, I should not hesitate to move to-morrow. It is the fear that there is some secret undetected fault which is the cause of my belief which keeps me where I am, waiting. But I really can say that nothing occurs to me indicative of any such fault, and the longer the time without such discovery the more hope I have that there is none such. I cannot detect such. Some time ago I wrote down for Keble everything of every sort I could detect as passing in my mind in any respect wrong, or leading to wrong, day by day, for a certain period, and he could detect nothing bearing on this particular belief of mine. I have been as open with him as possible. Now I am far from saying I can find in myself good motives —I have not any confidence whatever that I am acting from faith and love; but what I say is that I cannot detect bad motives, and I seem to realise to myself most completely St. Paul's words, 'I am conscious of nothing to myself, yet am I not hereby justified—but he that judgeth is the Lord.' Of course I know that I am continually doing what is wrong; but what have I done, what has been my sin, which has brought this judgment upon me—to take so awfully wrong a step as to change my Church, if it be wrong?

In saying this I am not saying that another is wrong who does not do the same. I am only looking at myself. If God gives me certain light, supposing it to be such, this is a reason for *me* to act; yet in so doing I am not condemning those who do not so act. There *is* one truth, yet it may not please Almighty God to show everyone in the same degree or way what and where it is. I believe our Church to be separated from Catholic communion; but still I know very well that all divines, ancient and modern, Roman as well as our own, grant even to a Church in schism, which has the Apostolical Succession, and the right form of consecrating the sacraments, very large privileges. They allow that Baptism has the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the Eucharist the Real Presence. What they deny to such a Church is the power of *imparting* these gifts. They say that the grace is locked up, though present and is not fruitful to the souls of individuals. However, they grant that unavoidable ignorance, and love, are efficacious in

removing the bar or *obex*. They consider all children regenerated who die in infancy, and they allow that the Divine mercy may overflow its own prescribed limits. I am then—how can I be otherwise?—far from denying that great grace has been and is given to our members; but the question is, whether it will be given to one who is not in ignorance? whether it is not his duty, if he would be saved, to act upon knowledge vouchsafed to him concerning the state of his Church; which acting is not required for salvation in those who have not that knowledge? Our Church may be a place of grace and security to another, yet not to me.

Now, my dear Jemima, I am sure you will feel that I am not arguing, but I wish you to understand where I stand, and what I feel—for my own comfort. I have never wished there should be any reserve between us—it is most repugnant to my nature to conceal things. Long, indeed, have I had this sad secret when I thought it would be wrong to mention it. By degrees, often without my intention, it has come out, and growing conviction has justified me in mentioning it. And since now it is out, it will be a great comfort if you let me be open with you, and to tell you what the state of my mind is. Indeed, there can be no exercise of love between persons without this openness. In saying this, however, I am not contemplating any particular disclosure; indeed, I forget almost what I *have* told you, and what I have not, but I mean generally.

I went to town on Wednesday and returned on Friday, having not quite recovered from a severe influenza, or something of the sort.

All kind thoughts of the season to all of you.

In vig. Nativit.—I hope to keep the feast in peace and comfort. We always dine at the Observatory. The Holy Communion is at 8 A.M., which is a great thing. Things are looking up at Oxford. At least, people are sanguine about throwing out the Test, which will be a virtual repeal of the censure on No. 90.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. J. B. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: January 5, 1845.

Now that the Test [1] seems pretty sure of rejection, do you think nothing at all can be done in Ward's behalf? Really it does hurt one's sense of justice that, considering the atrocious heresies which have been published without censure on the other side, he must be visited so severely for being over-Catholic. Not that I see what can be done. The 'Times' *evasit, erupit.* The 'Remembrancer' is quarterly. Combination there can be none, yet I think we shall be sorry when all is over if Ward is thus inequitably condemned.

Is it impossible to persuade men who come up against the Test also to vote for Ward?

I throw this out to relieve my mind. Before the Test was sure of rejection Ward had no claims on anyone.

At this time a proposal was laid before Convocation for a censure on No. 90, and the following sentences are given from a notice issued by Mr. Charles Marriott on the subject:

Allow me to lay before you the plain circumstances under which the proposed censure of Mr. Newman has come out.

The measure has issued from the Hebdomadal Board with a haste and suddenness absolutely unprecedented in University proceedings, and such as has left no time to mature any regular appeal to Convocation against it. Only a week has elapsed since the first mention of the design at all. . . .

Nothing has been done by Mr. Newman to call for such an act from the University at this time. It is now four years since the tract in question came out. Mr. Newman has in this interval left residence in the University, has given up the vicarage of St. Mary's, and withdrawn from the whole controversy on the subject of the tract. If the tract was to be

[1] An alteration proposed by the Hebdomadal Board in the University Statutes, to be appended to the condemnation of Mr. Ward's book; it was subsequently withdrawn.

condemned by the University, ought it not to have been condemned in 1841; and should not the act of Convocation have accompanied the notice of the Hebdomadal Board on the subject? The Hebdomadal Board, instead of proposing the adoption of that notice to Convocation at the time they issued it, propose it now, four years afterwards, and thus call for a fresh and gratuitous infliction of pain when no one single fresh act on the author's part has occurred to warrant such a repetition. . . .

It is impossible not to observe that the idea of censuring Mr. Newman was not mentioned until the defeat of the recently proposed New Test, and its abandonment by the Board. It was then put forward with all the appearance of being an expedient for balancing that defeat, and as a measure of party retaliation.

Signed, on behalf of several members of Convocation,

C. Marriott,

Fellow and Dean of Oriel College.

This will tell the reader what the bane was of which Mr. Mozley's affectionate words were the antidote.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. B. Mozley.

Littlemore: Ash Wednesday, Feb. 5, 1845.

My dear James,—The bane, if it be such, and antidote came together—for your affectionate note was the first news I had heard about the doings of the Heads of Houses. I had not had curiosity enough to look out for tidings, for I am, as I was saying last week, and as the 'English Churchman' has said since, as though a dead man, and Hebdomadal Boards can do me neither good nor harm. What really pains me, as you may suppose, is the pain which friends will feel on my account; yet this pain has a selfish compensation, for it is a blessing of which I am quite unworthy to have friends who feel for me as you do.[1]

[1] See reflections on this attack on No. 90, in *Apologia*, p. 293, and also extracts from a pamphlet, in the Appendix.

On the same subject Mrs. J. Mozley writes to her brother:

February 9, 1845.

I have nothing particular to say to you, but, as I think of nothing but you, I have thought I might as well write to you. I know you have more comfort within yourself than it is in the power of any of us to impart, or happily of those who wish you ill to take away. I am anxious about your health. I was hoping you would benefit by your visit to Hastings; and what a reception you had on your return to Oxford! James [Mozley] writes of your taking the thing calmly, as we all knew you would—no one more so, except, perhaps, Pusey—but the injury and injustice is not less. It is what everybody must feel sooner or later. Some way or other I am sure it must come home to all who do not do their utmost to prevent its being done. But how many can do nothing who feel most keenly! Dear John, we must pray that you may be supported in the right way through everything.

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: Feb. 10, 1845.

My very dear Newman,—It seems uncomfortable not to be speaking a word to you at such a time as this, when so many are thinking of you all day long with anxiety and even tenderness whose words and thoughts, if they *could* be conveyed to you, would be a comfort to you indeed—and surely they *will* be conveyed to you in effect; sooner or later, in one shape or another, the dew of Hermon will fall on the hill of Sion (I trust it is not wrong so to apply the words). If you are more hardly used by some persons, and liberties taken with your name, such as you feel, I fear, but too keenly, yet do not doubt nor forget how dearly beyond common examples that name is cherished by very many others, to whom you have been made the instrument of good, partly, perhaps, with this very providential purpose, that so sore a trial might be tempered to you. I just wanted to say this much, for though dangerous to dwell on in a common way; it seems to me just the

sort of help which one's infirmity might need and thankfully receive when the sense of being calumniated comes over-bitterly upon us. You will forgive it should it be altogether out of place; as, coming from me, it may very well be.

This move of the Heads has carried me to review the argument of my letter to Coleridge, and I think I see clearly that the case I there contemplated will not really have occurred let the voting on Thursday be what it may. For that argument went entirely on the hypothesis that the University is the imposer of academical subscription, the contrary of which seems now to be ruled. I suppose it, therefore, to be the special duty of each person whom they censure to show by retaining his place among them that he considers their censure null and void. I have written a short letter to this effect, and sent it to R. Palmer, to be sent to the next 'English Churchman' if P. thinks proper, because the 'E. C.' has been quoting that opinion of mine.

God be with you in storm and in sunshine, and make me fitter to be your very affectionate friend,

J. K.

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: Feb. 20, 1845.

I have nothing to say to you, dearest Newman, that is at all to the purpose, and yet I want to say a word to you just to say that I remember your birthday and long to be able to keep it as I ought; but it is to be hoped there are others who will make up for one's deficiencies in that way. One thing I should like to do would be to choose out some one of the old days when we most enjoyed ourselves together, either with dear Hurrell Froude or in thought and talk of him, and live over it again for an hour or two—if such indulgences are not unfit for this season: and to me they ought not to be altogether unfit, for surely they would bring with them bitter recollections of thoughts and fancies very unfit to have been where I was allowed to be. But I am not going to talk of myself; I was going to say that, if I might choose a pleasant day to think of,

be it. Many places and times, it seems to me, may well have taken a sort of colouring from that day, and surely it brings with it sweet and hopeful thoughts, and many of them, and the past and the future, and the living and the departed, and times of faith and times of decay, seem blended as one thinks of it, in a way which must (by His blessing; may we not forfeit it!) issue in comfort at last. I remember, too, another day, when we walked up with old Christie, and there was talk of how each word of our Lord's is, as it were, a sort of Church canon, and Christie said the talk ought to be printed; this was long after the other, but I cannot exactly remember when. Will you bear with me in sending you this talk, which surely is worth very little?—but it will not be quite worthless if it does but amuse you a little on your birthday. I should like to try my memory a little further, but the post-horn is announced, and *this* letter will not keep, whatever another might do.

So believe me always, in all times, your very affectionate and wishing to be worthier friend,

J. KEBLE.

I will not have you trouble yourself to answer effusions like this.

The 'communication' which is the subject of the following letter probably was Mr. Newman's intention to resign his Fellowship in October, with a view to a subsequent step.

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Derby: March 13, 1845.

You imagine rightly in thinking the communication at the end of your letter would give me a great deal of pain. I can think of nothing else since, and yet seem to be without the power of writing to you. Yet I can hardly say why it is so, for I am far from taken by surprise; indeed, I have been dreading to hear something of this sort for some time past. You have sufficiently warned me of it. Yet I have so much sanguineness in my composition that I always hope the worst misfortunes may be averted till they are irremediable. And

what can be worse than this? It is like hearing that some dear friend must die. I cannot shut my eyes to this overpowering event that threatens any longer. What the consequences may be I know not. O dear John, can you have thought long enough before deciding on a step which, with its probable effects, must plunge so many into confusion and dismay? I know what you will answer—that nothing but the risk of personal salvation would lead you to it; and I quite believe it. I know you have all along had the greatest regard for others, and acted upon it for some time past. But think what must be our feelings who cannot entertain your view, but can only deplore it as a grievous mistake! And I feel bitterly how many good sort of people would not do you justice, but judge you very hardly indeed. It is a real pain and grief to think of you as severed from us, as it were, by your own sentence. I am much afraid, dear John, you may be taken by surprise by what I say, and expect I shall receive this event more easily. Indeed I cannot; it is to me the great proof of the badness of this world and the unfortunate times we live in, that such a one as you should take the line you have taken. . . . Pray excuse the incoherence of this letter. I am afraid it is very strange, and does not express one small portion of my feelings. Our poor distracted Church seems to me in pieces, and there is no one to help her, and her children's sympathies seem all drawn off another way. And how sad it is to me that I cannot say these things to you without your thinking me in error and in the wrong way, and not to have found the true way! Is there not enough in the world to make one weary of it, to all who try to see things as they really are? I am so afraid I have said wrong things, as well as not said what I intended; but I am really writing in great trouble and discomfort. Pray forgive me if I have not been as considerate as I ought to be, and wish earnestly to be, for I know your trial must be great indeed.

Believe me, ever yours very affectionately,

JEMIMA C. MOZLEY.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: March 15, 1845.

I have just received your very painful letter, and wish I saw any way of making things easier to you or to myself.

If I went by what I wished, I should complete my seven years of waiting. Surely more than this, or as much, cannot be expected of me—cannot be right in me to give at my age. How life is going! I see men dying who were boys, almost children, when I was born. Pass a very few years, and I am an old man. What means of judging can I have more than I have? What maturity of mind am I to expect? If I am right to move at all, surely it is high time not to delay about it longer. 'Let me give my strength to the work, not my weakness—years in which I can profit the cause which calls me, not the dregs of life. Is it not like a death-bed repentance to put off what one feels one ought to do?

As to my convictions, I can but say what I have told you already, that I cannot at all make out *why* I should determine on moving, except as thinking I should offend God by not doing so. I cannot make out what I am *at* except on this supposition. At my time of life men love ease. I love ease myself. I am giving up a maintenance involving no duties, and adequate to all my wants. What in the world am I doing this for (I ask *myself* this), except that I think I am called to do so? I am making a large income by my sermons. I am, to say the very least, risking this; the chance is that my sermons will have no further sale at all. I have a good name with many; I am deliberately sacrificing it. I have a bad name with more; I am fulfilling all their worst wishes, and giving them their most coveted triumph. I am distressing all I love, unsettling all I have instructed or aided. I am going to those whom I do not know, and of whom I expect very little. I am making myself an outcast, and that at my age. Oh, what can it be but a stern necessity which causes this?

Pity me, my dear Jemima. What have I done thus to be deserted, thus to be left to take a wrong course, if it is

wrong? I began by defending my own Church with all my might when others would not defend her. I went through obloquy in defending her. I in a fair measure succeed. At the very time of this success, before any reverse, in the course of my reading it breaks upon me that I am in a schismatical Church. I oppose myself to the notion; I write against it—year after year I write against it, and I do my utmost to keep others in the Church. From the time my doubts come upon me I begin to live more strictly; and really from that time to this I have done more towards my inward improvement, as far as I can judge, than in any time of my life. Of course I have all through had many imperfections, and might have done every single thing I have done much better than I have done it. Make all deductions on this score, still, after all, may I not humbly trust that I have not so acted as to forfeit God's gracious guidance? And how is it that I have improved in other points if in respect of this momentous matter I am so fearfully blinded? . . .

Why should I distress your kind heart with all my miseries? Yet you must know them, to avoid the greater misery of looking at me externally, and wondering and grieving over what seems incomprehensible. Shall I add that, distressing as is my state, it has not once come upon me to say, O that I had never begun to read theology! O that I had never meddled in ecclesiastical matters! O that I had never written the Tracts, &c! I lay no stress on this, but state it. . . . Of course the human heart is mysterious. I may have some deep evil in me which I cannot fathom; I may have done some irreparable thing which demands punishment; but may not one humbly trust that the earnest prayers of many good people will be heard for me? May not one resign oneself to the event, whatever it turns out to be? May one not hope and believe, though one does not see it, that God's hand is in the deed, if a deed there is to be; that He has a purpose, and will bring it to good, and will show us that it is good, in His own time? Let us not doubt, may we never have cause to doubt, that He is with us. Continually do I pray that He would discover to me if I am under a delusion; what can

I do more? What hope have I but in Him? To whom should I go? Who can do me any good? Who can speak a word of comfort but He? Who is there but looks on me with a sorrowful face?—but He can lift up the light of His countenance upon me. All is against me—may He not add Himself as an adversary! May He tell me, may I listen to Him, if His will is other than I think it to be!

Palm Sunday.—. . . So, my dear Jemima, if you can suggest any warnings to me which I am not considering, well, and thank you; else do take comfort, and think that perhaps you have a right to have faith in me, perhaps you have a right to believe that He who has led me hitherto will not suffer me to go wrong. I am somehow in better spirits this morning, and I say what it occurs to me to say at the time. Have I not a right to ask you not to say, as you have said in your letter, that I shall do wrong? What right have you to judge me? Have the multitude who will judge me any right to judge me? Who of my equals, who of the many who will talk flippantly about me, has a right? Who has a right to judge me but my Judge? Who has taken such pains to know *my* duty (poor as they have been) as myself? Who is more likely than I to know what I ought to do? I may be wrong, but He that judgeth me is the Lord, and 'Judge nothing before the time.'

His ways are not our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts. He may have purposes as merciful as they are beyond us. Let us do our best, and leave the event to Him; He will give us strength to bear. Surely I have to bear most; and if I do not shrink from bearing it others must not shrink. May I do my best; am I not trying to do my best?—may we not trust it will turn to the best?

To this most moving letter his sister at once replies:

Derby: Good Friday, March 21.

Many thanks for your kindness in writing to me so promptly and at such a length. I feel almost vexed with myself for having said anything that should have, as it were, compelled

you to write so much. For I feel it is a great effort to you to write, and I fear I cannot altogether receive all you say as you would wish. And indeed I must say that, thinking as you do, with such a strong view of what is right, I cannot ask or wish you to act otherwise than you contemplate. If my former letter seemed urgent it was in the hope of drawing something different from you from what I have done. I know on a point of conscience we must not be drawn aside by persuasions or arguments, which tell with others, but which are only mere excuses if we act by them when they do not touch ourselves. Indeed I do pity you, for I know you are just the person to feel the force of the sacrifices you are making more than most, without the excitement which carries most persons through such changes; and it needs no assurance from you for me to be sure that you do it simply because you think it right, when interest or love of ease would naturally draw you another way. This is my hope and my consolation; but I cannot fancy it otherwise with you, nor could I bear to think it possible. O may you be rewarded now and hereafter in the way God thinks best! I believe I do not wish to choose for you—so as you are doing His will and His work, what more can one desire?—and I do take comfort in feeling how short-sighted we are in judging only of a few passing years. What signify the pains and trials of the next four or five years for those who live to see them, if it pleases God to bring good to His Church out of them? All this strikes me as a bystander; of course if I were a man or a clergyman, or if events arose to compel me to be an actor, I should have a weight of responsibility which would make me feel differently.

Then, dear John, you attack *me*, and wish me to ask myself whether after all you may not be right. But, indeed, I do often put it to myself in that light. I know how ignorant I am, how little I ought to assume I am right in any one thing. Yet there are some things one dare not doubt, and some things it is one's highest happiness to believe and try to realise. So, however unworthy I am, I feel we must in some measure go by our own faith and our own light, though that

in question I may be prejudiced, it is most likely—we have one-sided views from birth and education ; but I really do not think I am aware of any strong or hostile feelings against Rome which some would not scruple to entertain. I have been unlearning such the last dozen years, and have thought them criminal since I ceased to believe Rome to be Antichrist —that is, since I read your sermons. Not that I ever could quite accept the Protestant notion ; I always hoped there might be some other way of getting over the difficulty. I assure you I am not conscious of a bitter feeling towards Rome ; we seem to have enough to do with sorrow and humiliation at home without quarrelling with other Churches. Indeed, I may say more, I feel deeply the debt of gratitude we owe to Rome as our Spiritual Mother, and it pains me much on this account to hear Rome slightly regarded. But yet I have no bias toward Rome, nor see any compensation in Rome to make up for the defects of our Church. I am afraid of paining you by saying she does not approve herself to me as at all fulfilling what she pretends to—far from it. She appears to me to contain un-Christian elements, which as long as she cherishes them seem an absolute barrier to her converting the world. . . .

I am afraid you will feel this a painful letter. . . . These are solemn days to have one's thoughts ruffled by controversy when one would desire they should be turned towards higher subjects of contemplation ; but, indeed, I am not conscious of having my feelings uncomfortably excited, or I should not have chosen Good Friday to write to you. Far from it ; indeed, I cannot fancy it in writing to you. . . .

On reading over this letter I am quite ashamed of it, yet do not think I shall mend it by writing it over again, so must only beg you to forgive me if I have said anything unbecoming. I trust, dear John, you will attain that peace of mind without which life is a burden (a struggle it needs must be). Who should have it if you fail, who have been the means of comforting so many ?

Believe me, ever your very affectionate sister,

JEMIMA C. MOZLEY.

P.S.—As to aunt, I think on consideration she is in a way prepared—that is, she is alarmed, and she betrays it by every now and then professing the greatest security about you. This pains me a good deal, as she sometimes chooses to talk of you to strangers. This has not been often, but she often expresses the greatest anxiety about you to me, and wonder and curiosity as to what you think, &c.

Rev. J. H. Newman to Rev. J. B. Mozley.

Littlemore: April 2, 1845.

I have just been looking at your article in the 'C. R.,'[1] and it has touched me exceedingly. I knew you loved me, as I do you, but I was not prepared for what you say; and now, as is the law of such things, I know it just when I am losing it. You speak as if writing a funeral oration, and so it is. Yet sometimes I think, so it shall not be—for surely I am now more cut off from you than I can be in any other circumstances, and when the dreadful trials of the next few years are over I may have the opportunity, if we both live, of something more of intimacy with you than I can have now.

Alas! I do not forget how changeable all things are, and how difficult it is for minds to keep pace with each other which walk apart. You may fancy how all this oppresses me. All that is dear to me is being taken from me. My days are gone like a shadow, and I am withered like grass.

I say to myself, if I am under a delusion, what have I done, what grave sin have I committed, to bring such a judgment on me? O that it may be revealed to me, and the delusion broken! But I go on month after month, year after year, without change of feeling except in one direction; not floating up and down, but driving one way.

I know well, my dear James, that you do not forget to think of me at solemn times, but I really think that now the time is short. I cannot promise myself to remain as I am after Christmas, perhaps not so long, though I suppose in the event I shall linger on some little while longer. By November

[1] 'Recent Proceedings at Oxford,' *Christian Remembrancer*, April 1845.

I expect to have resigned my Fellowship, and perhaps may publish something.

I don't mind your telling this in confidence to anyone you please, but of course you will keep this letter safely.

What complicated distress! I suppose it will be less when the worst is over.

Ever yours most affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO REV. R. W. CHURCH.[1]

Littlemore: April 3, 1845.

My dear Church,—I see by the advertisement in the 'C. R.' that the third edition of your 'St. Cyril' is in the press. I wish you would tell them to let you have what sheets you wish, and alter what you like. Don't let it escape you. I have always had it on my conscience, I can use no lighter word, that I was so inconsiderate towards you in some things as it passed through the first printing, and though I fear what mischief I did cannot be set right without giving you much trouble, I do wish to call your attention to it. I assure you it has quite been on my *conscience*. At various times have I been going to speak to you about it for four or five years past, and always meant to do so some day or other. Accept this apology, my dear Church, and forgive me. As I say so tears come into my eyes. That arises from the accident of this time, when I am giving up so much I love; but though I may be in low spirits just now, what I have said in the former page is not so to be interpreted.

Just now I have been overset by James Mozley's article in the 'C. R.' Yet really, my dear Church, I have never for an instant had even the temptation of repenting my leaving Oxford. The feeling of repentance has not come even into my mind. How could it? How could I remain at St. Mary's, a hypocrite? How could I be answerable for souls (and life so uncertain) with the conviction, or at least persuasion which I had upon me? It is, indeed, a dreadful responsibility

[1] Extracts from this letter are given in the *Apologia*, p. 232.

to act as I am doing; and I feel His hand heavy on me without intermission who is all wisdom and love, so that my mind and heart are tired out, just as the limbs might be from a load on one's back; that sort of dull aching pain is mine. But my responsibility really is nothing to what it would be to be answerable for souls, for confiding, loving souls, in the English Church, with my convictions.

I don't like you to go out of office without my thanks for your kindness to me last February 13.

My love to Marriott, and save me the pain of sending him a line.

Ever yours very affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

In a note without date, addressed R. Church, Esq., there occurs this sentence, 'I suspect you do not like to have the credit of all my translations. We will take care in the preface to set you right with the public.' An N.B. in pencil, after marking this sentence, says, 'This illustrates the letter of April 3, 1845.—J. H. N.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: April 10, 1845.

I think it would be a kind thing to show James [Mozley] the long letter I sent you on Palm Sunday, unless there is anything in it I do not recollect.

I write a line in a hurry. How glad I should be if you could see this place and our house this year. One knows so little what is before us.

The visit here suggested was paid in the following July. The idea of a last sight of Littlemore had occurred also to his sister. From the following letter it may be gathered that Mr. Copeland, who had been in charge since Mr. Newman's resignation of St. Mary's, had given up his rooms in Littlemore

Mozley during her stay. The following letter, written from Mrs. Barnes's, gives her first impressions.

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO A. M.[1]

July 17, 1845.

What a change there is in this place from what it was when first I knew it! I hear a great deal from Mrs. Barnes, who seems a most excellent person. She represents the improvement as really not merely external. She is never tired of praising Mr. Copeland. Among his other good qualities one that especially pleased and satisfied me is his real love of the parish. It makes me hope that, come what will, he will keep his post here. . . . And Mr. Copeland has got such a footing in people's affections. I am in hopes good people will not go far astray while he is here. . . .

. . . He (J. H. N.) looks just the same as when I saw him last, and seems tolerably well. He has been with us an hour this morning, and will dine here. We are going to church in ten minutes; the times here are 11 and 3. After church I am to pay calls in the village with J. H. N. . . .

Everything shows that Mr. Newman attended service at Littlemore until the final step was taken.[2]

The following letter from Mrs. J. Mozley to A. M. announces what might now be considered imminent.

October 6, 1845.

. . . I have had a letter, which I have been expecting and half-dreading to receive, this week from J. H. N. to say he has written to the Provost to resign his Fellowship. He adds that now anything may be expected any day.

[1] The Editor.

[2] A letter written some years later, after visiting Littlemore, says: 'I did not observe in any of the Littlemore village people any knowledge of the cause of Mr. Newman's leaving them. It seemed clear to me that he had never spoken a word to them that might set them thinking.'

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: October 8, 1845.

My dear Jemima,—I must tell you what will pain you greatly, but I will make it as short as you would wish me to do.

This night Father Dominic, the Passionist, sleeps here. He does not know of my intention, but I shall ask him to receive me into what I believe to be the One Fold of the Redeemer.

This will not go till all is over.

Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

When once it was known that Mr. Newman was on the point of taking the long contemplated step, the question of his remaining at Littlemore became an important one. Those whom he was leaving felt his continuance close to Oxford a difficulty, as a most unsettling state of things to certain minds. Others said that to stay was to follow the leading of Providence: that waiting to act till called upon was right.

That the question had been evidently touched upon by Mrs. J. Mozley in writing to her brother may be gathered from the following letter.

REV. J. H. NEWMAN TO MRS. J. MOZLEY.

Littlemore: 5.30 A.M., *October* 9, 1845.

My dear Jemima,—Before your letter came last evening I had written an important line to you, which will go, I suppose, to-morrow.

It is very natural that persons should have the feeling you express about my leaving Littlemore, but in having it they do not put themselves in *my* position, but view me from their own. Few people can put themselves into another person's position. . . .

All this is quite consistent with believing, as I firmly do,

that individuals in the English Church are invisibly knit into that True Body of which they are not outwardly members; and consistent, too, with thinking it highly injudicious, indiscreet, wanton, to interfere with them in particular cases—only it is a matter of judgment in the particular case. It might be indiscreet in me to remain here; it might not. Persons have quite a right to blame my judgment if they will, though even here they should recollect that I may be in the position to be the better judge. But it must be put on the ground of discretion. If I said I ought in *duty* to go away, I should be confessing I ought not to join the Church of Rome at all.

I think I have found that those who fear me and wish me away think I ought to go, and those who really wish me to stay have no such thoughts. All depends on their own views of the general question.

As to 'sacrifice,' which do you think would be pleasantest to me, to leave this place or to stay? . . . .

I enclose a note to aunt. I will say nothing about my feelings all along to one so good and sweet as you are. There is One who knows how much it has lain upon my heart to pain you. But I am not going to make apology, or to seem to try to recommend myself to you.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. H. N.

To this letter his sister replies:

MRS. J. MOZLEY TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Derby: October 11, 1845.

I was aware when I sent my letter that you had reasons strong and satisfactory to yourself for remaining where you are, and certainly, according to my own views, I cannot see anything *wrong* in your doing so, but the other appeared to me best and most right. And also I knew that, could I place myself in your exact position, I might see this point also just as you represent it. But the fact that our conclusions are so different, judging according to our own respective views, only places before my eyes still more vividly and painfully what I am

slow to realise, that we are indeed separated from each other further than I can bear to allow. But we must be fearfully wide asunder, or you would not judge it necessary to leave us.

Of course I cannot judge of the motives of the persons to whom you allude, but I assure you, dear John, it was from no motive of fear that I offered my opinion. I did not go so far as to think of the consequences. I was thinking of what seemed to me right, or rather, I would repeat, *best*, and I sincerely believe this was the feeling of those who expressed the same opinion. . . . For myself, I feel the future such a mystery that in me it would be foolish indeed to shape my conduct with regard to consequences. One seems so little to apprehend what may be the effect of any one action. But if I do say what I think of the future, I do not fear for our Church from this movement, though it may be a searching trial to her (I am speaking now not of your residence at Littlemore or elsewhere, for that surely cannot make essential difference). Dear John, when you spoke in the name of our Church your exhortations were all powerful, your voice seemed the voice of an angel, you touched a chord in all our hearts—you seemed to know our very hearts. Since your new views have gained the ascendency how great the change! . . . Now I do not mean to say your influence will not be very great. Your talents, experience, and depth of mind must make your words powerful; but you will not influence the same class of minds that you have in times past. Believe me, it is very painful to me to contemplate all this, much more write it down. But I love my Church dearly, and place confidence in her as a chosen vessel, whom the Lord will not forsake though He bring her to an extremity, and what you said of consequences has brought me to set things more formally before my mind than I might have done. I am afraid my letter must give you pain; how can it be otherwise? This is the misery of difference in the most important of all subjects, the one thing needful for us all.

Believe me ever, dear John,

With the truest affection, your sister,

JEMIMA C. MOZLEY.

Some extracts from Mr. Newman's reply to his sister are given.

Littlemore: October 1845.

Thank you for your kind letter, and tell aunt how relieved I was to see her handwriting.

Nothing you say about my loss of influence has any tendency to hurt me, as you kindly fear it should. I never have thought about any influence I had had. I never have mastered what it was. It is simply no effort whatever to give it up. The pain, indeed, which I knew I was giving to individuals has affected me much; but as to influence, the whole world is one great vanity, and I trust I am not set on anything in it—I trust not. Nor have I thrown influence away if I have acted at the call of duty. . . .

I have no distinct view about remaining at Littlemore; but to *move* would be to decide one way. While I am undecided, I *remain*. . . . I feel it very doubtful what is best to be done, and what is God's will. . . .

And now, God bless you, my very dear sister, and believe me,

Ever yours affectionately,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Mr. Newman, who has himself written such moving words on the parting of friends, has given evidence how much the parting words of Mr. Keble had touched him, by depositing them among the records of Keble College. The Editor has been kindly allowed to place them here.

REV. J. KEBLE TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

Hursley: October 3, 1845.

My dear Newman,—I feel as if I had something to say to you, although I don't very well know what it will be; but Charlotte's [Mrs. Keble] illness having for the present at least abated, I find that I am better able than I have been for near a fortnight past to think and speak coherently of

friend, and the *ἀγωνία* which awaits us with regard to you, except, indeed, when my thoughts travel on to Bisley and Tom's bedside, for there, as well as here, everything almost seems to have been, perhaps to be, hanging by a thread. At such times one seems in a way to see deeper into realities, and I must own to you that the impression on my own mind of the reality of the things I have been brought up among, and of its being my own fault, not theirs, whereinsoever I am found wanting—this impression seems to deepen in me as death draws nearer, and I find it harder to imagine that persons such as I have seen and heard of lately, should be permitted to live and die deceiving themselves on such a point as whether they are aliens to the grace of God's sacraments or no.

October 11, *Midnight.*

I had written thus far about a week ago, and then left off for very weariness, and now that I was thinking of going on with my writing I find that the thunderbolt has actually fallen upon us, and you have actually taken the step which we greatly feared. I will not plague you, then, with what I might otherwise have set down—something which passed, directly relating to yourself, in what fell from my dear wife on this day fortnight, when, in perfect tranquillity and self-possession, having received the Holy Communion, she took leave of us all, expecting hourly to sink away. By God's great mercy she revived, and still continues among us, with, I trust, increasing hopes of recovery; but the words which she spoke were such that I must always think of them as of the last words of a saint. Some of them I had thought of reporting to you, but this, at any rate, is not the time.

Wilson has told me how kindly you have been remembering us in our troubles; it was very kind, when you must have so much upon your own mind. Who knows how much good your prayers and those of other absent friends may have done us, both here and at Bisley?—for there, too, as I daresay you know, has been a favourable change, and a more decided one, I imagine, than here; at least their doctor has told them they

thing that has yet been said to us. But his recovery is very, very slow. There, too, as well as here, everything has fallen out so as to foster the delusion, if delusion it be, that we are not quite aliens, not living among unrealities. Yet you have no doubt the other way. It is very mysterious, very bewildering indeed; but, being so, one's duty seems clearly pointed out: to abide where one is, till some new call come upon one. If this were merely my own reason or feeling, I should mistrust it altogether, knowing, alas! that I am far indeed from the person to whom guidance is promised; but when I see the faith of others, such as I know them to be, and so very near to me as God has set them, I am sure that it would be a kind of impiety but to dream of separating from them.

Besides the deep grief of losing you for a guide and helper, and scarce knowing which way to look, . . . you may guess what uncomfortable feelings haunt me, as if I, more than anyone else, was answerable for whatever of distress and scandal may occur. I keep on thinking, 'If I had been different, perhaps Newman would have been guided to see things differently, and we might have been spared so many broken hearts and bewildered spirits.' To be sure, that cold, hard way of going on, which I have mentioned to you before, stands my friend at such times, and hinders me, I suppose, from being really distressed; but this is how I feel that I ought to feel, and I tell you. . . . And now I wish you to help me. That way of help, at any rate, is not forbidden you in respect of any one of us.

My dearest Newman, you have been a kind and helpful friend to me in a way in which scarce anyone else could have been, and you are so mixed up in my mind with old and dear and sacred thoughts that I cannot well bear to part with you, most unworthy as I know myself to be. And yet I cannot go along with you. I must cling to the belief that we are not really parted: you have taught me so, and I scarce think you can unteach me. And having relieved my mind with this little word, I will only say, God bless you, and reward you a thousand fold for all your help in every way to me unworthy, and to many others! May you have peace where you

I scarce think it will be in the way of controversy. And so, with somewhat of a feeling as if the spring had been taken out of my year,

I am, always, your affectionate and grateful,

J. KEBLE.

The Editor's task is already carried beyond the date anticipated; but one passage from a letter of the year 1847, though dated from Rome, will not be felt out of place among the records of the Movement. For some years the three great movers might seem to hold little communication with each other, as they had ceased to act together; but that the mutual respect and high moral estimate of each for the other continued to the end, the correspondence of the time abundantly shows. An extract from a letter of Dr. Newman's to his sister, Jan. 26, 1847, may be given in evidence that the strong act of separation had not disturbed his estimate of Mr. Keble's character. The letter was written before Dr. Newman's own destination was fixed on, but amongst other founders of Orders he is led to speak of St. Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratorians, and after some historical details he goes on:

This great saint reminds me in so many ways of Keble, that I can fancy what Keble would have been, if God's will had been he should have been born in another place and age; he was formed on the same type of extreme hatred of humbug, playfulness, nay, oddity, tender love for others, and severity, which are lineaments of Keble.[1]

The foregoing passage was written in 1847. There is a record of a conversation which took place all but thirty years later, on a visit paid by Dr. Newman to his sister in 1876—notes of which were taken at the earliest opportunity, with

[1] In the preface to *Occasional Papers and Reviews* of John Keble, published in 1877, the reader will find a very interesting letter from Dr. Newman to the Editor of the work, giving his recollections and impressions of Mr. Keble's

as much accuracy as the present writer was capable of—and the following words show that no length of time or altered circumstances had changed his estimate of his other great associate in the Movement: that Pusey, as well as Keble, had lost nothing of his love and veneration:

He spoke of Dr. Pusey with deep affection and admiration—'so full of the love of God'—as if it had been a very great trial his not having gone over to Rome. Could not finish his sentence. 'Nothing had had greater weight than his Tract on Baptism.'

The tone and action with which the words 'so full of the love of God' were spoken live in memory to this day.

And here the Editor's task ends.

POSTSCRIPT

THE chronological limit assigned to the Editor is reached, but some letters remain from different sources which will interest the reader—interest wholly irrespective of the great change which was set as a close to the task imposed. Any words that allude to that change are only given where they fix the date.

The Editor thanks the Rev. C. L. Coldwell for allowing the following letter on Style, which was addressed to his father-in-law, the late Rev. John Hayes, vicar of Colebrookdale, to have a place in these pages.

The Oratory, Birmingham: April 13, 1869.

My dear Sir,—I saw the article you speak of in the 'Times,' and felt flattered by the passage which referred to myself.

The writer must have alluded in the sentence which leads to your question, to my 'Lectures and Essays on University Subjects,' which is at present out of print. In that volume there are several papers on English and Latin composition.

It is simply the fact that I have been obliged to take great pains with every thing I have written, and I often write chapters over and over again, besides innumerable corrections and interlinear additions. I am not stating this as a merit, only that some persons write their best first, and I very seldom do. Those who are good speakers may be supposed to be able to write off what they want to say. I, who am not a good speaker, have to correct laboriously what I put on paper.

writer, betrayed the labour by which he became so by his mode of speaking, which was most painful to hear from his hesitations and alterations—that is, he was correcting his composition as he went along.

However, I may truly say that I never have been in the practice since I was a boy of attempting to write well, or to form an elegant style. I think I never have written for writing sake; but my one and single desire and aim has been to do what is so difficult—viz. to express clearly and exactly my meaning; this has been the motive principle of all my corrections and re-writings. When I have read over a passage which I had written a few days before, I have found it so obscure to myself that I have either put it altogether aside or fiercely corrected it; but I don't get any better for practice. I am as much obliged to correct and re-write as I was thirty years ago.

As to patterns for imitation, the only master of style I have ever had (which is strange considering the differences of the languages) is Cicero. I think I owe a great deal to him, and as far as I know to no one else. His great mastery of Latin is shown especially in his clearness.

Very faithfully yours,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The Rev. John Hayes.

P.S. Thank you for what you so kindly say of me in old times.

On the back of the following letter were written these words: 'Copy of a letter in answer to Dr. Greenhill's inquiry as to the exact meaning of the last two lines in "Lead, kindly Light," which I had discussed forty years ago with our dear friend Charles Marriott. (Signed, J. H. N.)'

January 18, 1879.

My dear Dr. Greenhill,—You flatter me by your question; but I think it was Keble who, when asked it in his own

give a sense to what they had written; and though I am not, like him, a poet, at least I may plead that I am not bound to *remember* my own meaning, whatever it was, at the end of almost fifty years. Anyhow, there must be a statute of limitation for writers of verse, as it would be quite a tyranny if, in an art which is the expression, not of truth, but of imagination and sentiment, one were obliged to be ready for examination on the transient states of mind which came upon one when homesick or seasick,[1] or in any other way sensitive or excited. . . .

Yours most truly,
JOHN H. NEWMAN.

On the death of Thackeray, Dr. Newman writes to Miss H.:

December 27, 1863.

My best Christmas greetings to you, and to Mr. and Mrs. Leigh.

But I do not write to say what you will believe I feel, though I do not say it, but to express the piercing sorrow that I feel in Thackeray's death.

You know I never saw him, but you have interested me in him, and one saw in his books the workings of his mind—and he has died with such awful suddenness.

A new work of his had been advertised, and I had looked forward with pleasure to reading it; and now the drama of his life is closed, and he himself is the greatest instance of the text of which he was so full, *Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas.* I wonder whether he has known his own decay, for a decay I think there has been. I thought his last novel betrayed lassitude and exhaustion of mind, and he has lain by apparently for a year. His last (fugitive) pieces in the 'Cornhill' have been almost sermons. One should be very glad to know that he had presentiments of what was to come.

What a world this is! how wretched they are who take it for their portion! Poor Thackeray! it seems but the other

[1] When the poem in question was written in 1[illegible]

day since we became Catholics; now all his renown has been since that—he has made his name, has been made much of, has been fêted, and has gone out, all since 1846 or 1847.

On being asked some questions about musical Tones, Mr. Newman writes to Miss H.:

December 31, 1850.

I think with you that what is called Gregorian is but a *style* of music—viz. before the fixing of the diatonic scale, and the various keys as rising out of it. The Pagan and Jewish tunes are *necessarily* in this style. And in this sense certainly the Gregorian comes from the Pagan *and* the Jewish. The names 'Lydian,' 'Phrygian,' &c., look like Pagan. One should think, however, some *must* be Jewish. I can't answer your question about the genuineness of the professed specimens of Pagan, as in Rousseau's Dictionary. Will Rousseau answer your question?

All true art comes from revelation (to speak generally), I do think, but not necessarily through the Jewish Dispensation. The Fathers look upon Paganism as preserving traditions too: *e.g.* the Sibyls. It seems to me a very contracted view, and not borne out by facts, to trace Plato's glowing thoughts on the religious rites of Paganism to Judaism.

A tone of isolation characterises the following letter. The reader will observe from the date, that it was written immediately before the events occurred that produced the 'Apologia.'

April 28, 1863.

I myself, though I have a fixed place to live in, and so far have a great blessing, am in the most strange way cut off from other people. Out of sight, out of mind, I suppose; but so it is that I know nothing of how things are going on, what there is to do, and who is doing it. When we get to heaven, if we are worthy, we shall enjoy the sight of how all our

Passing from a definition of what the 'Grammar of Assent' is, Dr. Newman meditates on old age and the limit of its powers.

March 2, 1870.

You will be disappointed with my 'Grammar,' and so will everyone be. It is what it is, and it is not what it is not; and what it is not most people will expect that it is. It won't be out for ten days or a fortnight yet. It is my last work. I say 'work,' for though I may fiddle-faddle, henceforth a real piece of labour will be beyond me. This is what old men cannot do; when they attempt it, they kill themselves. An old horse or an old piece of furniture will last a long time if you take care of it—so will the brain; but if you forget that it is old, it soon reminds you of the fact by ceasing to be.

On Horace, and the lessons to be learnt from him, Dr. Newman writes to Mr. Leigh:

November 24, 1873.

I have not forgotten your question through Miss H. It is not difficult to answer, but to give satisfactorily the grounds for that answer is difficult.

She tells me you have been interesting yourself in Horace, and that you wish to know whether the lessons you get from him are not learnt better from Thomas a Kempis. I think not, because a heathen's experience of life is not the same as a Christian's. Our Lord had a full knowledge and love of fallen man. He came to save that which was lost. And St. Paul had that love according to his measure after Him, and so the great missionaries, as St. Francis Xavier. *We* may gain from the classics, especially from the Latin, a good deal in the way of that knowledge, both of man and of God. The poems of Horace, I grant, are most melancholy to read, but they bring before us most vividly and piteously our state by nature; they increase in us a sense of our utter dependence and natural helplessness; they arm us against the fallacious promises of the world, especially at this day—the promises of science and literature to give us light and liberty. It is most

piercingly sad to observe how the heathen writers yearn for some unknown good and higher truth, and cannot find it; how Horace in particular tries to solace himself with the pleasures of sense, and how stern a monitor he has within him, telling him that Death is coming. Lucretius is another author teaching still more solemnly the same awful lesson. 'We should be happy,' he says, 'were it not for that dreadful sense of Religion which we all have, which poisons all our pleasures. I will get rid of it.' But he could not, and he destroyed himself. Who can but pity such a race, so great and so little? Who does not recognise the abyss of misery which lies in that wound which sin has made in us? Who does not begin to see from such a spectacle the Love of the Eternal Father, who felt it in fulness, and sent His Son to die for His dear rebellious children? Have you seen Conington's Translations of Horace? If not, will you accept them from me. Horace is untranslatable, but I think they will interest you.

The following thoughts were written on Dr. Newman's 74th birthday:

February 21, 1875.

. . . A birthday is a very sad day at my age, or rather I should say a solemn day. When I call it sad, it is when it brings before me the number of friends who have gone before me; though this is a most ungrateful sadness, since I have so many affectionate and anxious friends left, who are so good to me.

I think what makes me low is the awful thought that where my lost departed friends are, there I must be; and that they can and do rejoice in their trial and their judgment being over, whereas I am still on trial and have judgment to come. The idea of a judgment is the first principle of religion, as being involved in the sentiment of conscience, and as life goes on it becomes very overpowering. Nor do the good tidings of Christianity reverse it, unless we go into the extreme of Calvinism or Methodism, with the doctrine of personal assurance. Otherwise, the more one has received, the more one has to answer for. We can but throw ourselves on the mercy of God, of which one's whole life is a long experience.

The Editor's task was undertaken for half a life, but, nearing its close, Cardinal Newman could contemplate it as a whole. There is no recognition of a break, in the thankfulness which illuminates the last words of a correspondence with his nephew, J. R. Mozley. Writing in March 1884, he closes his letter with the words :—

> For myself, now, at the end of a long life, I say from a full heart that God has never failed me, never disappointed me, has ever turned evil into good for me. When I was young I used to say (and I trust it was not presumptuous to say it) that our Lord ever answered my prayers.' And what He has been to me, who have deserved His love so little, such will He be, I believe and know, to every one who does not repel Him and turn from His pleading.

APPENDIX

THE remarkable prediction that follows would have been placed in what seemed a suitable position at the 'Start of the Movement,' but there were reasons against this. Circumstances, however, having changed, and it having appeared in a newspaper of the day, the prophetic words may find a place here. Mr. Sikes was rector of Guilsborough, a venerated leader of the old High Church party, and died in the year 1834. The Rev. W. J. Copeland thus records his prediction, and the occasion on which it was given :—

'I well remember good Mr. Sikes taking me one day into the dining-room at the Rectory at Hackney, and telling me his views about the state and prospects of the Church. I wish I could remember distinctly his words ; but so far as I could I went over them again and again in my mind, and I do not remember any conversation in my whole life which made more impression upon me at the time, or which I have had so often occasion to remember since. So far as I recollect, it must have been about the year 1833 that the following prediction was made :

' "I seem to think I can tell you something which you who are young may probably live to see, but which I, who shall soon be called away off the stage, shall not. Wherever I go, all about the country, I see amongst the clergy a number of very amiable and estimable men, many of them much in earnest and wishing to do good. But I have observed the universal want in their teaching, the uniform suppression of one great truth. There is no account given anywhere, so far as I see, of the one Holy Catholic Church. I think that the causes of this suppression have been mainly two. The Church has been kept out of sight, partly in consequence of the civil establishment of the branch of it which is in this country, and partly out of false charity to Dissent. Now this great truth is an Article in the Creed ; and, if so, to teach the rest of the Creed

to its exclusion must be to destroy the analogy or proportion of the Faith, *τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως*. This cannot be done without the most serious consequences. The doctrine is of the last importance, and the principles it involves of immense power, and some day, not far distant, it will judicially have its reprisals. And whereas the other Articles of the Creed seem now to have thrown it into the shade, it will seem when it is brought forward to swallow up the rest. We now hear not a breath about the Church; by-and-bye, those who live to see it will hear of nothing else, and just in proportion, perhaps, to its present suppression will be its future development. Our present confusion is chiefly owing to the want of it, and there will be yet more confusion attending its revival. The effects of it I even dread to contemplate, especially if it comes suddenly, and woe betide those, whoever they are, who shall in the course of Providence have to bring it forward!' It ought especially of all others to be matter of catechetical teaching and training. The doctrine of the Church Catholic, and the privileges of Church membership, cannot be explained from pulpits, and those who will have to explain it will hardly know where they are or which way to turn themselves. They will be endlessly misunderstood and misinterpreted. There will be one great outcry of Popery from one end of the country to the other. It will be thrust upon minds unprepared and on an uncatechised Church. Some will take it up as a beautiful theory unrealised; others will be frightened and scandalised, and reject it; and all will want a guidance which one hardly knows where they shall find. How the doctrine may be first thrown forward we know not, but the powers of the world may any day turn their backs upon us, and this probably will lead to those effects I have described.'"

VOL. II. P. 88.

For the benefit of some readers we may give the following definition of 'Præmunire,' taken from 'Hook's Dictionary':

'Præmunire in law is either taken for a form of writ, or for the offence whereon the writ of Præmunire is granted. The writ in question is named from its initial words, *Præmunire facias*, and it is chiefly known in ecclesiastical matters from a persecuting use to which it is applied by the statute of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20, which enacts, that if the dean and chapter refuse to elect the person

nominated by the king to the vacant bishopric, or if any archbishop or bishop refuse to confirm or consecrate him, they shall incur the penalties of the statutes of the Præmunire. These penalties are no less than the following:—From the moment of conviction the defendant is out of the king's protection, his body remains in prison during the king's pleasure, and all his goods, real or personal, are forfeited to the Crown. He can bring no action, nor recover damages for the most atrocious injuries, and no man can safely give him comfort, aid, or relief.'

Some extracts may be given from Mr. Newman's pamphlet on Suffragan Bishops, printed in 1835, and reprinted in 'Via Media,' vol. ii.:

'I will venture to say every thinking man will admit the overpopulousness of the existing Dioceses. Such vast charges must be distressing even to the most vigorous minds; oppressing them with a sense of responsibility, if not rather engrossing, dissipating, and exhausting their minds with the mere formal routine of business. If they are able to sustain such duties, they are greater than the inspired lawgiver of Israel, who said: "I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me." Nothing is more necessary to the rulers of the Church than that they should have seasons of leisure. A whirl of business is always unfavourable to depth and accuracy of religious views. It is one chief end of the institution of the ministerial order itself that there should be men in the world who have time to think apart from it, and live above it, in order to influence those whose duties call them more directly into the bustle of it. So much was this felt in early times, that places of retreat were sometimes assigned to the Bishops at a distance from their city, whither they were expected to betake themselves, during certain seasons of the year, for the purpose of collecting their minds. Doubtless such leisure may be abused, as everything else; but so far is clear, that while leisure *may* become an evil, an incessant hurry of successive engagements *must* be an evil, a serious evil to the whole Church, hurtful to anyone, and more than personally hurtful, dangerous to the common cause, in the case of those who are by office guides of conduct, arbiters in moral questions, patterns of holiness and wisdom, and not the mere executive of a system which is ordered by prescribed rules and can go on without them. . . .'

VOL. II. P. 114.—MR. NEWMAN'S ADDRESS,

On occasion of laying the first stone of the Church at Littlemore, July 21, 1835.

TO MY PARISHIONERS.

My Brethren,—I do not like this occasion to pass without sharing with you one or two thoughts upon it.

Surely to build a house to God's honour and service is a good work. It has been our purpose to do this, as you know, for some months; it is our prayer and hope that our hands may be strengthened to fulfil it, and we have this day begun it. Let us humbly say, 'Prosper Thou the work of our hands upon us, O prosper Thou our handy-work!' And God's holy word gives us assurance, to our great comfort, that He will prosper it.

When Jacob was on his journey to Padan-aram, he saw angels ascending and descending. You will find the account of it in Genesis xxviii. When he awoke, he took the stone he had used as a pillow and 'set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon it. And he called the name of that place Bethel'; *i.e.* the House of God. And he 'vowed a vow, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, then shall the Lord be my God; and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house; and of all that Thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto Thee.' He was at length prospered so as to be able to fulfil this good purpose of his, as you will read in the thirty-fifth chapter of the same book. Again, we have the example of holy David, who brought together the materials for building the Temple, 'gold and silver, brass and iron, wood, precious stones, and marble stones in abundance,' and drew a 'pattern of the porch and of the houses thereof, and of the courts, and the chambers'; and God blessed his good design, and fulfilled it to him in the days of his son Solomon, by whom it was all built. You may read the account of it in 1 Chron. xxviii., xxix., and 2 Chron. ii.–vii. We are indeed beginning a very humble work, not to be compared to the building of the Temple; but Christ praised the widow who cast in two mites into the treasury (Mark xii. 41–44), and we trust He will not reject our offering, though it be a small one.

Again, we read in the book of Ezra ii., iii., how, when the Temple had been destroyed by God's enemies, some hundreds of years after Solomon's time, 'some of the chief of the fathers' 'offered freely for the House of God to set it up in his place. They gave

after their ability unto the treasure of the work three score and one thousand drachms of gold and five thousand pounds of silver, and one hundred priests' garments.' 'And when the builders laid the foundation of the Temple of the Lord, they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals to praise the Lord, after the ordinance of David, king of Israel. And they sang together by course, in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, because He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever toward Israel.' And here again God was gracious; as they began, so they finished under His protection; and that Temple, so raised, was honoured in the course of time with the presence of our Saviour Christ, when He came on earth, as He had promised by the mouth of His prophet Haggai at the time of its building: 'The Desire of all Nations (*i.e.* Christ) shall come,' said the prophet, 'and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former.'

These are grounds of encouragement from Scripture that God will bless our present undertaking.

The simplicity of this address was adapted to the rustic population of Littlemore. As far as the Editor can remember there was scarcely a house beyond the rank of cottage in the village. Mr. Newman and his curates seem to have been the first gentry in the place, and Mrs. and the Miss Newmans were certainly the first ladies with whom the people had had any intercourse. And the welcome given to these ladies was of the warmest nature, but the admiration and respect excited had to be expressed in their own vernacular, as when the village schoolmistress, after some outbreak of the children, addressed them: 'That if everybody was as good as the Miss Newmans, there would not be so much robbing of orchards or stealing of coppers.' In a letter to Miss M. A. D., dated St. Giles, Oxford, June 1849, A. M. writes: 'I had some little commissions and calls to do for Jemima, which I was very glad to execute, and to hear their lamentations over the changes, and their counting up all they have lost. "All the gentlemen they used to know that never come near them now." I was hardly prepared for the strong hold Mr. Newman seems to have gained over their affections—that is, I imagined his power lay in a different class, though of course all must value his care and kindness; but his peculiar influence told in the same way among these people, only expressed in different language. "We don't seem so comfortable now as we used to do, I thinks," one nice old woman said to me so often. They don't like

the changes that have taken place since, and evidently resent the enlargement and alterations in the church as an injury to their remembrance of Mr. Newman. It is undoing what he did. The old women of Littlemore talk of recent innovations very much in the tone that elsewhere they resent "Puseyite" restoration to primitive practice; how keen these associations were I can hardly describe. Nor shall I ever forget the truth and feeling with which one woman described his last parting with her and her husband the day before he finally left Littlemore. Every thing he did is remembered as if it were but yesterday. . . .'. Not that these were really old times, as is shown by the records of a much later visit, when the writer went from Christ Church to make calls at Littlemore, at the request of Dr. Newman on the one hand, and his sister, Mrs. Mozley, on the other.

A. M. TO MRS. JOHN MOZLEY.

Christ Church: May 8, 1875.

You would hear (I probably told you) that Dr. Newman gave me some names at Littlemore of people that would remember him. It was, of course, a great thing to have something to do, and an excuse for calling. My first call was on Mrs. Stroud, who was Mrs. Palmer and schoolmistress after your time. Her recollections of your brother were mainly of his visits to the school, and manner and influence with the children. As she and Humphrey had both advised my calling on Mrs. Crawley, and as he (Dr. Newman) mentions her in his note, and sends remembrances, I called, and had an interesting talk. Her husband's monument is in the churchyard. She is venerable looking and very grave in manner. She and her friend spoke of the Phippses as people to call on. I had heard of them before. It was an amusing call, beginning with her exclamation of 'Lawkadaisy!' when she heard I knew your brother, and was your sister-in-law. Her memory is unjust in this way, that she calls your brother 'the old gentleman,' and you and Harriett 'the young ladies.' She is full of really interesting recollections; flatters herself that your brother, in reading the funeral service over her baby, which he did the last day that he read the service at all, *added* some emphatic words to express the strength of his conviction of her child's eternal blessedness (of course the words, 'Come, ye blessed children of my Father,' &c.). She looks back still to the solemnity of his voice and manner in the service of the preceding Good Friday (of course in all these

memories she was looking back at least thirty years). The old man, her husband, sent his message: 'Tell him we be old too, but we be still alive.' The wife put in, 'Husband in his seventy-nine. Lawkadaisy! you be older than Mr. Newman.'

But my most interesting call was on Martha K. So full of enthusiasm for you all, so intelligent and so vivid in her recollections, and better able to express her feelings. It was evidently the golden time of her life. Dr. Newman examined her for confirmation, and she and another were the head candidates. Also she was of your mother's class, has most devoted recollections of her kindness to people, knows still her taste in needlework, and how particular she was. She still sees you and Harriett in green silk cloaks, in which you looked so nice. You were her ideals of goodness and taste. When I told her of the walk across the fields that you had spoken of, she insisted on showing it me, and a most beautiful view of Oxford we came upon. She talked eagerly on the way. I recognised Rose Hill when I saw it [where Mrs. Newman lived before Rose *Bank*], though she says it is altered in some parts. She talked of the Cassels, and looked back on the honour of having often helped in the kitchen. We parted at the gate of Rose Bank. When your brother was at Littlemore in 1868, about which I will tell you more when we meet, she was sent for in a great hurry to go down to the Crawleys to see him, and described his sitting with them in the garden, and how when he shook hands with her she felt as if she could not let his hand go. He sent her his photograph after this, which is immensely valued, and was brought down for me to see. She is an invalid, and the family were in great trouble from an accident her son-in-law had just met with; but all was forgotten for the time.

VOL. II. P. 188.

In a very interesting obituary of the Rev. R. F. Wilson in the 'Guardian' of October 10, 1888, which will surely have its place in the history of the worthies of that day, there occurs this sentence: 'The almost boyish eagerness of the vicar was occasionally in rather amusing contrast with the sober—sometimes almost alarmed—hesitation of the curate. And he had sometimes to chew the cud of half-humorous perplexity over the hard sayings which were tossed in his way as axiomatic. But the spirit of bright love which penetrated all Keble's doings could not but

fascinate one in continual contact with him; and so his associates soon came to put up with his hard sayings, then to understand them, and then to like him better for them.'

Vol. II. P. 336.

In avowing himself the author of No. 90, Mr. Newman addressed the following letter to the Vice-Chancellor:

Oriel College, March 16, 1841.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor,—I write this respectfully to inform you, that I am the author, and have the sole responsibility, of the Tract on which the Hebdomadal Board has just now expressed an opinion, and that I have not given my name hitherto, under the belief that it was desired that I should not. I hope it will not surprise you if I say, that my opinion remains unchanged of the truth and honesty of the principle maintained in the Tract, and of the necessity of putting it forth. At the same time I am prompted by my feelings to add my deep consciousness that every thing I attempt might be done in a better spirit, and in a better way; and, while I am sincerely sorry for the trouble and anxiety I have given to the members of the Board, I beg to return my thanks to them for an act which, even though founded on misapprehension, may be made as profitable to myself as it is religiously and charitably intended.—I say all this with great sincerity, and am, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, your obedient Servant,

John Henry Newman.

Vol. II. P. 453.

A pamphlet of the day gives the feelings of intimate friends on the renewed attack on No. 90. A few extracts from 'A Short Appeal,' signed Frederic Rogers, a name familiar to the reader of these volumes, are given here:

'To condemn a whole, undivided work is plainly to condemn, not tenets, but a writer. And I do not say that this mere personal censure is, under all circumstances, unjustifiable. It is an unassailable method—the most safe, though the least useful or generous; and for that reason it is often recommended to persons who find themselves unequal to their position. But it should be

looked in the face, it should be fully understood, especially as it is the course uniformly pursued by those in authority at Oxford. . . . The proposed vote *is* personal, in fair construction; and it may justly be added that the formal act of Convocation, if not legally interpreted by, yet does practically receive its colour from, the popular clamour. The vote is to be an answer to a cry; that cry is one of dishonesty, and this dishonesty the proposed resolution, as plainly as it dares to say anything, insinuates.

'On this part of the question those who have been ever honoured by Mr. Newman's friendship must feel it dangerous to allow themselves to speak. And yet they must speak, for no one else can appreciate it as truly as they do. When they see the person whom they have been accustomed to revere as few men are revered, whose labours, whose greatness, whose tenderness, whose singleness and holiness of purpose they have been permitted to know intimately, not allowed even the poor privilege of silence and retirement . . . but dragged forth to suffer an oblique and tardy condemnation . . . it does become very difficult to speak without sullying what it is a kind of pleasure to feel is his cause by using hard words, or betraying it by not using them.'

Vol. II. P. 464.

The period of Mr. Newman's change lives in many memories as a sad and heavy time; but one letter that has come back to the Editor gives an example of what tenderness and kindness can do towards softening the heaviest blow.

A. M. to Miss M. A. D.

. . . Poor Mrs. E. Newman, the second time I was alone with her, introduced the subject of her nephew. His change has certainly altered and depressed her spirits sadly, but she spoke of it with tenderness and almost indulgence. It is the greatest grief that could have fallen on her, I think (except any ill betiding Jemima), but it has not lessened her love for him. Indeed, it is all too bewildering for censure, even if she had the heart for it. She said she had had a few 'sweet words' from him, written probably the day when he took the final step, and it was a great satisfaction to me to think he had done this, and that in such a crisis he should have remembered the claims upon him with which the public had nothing to do, and have realised the pain he was causing. Not that

I had ever doubted his doing what was right, but still I was glad to know this. She sought through two or three letter-cases to find the note, and at length found it close at hand, in her work-box. It was written with a trembling hand, and with great intensity of feeling. He pleaded for the step he was taking that only so could he hope to acquit himself at God's judgment seat. 'He alone knows how much you are in my heart, or how it pierces my heart so to distress you.'

It may be added here that when, in 1847, Mr. Newman passed through Derby and spent a few hours with his sister, he called on his aunt to take leave, and found her reading the Psalms for the day with her little nephew in alternate verses. He seemed to have felt in a moment what was best to do, and, instead of interrupting, proposed to join them, taking his turn in the reading. It was an act of worship in which all could join, and would certainly soothe her in memory.

VOL. II. P. 390.

The following are the opening paragraphs of the Protest made by Mr. Keble to the Archbishop:

To the Most Reverend Father in God, William, by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan.

WHEREAS the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Winchester did, on the seventh day of December, 1841, refuse to admit to examination for the Holy Order of Priesthood Peter Young, clerk, M.A., Curate of Hursley, avowedly and solely on the ground of his declining positively to deny all mysterious Presence of our Blessed Lord's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist, excepting to the faithful receiver, he, the said Peter Young, desiring to leave the same an open question—that is, neither to affirm nor deny such Presence.

And whereas it has ever been held lawful and right, and no breach of canonical obedience, for the priests of the Catholic Church to remonstrate against what appear to them grave doctrinal errors, even in their own superiors, provided all be done in dutiful and respectful manner, and in submission to higher authority,—

Now I, John Keble, a priest of the Church of England, and

Vicar of Hursley aforesaid, do hereby solemnly and seriously, as in the presence of Almighty God, protest and appeal, so far as the laws of this Church allow, against the afore-mentioned decision of his Lordship, humbly submitting my appeal to the judgment of Your Grace as Metropolitan.

I protest and appeal,—

1. Because the doctrine of the Real Spiritual Presence of our Lord's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist is a great mystery of the Gospel, closely connected with that of His real Incarnation, and therefore with the foundation of the Faith; and it is not lawful for any one Bishop authoritatively to enforce any statement concerning high and mysterious doctrines more detailed than those which the formularies of the Church contain.

2. Because in this case the candidate had distinctly denied what our Church denies, and affirmed what she affirms: neither was any particular reason alleged for suspecting him of heresy on this or any other subject: nor was he justly so chargeable in his Lordship's opinion, as is proved by the fact of his Lordship's expressly permitting him still to exercise the office of deacon in his diocese.

3. Because when Mr. Young did unwillingly proceed, by command of the Bishop, to express his sentiments in his own words, not even then did his Lordship allege against him any definite error, but only that his statement was vague and indistinct in his Lordship's apprehension, and that he declined assenting to a certain negative proposition which his Lordship laid before him.

4. Because the proposition to which his Lordship required such formal assent is not contained, either literally or in substance, in any of the formularies of the Church of England, and therefore to enforce subscription to it as a condition of ordination is not abiding by the discipline of Christ as this Church and realm hath received the same, &c., &c.

Mr. J. A. Froude, writing in 'Good Words,' gives his early recollections of Mr. Newman:

'When I entered at Oxford John Henry Newman was beginning to be famous. The responsible authorities were watching him with anxiety; clever men were looking with interest and curiosity on the apparition among them of one of those persons of indisputable genius who was likely to make a mark upon his time. His appearance was striking. He was above the middle height, slight and spare. His head was large, his face remarkably like that of Julius

Cæsar. The forehead, the shape of the ears and nose, were almost the same. The lines of the mouth were very peculiar, and I should say exactly the same. I have often thought of the resemblance and believed that it extended to the temperament. In both there was an original force of character which refused to be moulded by circumstances, which was to make its own way, and become a power in the world; a clearness of intellectual perception, a disdain for conventionalities, a temper imperious and wilful, but along with it a most attaching gentleness, sweetness, singleness of heart and purpose. Both were formed by nature to command others; both had the faculty of attracting to themselves the passionate devotion of their friends and followers. . . . Greatly as his poetry had struck me, he was himself all that the poetry was, and something far beyond. • I had then never seen so impressive a person. I met him now and then in private; I attended his church and heard him preach Sunday after Sunday; he is supposed to have been insidious, to have led his disciples on to conclusions to which he designed to bring them, while his purpose was carefully veiled. He was, on the contrary, the most transparent of men. He told us what he believed to be true. He did not know where it would carry him.'—Vol. for 1881, p. 162.

From 'Studies in Poetry and Philosophy,' by Principal Shairp.—P. 244.

'. . . This movement, moreover, when at its height extended its influence far beyond the circle of those who directly adopted its views. There was not, in Oxford at least, a reading man who was not more or less indirectly influenced by it. Only the very idle or the very frivolous were wholly proof against it. On all others it impressed a sobriety of conduct and a seriousness not usually found among large bodies of young men. It raised the tone of average morality in Oxford to a level which perhaps it had never before reached. You may call it over-wrought and too highly strung. Perhaps it was. It was better, however, for young men to be so than to be doubters or cynics.

'If such was the general aspect of Oxford society at that time, where was the centre and soul from which so mighty a power emanated? It lay, and had for some years lain, mainly in one man—a man in many ways the most remarkable that England

has seen during this century, perhaps the most remarkable whom the English Church has produced in any century—JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.'

In the same tone the Very Rev. W. C. Lake, Dean of Durham, has written:

'This I may say, that I cannot imagine a higher tribute to Cardinal Newman than the high tone of moral feeling which, as far as I can judge (and I had large means of judging), prevailed in the Oxford society of young men during the period of his influence.

'No doubt it was rather a peculiar time, with something of "the torrent's smoothness ere it dash below" . . . but, allowing for all this, I cannot but think that the high and unworldly tone of University life in Newman's day was a remarkable phenomenon, and was chiefly due to him.'

The following high and just estimate of Mr. Newman's Sermons opens a notice of the edition of 'Parochial Sermons' published in 1868:

'Dr. Newman's Sermons stand by themselves in modern English literature; it might be said, in English literature generally. There have been equally great masterpieces of English writing in this form of composition, and there have been preachers whose theological depth, acquaintance with the heart, earnestness, tenderness, and power have not been inferior to his. But the great writers do not touch, pierce, and get hold of minds as he does, and those who are famous for the power and results of their preaching do not write as he does. His sermons have done more perhaps than any one thing to mould and quicken and brace the religious temper of our time; they have acted with equal force on those who were nearest and on those who were furthest from him in theological opinion. They have altered the whole manner of feeling towards religious subjects. We know now that they were the beginning, the signal and first heave, of a vast change that was to come over the subject; of a demand from religion of a thoroughgoing reality of meaning and fulfilment, which is familiar to us, but was new when it was first made. And, being this, these sermons are also among the very finest examples of what the English language of our day has done in the hands of a master. Sermons of such intense conviction and

directness of purpose, combined with such originality and perfection on their purely literary side, are rare everywhere. Remarkable instances, of course, will occur to every one of the occasional exhibition of this combination, but not in so sustained and varied and unfailing a way. Between Dr. Newman and the great French school there is this difference—that they are orators, and he is as far as anything can be in a great preacher from an orator. . . . No one ever brought out so impressively the sense of the impenetrable and tremendous vastness of that amid which man plays his part. In such sermons as those on the 'Intermediate State,' the 'Invisible World,' the 'Greatness and Littleness of Human Life,' the 'Individuality of the Soul,' the 'Mysteriousness of our Present Being,' we may see exemplified the enormous irruption into the world of modern thought of the unknown and the unknowable, as much as in the writers who, with far different objects, set against it the clearness and certainty of what we do know.'—*Saturday Review*, June 5, 1869.

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