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ARTICLE IV.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN: A STUDY.¹

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ONE of the most interesting characters in English history is John Henry Newman. That we may understand his ideas, his aims, and his work, it is necessary to take into view the state of England in his day — both its political and its theological condition. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century the country was in a ferment. The Reform Bill was passed by the British Parliament in 1832. The Bill was the result of an agitation that amounted to a revolution. It marks an advanced step in the recognition of popular rights, like the establishing of Magna Charta, the deposition of Charles I., the introduction of the era of toleration. Rotten boroughs were suppressed, one hundred forty-three boroughs lost their representatives, the large manufacturing towns were allowed additional representatives in Parliament, popular franchise was extended, the powers of the nobility were curtailed. The established church was severely criticized: its prerogatives seemed to be in danger. A spirit of worldliness pervaded the nation. Thrift, economy, a philosophy of utility, absorbed the attention of politicians and very much that of students and philosophers. To a timid aristocracy the foundations of civilization seemed to be shaken, and the country threatened with a barbarizing democracy. Beneficed clergymen stood aghast,

¹Read before the Rutland Association of Ministers, Rutland, Vermont, June 6, 1911.

horror-struck. The forces of evil seemed to them to be taking possession of the land. Ten bishoprics in Ireland had been suppressed, English endowments were threatened. Church rites and ordinances were profanely assailed, strict churchmen felt that the drift of sentiment was carrying the populace directly into atheism. The terms "Whig" and "Liberal" were considered infidel, if not satanic. The most alarming thing was, that some of the dignitaries of the church had come to undervalue their high calling, had forgotten the ancient, apostolic, sacred source of their ecclesiastical faith and polity.

In connection with this political and theological agitation many noted names appeared — Peel, Russell Brougham, among statesmen; Arnold, Whately, and especially Pusey, Keble, Froude, Newman, among churchmen. As opposed to the tendencies of the times the most marked theological movement was known as the Oxford Movement, often popularly styled Tractarianism, also Puseyism. Newman was the person who most prominently gave character to its operations.

I. NEWMAN'S PERSONALITY.

His intellectual superiority, his power of subtile discrimination, his capacity for leadership, his boldness in displaying his views before the world, his readiness to accept consequences, the abiding impression from his astounding utterances, combined to render him a unique personage, the object of a curiosity that lasts to the present day.

He was not characteristically English, though he was thoroughly absorbed in English interests. On the father's side he was of Dutch descent, farther back of Hebrew, it was said. His mother was of Huguenot origin — French and Protestant. One of Newman's biographers speaks of the father as an

admirer of Franklin, an enthusiastic reader of Shakespeare, with a "talent for music, calculation and business, of untiring energy, legal acumen, dislike of speculative metaphysics." These qualities, the biographer thinks, were conspicuous in the son. He quotes from an acquaintance of Newman the following description: "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 ear and the 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 believe that it extended to the temperament."

Considered by the years, his life divides itself into two almost equal parts: from infancy to 1845 (forty-four years) he was in connection with the Anglican Church; for the remainder of his life (forty-five years) he was in connection with the Roman Catholic Church. The events that interest us occurred mainly in the first period.

He was born February 21, 1801. From the first he was under strictly religious training. In childhood he delighted in reading the Bible and Scott's Commentaries. When he was seven years old he attended school at Esling, where two hundred boys were gathered. At the age of fifteen he manifested his reverence for antiquity by the pleasure he found in reading the Fathers. He entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1816, won a scholarship in 1818, received his degree in 1820. He was not specially eminent as a scholar (once failed at an examination), but still was elected to a fellowship in Oriel in 1823, and in 1824 Vice-Principal of St. Albans Hall, where he was associated with Whately. He was appointed tutor at Oriel in 1826. This position he resigned in 1832 because of differences with the provost on questions of dis-

cipline. From 1828 to 1843 he was Vicar of St. Mary's, an Oxford church, and was University preacher in 1831-32. An event which seems to have made a profound impression upon him was a Mediterranean voyage extending from December, 1832, to July, 1833. He had as a companion Richard Hurrell Froude, for whose health the trip was undertaken. Froude was an ardent churchman, considered Protestantism a gross sin, and held views akin to those of Rome. The historic scenes which Newman visited and the sentiments of his companion produced a lasting effect upon his character. He formed other churchly friendships, as with Pusey and Keble. The poem "The Christian Year," by the latter, he greatly admired.

Newman's intellect is a study: we might almost apply to it the words "unknown yet well known." The popular estimate of his mental powers is pretty distinct. A close study of the man has elicited some curious questions. While he matured late he gave early promise of a brilliant, certainly a marked future. He was vivacious and imaginative rather than contemplative. As would be expected, he wrote verses from boyhood. A biographer reports that "in his early productions are touches, brief yet noticeable, that suggest an experience of doubt, conflict, terror and remorse." In his Mediterranean voyage of six months he committed to paper no less than eighty-five poems, among them the hymn "Lead, Kindly Light." His work as a literary man, however, was not to be of this kind. He was not a metaphysician, "cared nothing for Kant or Coleridge," but was a man of perception, specially of imagination, considered the feelings as well as the reason a source of knowledge, was naturally of a spiritualizing tendency, could carry on his speculations as if there were no material existence. He did not claim to be an orig-

inal thinker, but put to service such thoughts and suggestions as might come to him. He is, however, recognized as the most powerful intellect of his time. In his own day he had the reputation of being the keenest of controversialists. His expostulations with Sir Robert Peel are still considered masterly; his replies to Gladstone, it is thought, do not fall below the contentions of his opponent. Canon Kingsley he addresses rather imperiously. His command of language is considered unsurpassed. This popular judgment is perhaps to be accepted; yet the style, to be praised for its clearness and condensation, seems to me to lack somewhat the spontaneity of confident and inspired thought. He is known to have corrected and recorrected his various compositions. The last chapter of the "Grammar of Assent" is said to have been written eight times. Some essays, or parts of essays, are said to have been rewritten twenty times.

The traits that have now been noticed are of the ordinary kind, though extraordinary in energy; but he had other traits, peculiar, not easily described, not easily apprehended. He seems to have been possessed of a second, an inner self. His prevailing convictions were frankly, openly uttered; while his private meditations ultimately produced surprising modifications in his conduct. There were contradictory estimates of his character. Gladstone when an undergraduate at Oxford heard him preach at St. Mary's, and supposed he was a Low Churchman. A careful and admiring biographer says that he could never have been so classed. As seen at a distance he seems to have been an almost superstitious believer, yet for years he was widely believed to be a skeptic. He combated what he supposed to be the most obvious errors and advocated openly the clearest truths; yet friends and foes alike ascribed to him an innate subtlety of intellect. It was felt that his

speculations at times ran along lines not easily traceable. He was possessed of a magnetism that fascinated the young and rising scholars of his time; yet he never had a trustful following and on the whole lived a lonely life. The terms "sweet," "gentle," and "winning" were continually applied to him; yet all commentators of his works speak of his habit of indulging in irony and of his power of sarcasm. Though he advocated prudence and reserve in the teaching of religious truths, accepting as an often appropriate text, "Neither cast ye your pearls before swine," no one now doubts that he earnestly sought to disclose the truth and nothing but the truth—perhaps, at times, not the whole truth. But he was harshly judged in his day. Though he renounced position and emolument in scrupulous regard for honesty, he was accused of justifying deception, falsehood, and actual lying. Early he opposed the Roman Catholic Church, and heartily embraced the Anglican doctrines; yet finally rejected Anglicanism as heretical, and entered the Catholic as the only true church. This he did openly, humbly confessing his errors and mistakes. Still, even old friends accused him of being a sly intriguer and a traitor.

All these contrarities of sentiment and impression are to be attributed, as it seems to me, not to malice, not to weakness, but to the twofold structure of his mind.

II. NEWMAN'S WORK.

1. *As Restorer of Old Ideals.* He sought by conversation, by discussions, by review articles, by sermons, by tracts (for he originated the Tractarian Movement), to mold popular opinion, and bring it into accord with what he considered the inherited glories of England. He with kindred minds of deep religious sentiment considered that the church was the

power by which the evils of the day were to be overcome. Newman when absent from home, longing to return to his own land, with forebodings of coming trouble, sobbing violently, said that he had a great work to do in England. He referred to a resuscitation of ecclesiastical forces. He and his coadjutors looked upon the church as an institution with inherent powers, not to be molded or modified by the state. It was to them the embodiment of certain truths to be permanently maintained. He was accustomed to say, The first thing is a principle of dogma. With him dogma was the fundamental principle of religion. He said he knew no other religion. His words were: "Religion as a mere sentiment is to me a dream and a mockery." Later, referring to his work, he said, "My battle was with liberalism. By liberalism I mean the antidogmatic principle and its development." He saw in religion an abiding reality. "Faith alone lengthens a man's existence and makes him in his own feelings live in the future and in the past." In his view this permanence and power of the church is due to its divine foundation. Jesus Christ has established it, and given to his apostles the office of continuing it with its original prerogatives. Through the apostles and their successors, duly consecrated bishops, is communicated the divine grace that is its life. The church grows by absorbing and nourishing those who become sons of God, partakers, by baptism, of the divine nature. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is fundamental in the Christian system, according to these theologians. There is no other way of entering the church. Dr. Pusey, the most distinguished personage of Oxford in that day, wrote Tract No. 67 (of "Tracts for the Times") to set forth anew this doctrine. He says that in the early church no organization from Britain to India hesitated at all to accept this view. They

held that men become Christians by being born of God. This birth is through baptism — by water and the Spirit — and Christian life is nothing else than the life and growth of this new creature. The doctrine is not that the simple application of water renews the soul, but that by divine ordinance the Spirit imparts the divine nature to the one to whom the sacrament is properly administered. When the ordinance is administered, all past sin is forgiven, and the recipient enters on the life of the spirit as the new-born child enters on the life of the flesh. ' Hence there is no other Christian life than the baptismal, and no salvation out of the church. (These last statements are to be taken as ideal, and in many cases, perhaps generally, allowed to be susceptible of modification.) It was the conviction of men like Newman that the great need of England in the nineteenth century was a sense of the solidity of the church, a recognition of its sacred prerogatives. The demand was thought to be urgent. Certain bishoprics had been suppressed by the government, warnings had been thrown out to the established church; and, what seemed to Newman utterly intolerable, the government, with the assent of the Archbishop, had established a Jerusalem bishopric which was to take under its charge in certain regions of the East, on equal terms, Episcopalians and members of other religious denominations. In opposition to such public acts certain devout churchmen set themselves to inculcate upon their generation the true idea of a church, a church with inherent authority, developing itself from internal forces. They held that it is based on the incarnation of Jesus Christ. It is empowered to administer the sacraments, and through these the incarnation of Christ is continued. Baptism is a regenerating ordinance because a present divine person, Christ, through the Holy Spirit, renews the one who receives

it, infuses into him a new life. The Eucharist is effective by the real presence of the Son of God in its administration. Hence the church is the church of the living God. The reformers of the time of which we speak undertook to popularize this idea by issuing certain doctrinal tracts called "Tracts for the Times." Forty-six were sent forth in the first two years. In addition, translations of the Church Fathers were undertaken, and an Anglo-Catholic library was gathered.

2. *As a Preacher.* The more personal work of Newman is to be noticed. He was a great preacher. He became vicar of St. Mary's, an Oxford church, in 1828, and remained in that position fifteen years. He resigned his position in 1843, but after 1841 was not happy in it. At first he discharged the duties of his office with much enjoyment. He says that his new occupation seemed like spring after winter. His life was one of free action; his tongue was loosed. He was not yet under the stress that he afterwards felt; but he was earnest, and his power was a personal joy. His reputation filled the city: undergraduates came to hear him, strangers attended St. Mary's. It was felt that he had struck a new mine of religious thought, that the depths of practical religion and vital theology were opened to his hearers. Then he was elegant in manner, possessed a melodious voice that readily adapted itself to the thought of the discourse. His power, however, was not in the delivery of his sermons but in the thought. The subjects of his discourses were akin, often with subtle connections, to the discussions of the day. A delicate melancholy frequently pervaded them, a pathetic lament over our human lot, over the frivolity and worldliness of social life. Coupled with these themes was a tender presentation of the redemptive work of our Lord, while a pro-

found awe hovered over the doctrine of the new birth of our humanity. His style of preaching may be illustrated by a single quotation, introduced by his biographer Hutton with this comment: "The extraordinary wealth of detail with which Newman conceives and realizes the various sins and miseries of the human lot has perhaps never been illustrated in all his writings with so much force as in the wonderful sixteenth sermon on 'The Mental Sufferings of our Lord in his Passion' — a sermon before which even the richness and wealth of Jeremy Taylor's imagination looks poor in comparison."

The biographer quotes the following description of the Lord's bearing the sins of the human race:—

"It is the long history of a world, and God alone can bear the load of it. Hopes blighted, vows broken, lights quenched, warnings scorned, opportunities lost, the innocent betrayed, the young hardened, the penitent relapsing, the just overcome, the aged falling, the sophistry of mischief, the wilfulness of passion, the obstinacy of pride, the tyranny of habit, the canker of remorse, the wasting fever of care, the anguish of shame, the pining of disappointment, the sickness of despair; such cruel, such pitiable spectacles, such heart-rending, revolting, detestable, maddening scenes; nay, the haggard faces, the convulsed lips, the flushed cheek, the dark brow of the willing victims of rebellion, they are all before Him now, they are upon Him and in Him. They are with Him instead of that ineffable peace which has inhabited His soul since the moment of His conception. They are upon Him, they are all but His own. He cries to His Father as if He were the criminal, not the victim. His agony takes the form of guilt and compunction. He is doing penance, He is making confession, He is exercising contrition with a reality and a virtue infinitely greater than that of all saints and penitents together, for He is the One Victim for us all, the sole Satisfaction, the real Penitent, all but the real sinner."

This passage is based certainly on the doctrine of vicarious suffering; but we overlook the logic in the almost blinding vision of the suffering itself.

3. *As a Tractarian.* The "Tracts for the Times" have already been alluded to. Their import and effect cannot pass unnoticed. They were the means by which the great work, tearfully foretold on his voyage with Froude, was undertaken. He with certain kindred spirits to whom, as a friendly critic says, "Religion was a most serious and awful thing," undertook to enlighten the people of England in true Christian doctrine and to correct public religious opinion. For this purpose they sent out a series of pamphlets, mostly small, popular in form, adapted to meet the questionings of the day and to impress the fact that some important truths had been forgotten. The initial movement was considered to be a sermon, preached July 14, 1833, by Keble, on "National Apostasy." The first three tracts were published in the following September. Most of the tracts were written by Newman; but Dr. Pusey, already a professor of high reputation, was looked upon as the official chief of the movement. In the first tract the author says: "I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built — our Apostolical Descent." The aim of these writers was to effect a second reformation, not by a return to the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth; not to the Protestantism of Luther and Calvin, but to the hierarchical sentiments of Laud. R. W. Church says: "Mr. Newman's deep conviction and fiery enthusiasm gave the tracts their first stamp. That great man's extraordinary genius drew all those within his sphere, like a magnet, to attach themselves to him and to his doctrine. What we may call his mesmeric influence acted not only on his Tractarian adherents, but even in some degree on outsiders." As time went on, these reformers were concentrated more and more into a clique by themselves. During the eight years in which the tracts were issued, ninety in number, it was in-

creasingly obvious that they were not only opposing the liberalism of the day, but were making aggressions upon the accepted views of the Church of England itself. Moreover, this inner circle of churchmen was not a unit. There were differences of opinion and of aim within the body. It was the desire, not to say the ambition, of some, especially of Newman, to show that the Anglican Church was not only apostolic but all-embracing, in fact catholic. Without attempting to give details it will be sufficient to point out the highest aim, the final effort, of Tractarianism as it is shown in Tract No. 90. This was written by Newman and closed the series; indeed, wakened such an opposition that a large part of the Anglicans themselves frowned upon the whole scheme.

The object of this particular tract was to show that Catholics could subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; that the Articles admit of such an interpretation that a Catholic can accept them with a good conscience. The argument is, The Articles were adopted under Edward VI., but had been prepared under his father, Henry VIII., and were the instrument of separating the Anglican Church from the Roman Catholic. Newman says: "Their framers constructed them in such a way as best to comprehend those who did not go so far in Protestantism as themselves." He adds: "If, then, their framers gained their side of the compact in effecting a reception of the Articles, let Catholics have theirs too in retaining their own Catholic interpretation of them."

I quote in substance a succinct account of a few of the interpretations advanced in Tract No. 90. Its drift was to show that the VIth and XXth Articles on Holy Scripture and the authority of the Church were not inconsistent with the Anglo-Catholic idea that the true rule of faith is not in Scrip-

ture alone, but also in apostolic tradition; that Article XI., on justification by faith *only*, did not exclude the doctrine of baptismal justification, and of justification by works as well; that Articles XIX. and XXI., on the Catholic Church and general councils, did not mean that the true Church is not infallible, but that the idea of express supernatural privilege, i.e. that councils properly called shall not err, lies beyond the scope of these Articles, or, at any rate, beside their determination; that Article XXII., on purgatory, pardons, images, relics, and invocation of saints, only condemned the *Romish* doctrine concerning them — not any other doctrine on these subjects, consequently not the Anglo-Catholic; that Article XXV. did not deny that confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction were sacraments, but only that they were not sacraments in the same sense as baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It will be in place to present a little more minutely the argumentation concerning another Article. The twenty-eighth affirms that "transubstantiation is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions." Newman says, What is opposed is the shocking doctrine that the body of Christ is not given, taken, and eaten after an heavenly and spiritual manner, but is carnally pressed with the teeth; whereas, the doctrine is, that the only substance thus treated is the bread which we see. He then goes on to argue that there is no objection to the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, because distance and presence are relative terms. To a blind man nothing is present but that which touches him. One who sees is in the presence of a star millions of miles away. Moreover, we do not know the relations of spirit to space and distance. "The body and blood of Christ may

be really literally present in the holy Eucharist, yet not having become present by local passage may still literally, really be on God's right hand; so that, though they be present in deed and truth, it may be impossible, it may be untrue, to say, that they are literally *in* the elements or *about* them, or in the soul of the receiver." "In answer then to the problem *how* Christ comes to us while remaining on high, I answer, Just as much as this, that he comes by the agency of the Holy Ghost *in* and *by* the sacraments."

4. *As a Student of Church History.* Newman gave a great deal of time to the study of history, especially church history. He made himself familiar with the controversies and heresies of the early Christians. In 1830 and the two years following he wrote and published a work on the Arians of the fourth century. He says: "About the middle of June (1839) I began to study and master the history of the Monophysites. . . . It was during this course of reading that for the first time a doubt came upon me of the tenableness of Anglicanism." It was in contemplating the position of the Donatists that he was wholly carried over into the doctrine of catholicity. Augustine's "great words" "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*" rang in his ears and put to flight all attempts to compromise on middle courses. When he was on the border line between England and Rome he wrote his work on the development of doctrine, which has sometimes been called his *magnum opus*. The object of the essay was to remove the obstacles to communion with Rome. He shuts out Protestantism in this way: "Whatever be historical Christianity, it is not Protestantism. If ever there were a safe truth it is this." He cites seven tests of church continuity, and shows, as he thinks, that all of them bear witness to the perpetuity of the Catholic (now Roman Catholic) Church. By an ar-

ray of facts gathered from a multitude of sects, the world over, he argues, in an essay of more than 140,000 words, that there is now one church developed in continuous progress from the Nicene era. He says:—

“On the whole, then, we have reason to say that if there be a form of Christianity at this day distinguished for its careful organization and its consequent power; if it spread over the world; if it is conspicuous for its zealous maintenance of its own creed; if it is intolerant towards what it considers error; if it is engaged in ceaseless war with all other bodies called Christian; if it, and it alone, is called ‘Catholic’ by the world, nay by those very bodies, and if it make much of the title; if it names them heretics, and warns them of coming woe, and calls on them one by one to come over to itself, overlooking every other tie, and if they, on the other hand, call it seducer, harlot, apostate, Antichrist, devil; if, however they differ with one another, they consider it their common enemy; if they strive to unite together against it and cannot; if they are but local; if they continually subdivide, and it remains one; if they fall one after another and make way for new sects and it remains the same; such a form of religion is not unlike the Christianity of the Nicene era.”

This conclusion he draws from the application of the first of the seven tests — “preservation of type or idea.” This work on development has been praised as prophetic, as an anticipation of the Darwinian scheme of philosophy.

III. RESULTANT OF YEARS OF INQUIRY.

1. *Mental Perplexity.* Newman’s struggle to get a firm footing for himself was a painful one. He did find a position of perfect repose, or thought he did, in the Catholic Church. But into that kingdom he entered with much tribulation. He seems for a time like a man trying to stand steady on a single plank floating in troubled waters. His description of himself as on his death-bed is painful enough, but it seems to me that his unhappy situation is more graphically presented in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Mozley, dated

December 22, 1844. She was greatly troubled over his career, and he replied to her inquiries in words that seem to disclose distracting uncertainties concerning his own welfare and that of others. He says:—

“If God gives me certain light, supposing it to be such, this is a reason for me to 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 Apostolic 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 it has been given, 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 granted 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 security to another, yet not to me.”

2. *Autobiography—An Explanation.* The volume of Newman's works most widely known is his “*Apologia pro Vita Sua.*” It was published in a series of magazine articles, then in book form in 1864. It came out in a condensed form in 1865, twenty years after he left the Anglican Church. It had been reported that he at times favored deception and prevarication in addressing the public, and that the Catholic clergy were prone to such practices. He deemed it his duty to defend himself and his associates from such charges, and wrote the autobiography bearing the above title. The con-

tents of the volume consist of narratives of his opinions and work from time to time, and so far as is needful for our purpose have already been given, but a glance at the pages of mental progress will be of interest. Before 1833, that is before he was thirty-two years of age, he had imbibed from Whately anti-Erastian views of the church—the doctrine of church independency. From Keble he had accepted the doctrine of the sacraments as fundamental in the constitution of the church. He was profoundly influenced by R. Hurrell Froude, who scorned the maxim, *The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants.* From 1833 to 1839 Newman was the leading spirit in the Oxford Movement. At this time he was groping for the true idea of a church, holding the Anglican to be *a* true church, if not *the* true church. He was not then sure where catholicity was to be found. He worked happily these seven years, and considered that 1839 was his culminating year as an Anglican. From 1839 to 1841 he devoted himself to showing that a Romanist could accept the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. His explaining anti-Romanism out of these Articles roused the bitter hostility of his fellow churchmen. From 1841 to 1843 his mind was in turmoil. He proposed to remain in the Anglican Church, but in lay communion, and resigned his position at St. Mary's. From 1843 to 1845 he was, as he expresses it, on his death-bed, that is he was dying to Anglicanism. He was satisfied that his own church was not in the catholic communion, and therefore was not in reality a church. This conviction compelled him to enter the Church of Rome, which he did in 1845.

3. *Argumentative Self-Justification.* Newman has given us a remarkable photograph of his lifelong habits of thought in his work entitled "*Grammar of Assent.*" The book was

published in 1870, twenty-five years after he embraced Romanism. It might be said to be a treatise on the laws of belief. Its special value is in showing that many important beliefs are maintained where strict demonstration is wanting. It points out, in general, the circumstances under which we may say of a proposition, "Yes, that is so." Like Butler's "Analogy," it gives prominence to probability. He says: "A main reason for my writing this Essay on Assent was, as far as I could, to describe the *organum investigandi* which I thought to be the true one." He begins with the assertion that all argumentation starts with an assumption or a first principle which is accepted by faith and appropriated as a firm basis for the process of reasoning. The foundation of an argument is not subject to proof. To establish its validity one must go back to a prior principle which would equally need confirmation. Our assent to a statement is first assent to an object of perception, then we assent to an inference; as, that the sun, seen to rise yesterday, to-day, etc., will rise to-morrow. To assent to a previous assent is a reflex or complex assent, and amounts to a conviction. Simple and reflex assent together make up the complex act of certitude. Many of our most obstinate and reasonable certitudes depend on proof informal and personal, not to be brought under logical rule. He says: "The final judgment on the validity of an inference in concrete matter is committed to the personal action of the ratiocinative faculty, the perfection and virtue of which I have called the Illative Sense." This "illative sense" acutely designates an admitted power of the mind. We are familiar with the terms "common sense," "sense of duty," "æsthetic sense"; but that sense by which we embrace convictions for which we cannot give reasons, has not before, so far as I know, received a name. There

are things which we all believe because of our feelings, though we cannot explain the mental process by which we reach our conclusions. We say, Such a man is honest, Such a one is to be suspected, Such an event is sure to occur, The thing is in the air. Mrs. Stowe was said to teach a theology of the bones. We believe these things simply because the mind begets a conviction of them. But the conviction may be as firm as if it came out at the end of a syllogism. For this subtle sense Newman has given, I think, a happy designation — the Illative Sense.

Newman applies his *organum investigandi* to theology, and justifies his own conclusions in renouncing Anglicanism and adopting Romanism, which was to him catholicity. He demands, as the platform on which he works, in all men a sincere desire to know the truth, a full acceptance of the difference between right and wrong. He demands, also, a belief in a just and holy God. He held that God is known through the conscience as the world is known through our natural senses. Possibly he is known directly, is certainly known by inference. Starting from this basis, he reaches the conclusion that the Catholic Church is the only church. This is the necessary result of a thorough ratiocination. The alternative is atheism or catholicity. Religion rises step by step on investigation, into Christianity, and Christianity must be in the end a catholic religion. Whatever beliefs may be entertained in the process of thought, there can be only one goal. Natural religion is inevitable to the candid mind, and Christianity is its inevitable completion.

“It is conceivable that a man might travel in his religious profession all the way from heathenism to catholicity through Mahometanism, Judaism, Unitarianism, Protestantism, and Anglicanism without any one certitude lost, but with a continual accumulation of truths which claimed from him and elicited from his intellect fresh and fresh certitudes.”

This view falls into accord with Newman's general and comprehensive idea of religion. Religious sentiment is natural to man. God is always kind and gracious, there were prehistoric revelations to men, there was a revelation known in Judaism, the Bible is the product of revelation. Christianity is the completion of preceding teachings from God, and the revealing process is still going on. Not all truths disclosed to men are contained in the Scriptures: there are subsequent revelations that have as great claim upon our faith as the teachings of the inspired Word. God withholds certain doctrines till the world is prepared for them. Newman was not ultramontane in his preferences, was not pleased with some of the decrees of Pius IX.; but, I suppose, accepted papal infallibility and the immaculate conception of the Virgin as of binding force.

IV. LABORS AND EXPERIENCES IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

There had been intimations that his later life was spent in comparative inactivity. His diocesan, Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. M. Mathorne, disposes of the charge in this way:—

“It is difficult to comprehend how, in the face of facts, the notion should ever have arisen that during your Catholic life you have been more occupied with your own thoughts than with the service of religion and the work of the church. If we take no other work into consideration beyond the written productions which your Catholic pen has given to the world, they are enough for the life's labor of another. There are the Lectures on Anglican Difficulties, the lectures on Catholicism in England, the great work on the scope and end of University Education, that on the office and work of Universities, the lectures and essays on University subjects and the two volumes of sermons; not to speak of your contributions to the *Atlantis*, which you founded, and to other periodicals; then there are those beautiful offerings to Catholic literature, the lectures on the Turks, Loss and Gain and Callista, and though last not least, the *Apologia*, which is destined to put many ill rumors to rest, and many unprofitable surmises; and yet

all these productions represent but a portion of your labor and that in the second half of your public life."

The Bishop then mentions, among other works, four important institutions with which Newman was connected, to which were attached many appendages and outgrowths, — an oratory, a mission, a university in Ireland, and a school for the education of the higher classes. In addition to these employments he was engaged much in pastoral work, in care for the poor, the enfeebled, the diseased.

A few salient points (and but few are popularly known) of his post-Anglican life are of sufficient interest to receive notice. He left Oxford, forever as he supposed, in 1846, actually for thirty-two years. After an absence of that duration he returned for a visit as a graduate and fellow. In the meantime he saw the place only when he saw the spires as a passing traveler. He spent some months in Oscott in 1846 and in the course of the year visited Rome. He returned from Rome in 1847, commissioned by the Pope to establish an oratory, the oratory of St. Philip Neri, in England. He published in 1849 discourses to mixed congregations, and twelve lectures in 1850. He went to Dublin in 1854 to take an important position in the University, but differed with his colleagues on matters of discipline, as he had when tutor at Oriel, and returned to England in 1858. In 1859 he established a school for Catholics at Ergbaston. His controversy with Kingsley occurred in 1864, leading to the writing of the "Apologia pro Vita Sua." The controversy with Gladstone was in 1874. In this Catholic period he was prosecuted for libel by a man named Acchilli, and fined one hundred pounds by Justice Coleridge. It is reported (the report seems incredible) that the expense of the trial was fourteen thousand pounds, and that the sum was paid by friends, much of it

collected on the Continent. He visited Rome again in 1879 and was made a cardinal—Cardinal of St. George—by Pope Gregory XIV. He died August 11, 1890.

He does not seem to have been received by the Catholics with open arms. Pope Pius IX., at first friendly, ceased to be cordial. Cardinal Wiseman, a born Catholic, made cardinal nearly thirty years earlier than Newman, did not sustain him at Dublin, where he had need of support. Cardinal Manning, seven years his junior, six years later in passing from Anglicanism to Romanism, a cardinal four years earlier, after a period of friendship became alienated from him. I suspect that Newman's personality and independence of thought were distasteful to the extreme devotees of Rome.

V. PRESENT ESTIMATE OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

It will now be granted that the attempt of the Tractarians was well meant, prompted by a devoutly religious spirit; but it must be confessed that they were little aware of the prevailing drift of the age in politics and social morals. They entertained a too nearly idolatrous regard for antiquity. The opposition to their drastic measures and overbearing criticisms was strenuous and bitter. Non-churchmen regarded them with contempt. Churchmen, nearly allied in occupation and thought, turned against them with the natural hostility of alienated friends. Dr. Arnold called the Tractarians "the Oxford Malignants." Men of high station condemned them with sincere disapproval, bishops in their charges alluded to their doctrines as dangerous. Still they had friends, and in these later days the movement is recognized as productive of good results, one that might have been turned to good account. Church, a warm sympathizer, says: "The men of the movement with all their mistakes seem to me the salt of

their generation." I compress his comment on the clergy of the day: In their apathy and self-satisfied ignorance, in their dullness of apprehension and forethought, the Authorities of the University let pass the great opportunity of their time. They settled into a pronounced dislike which allowed itself to acquiesce in the belief that men so well known in Oxford, once so admired and honored, had sunk down to deliberate corrupters of the truth and palterers with their own intellect and consciences.

Tractarianism, in the narrow sense, defeated itself. But this term should not be applied to the entire Oxford Movement. This larger movement, it seems to me, had a good effect upon the Christian world at large. It called attention to the fact that the church is essentially one from age to age, that it abides while dynasties pass away, maintains its position because it is founded on the Rock of Ages. It seems to me that it has also modified the sentiments of the mass of churchmen, at least of many leading minds among them, by impressing on the thinking world the truth that the church is a spiritual force, and that it does not consist in outward forms. Material things may illustrate, they do not constitute, the working energies of the Kingdom of God. I do not think that the many external forms of high ritualism tend to materialism, but, as understood by their adherents, give a wide expression to the truth that the spiritual overmasters and interprets that which is material.

It may be in place to remark that this contest between individualism and a living church is perennial. Seventy-five years ago the question was, Is there a living church, the embodiment of Christ—Christ continued on earth—as a mediator between God and man, or is man his own sole priest to commune unaided with God? Now the question is really

the same, Is there a Christ who is mediator between God and man, whom churchmen suppose to be represented by the church? I suppose the shortest and perfectly correct description of consistent modern liberalism is, that it rejects the doctrine of mediatorship.