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ART. II.—A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE CHARACTER AND WORK OF DR. PUSEY.[1]

THE lamented death of Dr. Liddon not only bereaved the English pulpit of its most famous preacher, but inflicted on English biography an irreparable loss.

For writing the life of Pusey Liddon had qualifications quite unique. Not only did he possess that gift of style which grows rarer every day, that copious eloquence and that rich literature indispensable to every good biography, but he knew Pusey intimately, revered him passionately, and loved him and trusted him thoroughly. Had he been spared to execute the work according to the plan and dimensions conceived by him, we should have possessed a work equal in art, and superior in range of interest, to Stanley's "Life of Arnold" or to Southey's "Life of Wesley." As it is, we must feel a disappointment with the result.

This disappointment, despite the diligent fidelity of the editors, is easily understood. They were bound to fulfil a sorrowful and sacred task by giving to the world what Liddon left, in, as nearly as possible, the form in which Liddon left it.

I feel little doubt that had the author lived, he would have retrenched the amplitude of the volumes, and would have retouched their form with that grace and garniture of speech in which he was so proficient.

The work abounds in fine passages; the narrative is easy and dignified; and there are felicities of phrase, such as "the normal confusion of Pusey's study," and the description of "Newmania" as "an obvious witticism," which might with advantage have been multiplied in a biography somewhat sombre and uniform.

Moreover, the work offends, perhaps, against the canon *ne quid nimis*. It is rather too much. The volumes unite in themselves the features of a biography, a Church history, and a theological treatise. It was scarcely necessary to offer full-length portraits of Tholück and Schleiermacher in a biography of Dr. Pusey. Nevertheless, the work is full of pathetic interest, and presents a vindication of the Father of Anglo-Mediævalism as effective as could be framed.

It is not my purpose to trace the familiar story of Pusey's life again. We all know that he sprang from an ancient and

[1] "Life of E. B. Pusey, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford," by Henry Parry Liddon, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's.

honourable house; that he went to Eton and Christchurch; that after obtaining a First Class he was chosen Fellow of Oriel College in the days when an Oriel Fellowship was the blue ribbon of Oxford; that he took holy orders, and was, before reaching the age of thirty, appointed Professor of Hebrew in the University, and at the same time Canon of Christchurch, thus becoming qualified to take an official interest in theology, as well as in the linguistic science of the Old Testament. From the year 1830 till the year 1846, when these volumes terminate, there was no external change in Pusey's circumstances. His domestic life during this period was chequered with brightness and with gloom. His wife died; his children were delicate; his own health was far from good. These trials he bore with the fortitude of a Christian.

During the same time Dr. Pusey discharged with scrupulous punctuality the duties of a Professor and a clergyman. He was at first interested in the general questions belonging to the University and the Church. He was on friendly terms with the orthodox theologians of Germany, and even had a Liberal leaning in politics.

Space requires that these features, common to the life of Dr. Pusey with the lives of many other remarkable men, should be dealt with transiently. They remind us that, while differing widely from the ecclesiastic and the divine, our sympathies are due to the trials of the man, and our respect to the patience of the Christian.

Upon one domestic trait we may pause. It is that which reveals itself in the tender letter which Pusey sent to a little niece, together with a picture of the kneeling Samuel. The letter deserves quotation in full, but space forbids. Nowhere does Pusey appear in a more attractive light. Would that he had always written English equally clear! would that he had always taught religion equally pure! The letter reminds us of one full of beauty which Luther wrote to his little son Hans. It is significant that Pusey's life should touch Luther's in a letter written to a child.

The Tractarian movement did not derive its original impulse from Pusey. Of that movement the author and finisher was John Henry Newman. At first, indeed, Pusey did not know of it, and, when he did know of it, stood aloof from it.

The question which presents itself to the student of his life is this: What made Pusey a Puseyite? The following pages will, I hope, furnish an answer. The answer is difficult to give exactly, partly from the seclusion in which Pusey lived, and partly also from the frame and temper of his mind. Volumes have been written about the Tractarian movement,

yet its origin is still wrapped in the obscurity which covers the beginnings of many great movements.

That such a movement would rise was wholly improbable. The reigning philosophy and the reigning creed in politics were both against it. Dr. Liddon has marshalled the causes of Tractarianism in a lucid and orderly chapter. The chief of these was a reaction against French unbelief, strengthened by the alarm of Churchpeople at the threats uttered against Church property. Another cause was a revived love and study of the Middle Ages, almost forgotten in the Whig England of the eighteenth century.

No one can doubt that these forces were at work in 1833; no one can doubt that these forces acted upon the mind of Pusey. But while recognising this, I fail to see fully the answer to the question, How did Pusey become a Puseyite? He was brought up a moderate Anglican, he was friendly with Tholuck and Hengstenberg, and wrote his first book to defend the Protestant Church of Germany against the imputation of rationalizing with which Hugh James Rose had charged her. He voted for Sir Robert Peel and Catholic Emancipation in the University contest of 1829, and yet within two or three years he entered into coalition with Newman, and soon became the director of that movement which, in essence and detail, was anti-liberal, anti-Protestant; which aimed at reviving views, doctrines, and practices either discarded at the Reformation, or dropped in consequence of the Reformation.

Pusey was alarmed by the strength of Rationalism. He determined to fight it with all his might. He went to Germany to study it at home. He applied himself to Semitic languages, in order that he might the better combat it on its favourite field, the Old Testament.

His famous lectures on Daniel did much to vindicate the inspiration and credibility of the book. Indirectly, too, these lectures shook public confidence in the critics, whose arrogance and mutual hostility they justly exposed. It is a pity that Pusey did not stick more closely to his proper task. Unfortunately, he became more a theologian than an Old Testament scholar. His services to believing scholarship, solid as they were, are forgotten in the multitude of his theological efforts. Instead of meeting scholarship with scholarship, and, like Tholück, Christlieb, Luthardt, Delitzsch, giving to Apostolic Christianity a scientific foundation, Pusey tried to defend the faith by the tactics and the weapons of the Middle Ages. He gave up free inquiry, as if it must lead to free thinking. He gave up private judgment, as if the Holy Spirit could not guide it. He fell back upon the principle of Church authority —a principle always vague, often abused, and, in the Christian

Church, necessarily inconclusive, unless the Bible is denied to be the Word of God.

Those who lament this aberration of Pusey will reflect with the keener sadness upon the strange fact that "Lux Mundi" was given to the world from Pusey House. They will see in this fact a proof that Pusey's method for refuting Rationalism did not exclude from the inner circle of his own disciples doctrines which only charity deters from calling Rationalistic.

Pusey brought to the direction of the movement many influential qualities. His family connections were distinguished; his reputation at Oxford stood high; he had great learning, and he had considerable means. His character was reproachless, and he cultivated a sanctity austere and even gloomy, yet sincere and self-denying, and at first warm and free. He was a great Hebrew scholar—a distinction, perhaps, still rare—and he was familiar with German, which is, perhaps, still rare enough to be counted a distinction. Beneath these accomplishments lay a character which possessed some of those qualities indispensable to greatness, and some of those infirmities inseparable from our fallen nature. The most remarkable of these qualities was his industry. It was an industry nothing could tire, nothing could disgust, nothing could satiate. He read immensely; he wrote immensely. The next quality was his tenacity. Nothing could turn him aside from his object— neither the desertion of friends, nor the clamorous hostility of opponents, nor the jibes of journalists, nor the frowns of Bishops, nor the censures of Doctors of Divinity, nor the entreaties of those he loved best.

These qualities must have made him prominent in any place at any time. But as Canon of Christ Church and Professor of Hebrew at Oxford in the years which followed the passing of the great Reform Bill, Pusey brought them to bear on the life of the Church with marvellous effect. Nor did he lack the gentler virtues which shine in the private circles of life. He was a chivalrous friend, a munificent giver; his bounty was free from ostentation, and the comparative poverty which this bounty entailed was endured without parade. It is impossible to doubt that his personal religion was deep and ardent. If its hue was the sickly one bred by the restrained and narrow air of the cell, and trained upon the ascetic models of dark and harsh ages, yet its life was surely derived from Him who said, "I am the true Vine."

Pusey was timid; not personally afraid, but timid with that timidity which distrusts freedom. Many great minds have felt this infirmity. Even the Duke of Wellington, whose dauntless spirit never quailed before the difficulties, the perils,

or the horrors of war, displayed this kind of timidity in presence of the agitation of 1830. Pusey was afraid of Christian liberty; of its principles, its temper, its results. He did not stop to distinguish between Christian liberty and liberalizing Rationalism. He saw that in politics the Liberal party was for the time estranged from the Established Church, and he seems to have concluded that liberty was the same thing as political Liberalism, and that the Established Church was co-extensive with living Christianity. Under this conviction he became inflexibly hostile to the Liberal idea. He preached against the English Revolution in his sermon of November 5, 1837; he disparaged the eighteenth century; he spoke evil of the Toleration Act; he lauded the divines of the seventeenth century at the expense of their predecessors in the sixteenth century. He never liked the Reformation. He at first excused it; then he deplored it; finally he abandoned it. The qualities which that Reformation engendered or fostered he regarded with misgiving and dislike. He was never weary of lamenting over the pride, the self-will, of our time; but pride and self-will in Pusey's mouth meant very often nothing but robust independence and a buoyant resolve not to submit. But Pusey was no mere censor of the faults of his generation. He set himself earnestly to spread doctrines of an opposite character, and to restore institutions of a corrective kind. It is significant that his first tract was written to recommend the subduing of nature by regular and rigid fasting. The revival of the practice of auricular confession was largely due to Pusey, and he published for the use of directors of conscience in the English Church a work based on the elaborate manual of the Abbé Gaume, the authoritative book in use among Roman priests.

Whatever may be thought of confession doctrinally, it is certain that as an instrument for breaking the spirit of freedom and independence it has no equal.

But this is one function only of the priesthood. The priesthood as a whole, august, ineffable, immemorial, Pusey laboured to restore within the Church of England. He judged that lay ascendancy in the Church could not be curbed by the feeble doctrine of a Christian ministry whose office is to do always with authority things which all Christians may do in special cases. He judged that only a sacerdotal class could effectually withstand that free spirit which the Reformation had created. Accordingly he adopted towards the Bishop language of extravagant veneration. He dealt freely in the vague phrase *the authority of the Church;* he glided more and more into that position which looks for guidance to the Middle Ages, shaped by the principle of absolute submission to a visible chief residing in the sacred capital of Latin Christendom.

Thus there grew up in his mind a dissonance with the temper of his age. The disagreement was either not perceived, or, if perceived, it gave him no uneasiness. Afraid of freedom, he was afraid of nothing else. If he dreaded the evil fruits of the Reformation, he was confident that a return to the prime of Latin Christianity would be an effectual remedy for those evils.

This distrust of freedom developed Pusey's character in two directions. It made him a meddler, to use an ugly word which stands in the English Bible for the Greek term employed by St. Peter to denote this very quality (1 Pet. iv. 15).

A striking instance of Pusey's meddling turn is seen in the tragical event with which the second volume closes. Newman was on the verge of secession. He kept his intention very quiet, but suspicion and rumour were rife. Gossip reached the ears of Pusey. His deep and long affection for Newman justly prompted him to ask for the truth; yet the frequency, pertinacity, and minuteness of his inquiries may fairly be described as meddlesome, and seem to have caused a not unnatural annoyance to the sensitive and perturbed spirit of the great seceder.

This same taste for the surveillance of another probably fitted Pusey for the office of penitentiary-general to all sorts of persons in all sorts of mental distress. It is said he sometimes exercised this spiritual direction against the wills of parents, sometimes without their knowledge. There is reason to believe that this allegation is not untrue. If so, it adds another to the list of proofs of how far an earnest and pious man may be blunted by a code of professional ethics. The other habit which Pusey derived from the distrust of Christian freedom was that of special pleading. Like the meddling spirit, this habit also cleaves to religious men when they become imbued with the sacerdotal theory. Indeed, the accomplished author of this biography has caught something of the infection.

Two examples will prove the allegation. The first is Pusey's special pleading for the English as against the German Church. The German Church in his eyes was given over to Rationalism, to pride, to worldliness. On these grounds he drew further and further from her, until at last he scarcely regarded her as a portion of the Church at all. The Church of England was, as Pusey knew perfectly well, during the greater part of the eighteenth century as rationalizing and as worldly as the Church in Germany. She was, moreover, indebted to the German Zinzendorf for the origin in the mind of Wesley of that great religious awakening which saved her from becoming absorbed by the Whig aristocracy. Yet of the Church of England Pusey became not merely the apologist, but the

apostle. He wrote of her habitually in terms which, in plain matter of fact, were not true to her history.

The second example of this special pleading is furnished by his defence of Newman's secession to Rome. Newman, he thought, was right to secede. It was for him the only course possible. Nay, Pusey believed that his secession may have been allowed by the special mercy of God towards the Church of Rome. This is intelligible enough; but when to others about to follow Newman's example, under the sanction of Newman's superior virtue and knowledge, Pusey addresses dissuasion and remonstrance, we are puzzled to know how what in Newman is perfectly right, and may be even divinely decreed, is in others extremely perilous, and probably a temptation of the devil.

Two opposite courses in matters of taste are indifferent: in matters of opinion they may be innocent: in a choice between antagonist forms of religion, though both may be wrong they cannot both be right.

To one other feature in Pusey's character I venture to advert. It is his obscurancy. His style is obscure: that is, he did not clearly think out what he had to say, nor say out clearly what he thought. His admirers name this quality mysticism. Moreover, in religion Pusey believed in the obscure, as did also the other Tractarians; they were fond of maintaining that mystery rather than clearness prevails in the Gospel. This led them to the doctrine expounded in the tract entitled "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge." This same preference for the mysterious over the manifest in Christian truth undoubtedly drew Tractarian teachers towards the writings of those ages which the common-sense of men has called the Dark Ages.

None of us denies that in God's revelation of Himself there is and must be much which is obscure. What Protestant Christians maintain is this: that while much is obscure, more is transparently clear, and that the obscurity does not prevent the humblest child of God from seeing what is clear in the Gospel when the eyes of his understanding have been enlightened by the Holy Spirit. Pusey, however, dwelt so perpetually, so predominantly, on the mystery of godliness as to leave on the mind an impression that godliness is nothing but a mystery.

It is by combining into one view these qualities of Pusey's mind that we are assisted in answering the question, What made Pusey a Puseyite?

One influence that produced this effect was his dislike and distrust of freedom. He recoiled from liberalism into mediævalism. Another influence that produced the result was

his instinct for minutely managing others. The open air of Reformation Christianity discourages the growth of this instinct, and in consequence Pusey turned to the alternative system, which fosters it to the full. The last influence which brought about the result was the love of the obscure in religion. For this propensity the theology and discipline of the Middle Ages furnished illimitable scope.

But it is time to proceed from a review of Dr. Pusey to some remarks upon his work. These volumes show how laborious and extensive that work was. Besides the duties of his professorship, and the usual avocations of a clergyman, his efforts to spread "Catholic opinions" were manifold. He worked hard on several committees. He took part in several agitations. He contributed several tracts to the series which ended with Tract XC. He wrote innumerable letters and received continual visits. He spent a vast deal of time and money on the building of St. Saviour's, Leeds. He revived the institution of sisterhoods, and tried to revive celibate brotherhoods of clergy for the great towns. All these efforts were united and inspired by the single idea of bringing back the Church of England to what she was before the Reformation.

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(To be continued.)

ART. III.—WALKS ABOUT JERUSALEM.—No. I.

IT was somewhat late in the evening when the gray walls of Jerusalem, where once existed the city which was "the joy of the whole earth," suddenly appeared in view. We had been on the move from early morning, when the shore of the Mediterranean was left, and we set out on the journey for that city which has played so conspicuous and important a part in Biblical history, and whose name never can pass into oblivion.

The road thither from Jaffa is a good one, but in parts it was not in the best state of repair. This is not to be wondered at, seeing that the careless Turk has charge of it and sundry other things likewise. The city is entered by the Jaffa Gate, whereat an armed soldier in not the newest of uniforms stands as sentry. Here your passport will be examined and your luggage. These being all found satisfactory, you will be at liberty to go to your *hotel*. There are two good hotels