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a renascence of Christianity in which a stronger emphasis will be laid on the life of the Spirit of Christ, and the doctrines of our creeds be regarded less as bonds of ecclesiastical union than as " the creation and instrument " of the devout life; a renascence of Christianity in which fuller justice will be done than is often done in the Protestant Churches to the religious worth of the corporate life of the Christian Society ?

" We can only turn the pages of history and wonder and wait." [1]

D. M. Ross.

RECOLLECTIONS OF FATHER TYRRELL.

THE writer of the following has neither the intention nor the capacity to enter in the spirit of a scientific thinker into the far-reaching controversies which George Tyrrell's theological attitude and teaching suggest.

His work is a simpler one, i.e. to give, at the request of the Editor of the EXPOSITOR, some recollections of a friendship ever new which it was his privilege to share with the distinguished man, the great Christian mystic and thinker, who has passed away under circumstances that may well be called tragic in their comparative suddenness, and in the way in which the ban of the rulers of that Church of which he was a priest fell upon his open grave.

Something there was in the refusal of Catholic burial (a refusal only rendered, in part at least, ineffective by the brave action of the dead man's friend, the Abbé Bremond), which recalled the end of De Lamennais. With the austere spirit of the latter Tyrrell's personality had in common the characteristics of unflinching courage and sincerity, but unlike De Lamennais the English thinker desired to die as a priest and a

[1] *A much abused Letter*, p. 89.

Catholic. In his last written instructions he charged his literary executors to see that the words, "George Tyrrell, Catholic Priest," with a representation of the Paten and the Host, were engraved upon the headstone of his grave. The latter is in the Anglican parish burial ground of Storrington. It is a spot entirely suggestive of peace after toil, close to one of the beautiful country lanes of Sussex, and midway, as it were, between the two Churches, the one of Tyrrell's birth and baptism, the other of his boyhood's adhesion, and of the later struggles of his virile spirit. For close to the spot is the Anglican Parish Church, on the one hand, and the little House of Prayer, used by the Roman Catholics of the neighbourhood, on the other. Yet among the graves of the latter his body could not find a resting-place.

We have called George Tyrrell an English thinker, Irishman as he was by race and nationality, for his works are characteristically and thoroughly English both as to balance of thought (the pendulum seeking its level even while it swings now this way and now that), and also as to the splendid sanity and restraint of his literary style.

The latter features are the more remarkable, because, though held in leash, the Irish *ingenium* supplies much at once of the stimulus and of the vesture of his thought. Never, however, in any of his writings, does Tyrrell fall into the characteristic fault of so many Irish writers and speakers, i.e. of producing too many flowers in proportion to the fruit.

As he says in one of his essays, the two essentials of all great life and art are Fullness and Restraint. Hence his admirable illustrations of psychological and philosophic facts are never mere purple patches introduced to relieve the tedium of abstract thought, but are characterised by that inevitableness which is the mark at once of the highest art and of the most unconscious operations of nature. Hence Tyrrell's philosophic writings, while penetrated with thought,

are yet, in their literary expression, never either hard and bare on the one hand, or clumsy and confused on the other. He was a master of the English tongue, re-echoing in passage after passage the subtle charm of Newman, who was, after Bishop Butler, the first among those writers who had taught him to think.

Tyrrell's secession to the Roman Obedience took place at the age of eighteen. It had no connexion with English Ritualism. It was in Ireland that the resolve was taken, and Ritualism in Ireland was, and is, practically non-existent. Tyrrell had, however, attended, for some time before he was received into the Roman Catholic Communion, a little parish church on the north side of Dublin, All Saints', Grangegorman, at which High Church principles were taught and practised, as far as possible, under Irish ecclesiastical conditions. The aged vicar of this Church, Dr. Maturin, was a remarkable man, of real spirituality, of uncompromising temper and of much eloquence. An unbending High Churchman of the old Tractarian school, he was, curiously enough, descended from a Huguenot stock who had sought refuge in former years in Dublin from the measures of repression aimed at their co-religionists in France. Over his little flock Dr. Maturin exercised the influence natural to a powerful personality and a devoted life.

At this Church Tyrrell met Robert Dolling, a northern Irishman by birth, and then a young Irish landlord and land-agent, residing, when in town, at Gardiner Street, Dublin. Dolling was the centre, even at that time, of a group of young men now scattered far and wide, who were immensely attracted to him by his gifts of sympathy and leadership. Both Tyrrell and Dolling alike were strongly influenced by the Sacramentalism of the Oxford Movement, but at the same time they were quite unlike the ordinary ecclesiastically-minded youths who form, as it were, the camp-followers

of Ritualism, and are the despair of all sane-minded persons of the Anglo-Catholic persuasion. In the case of Dolling his manliness of character saved him from sinking into sentimentalism, while Tyrrell has never been much occupied with the outward setting of Religion, although he always maintained to the end the impossibility for human beings of a purely spiritual and disembodied Faith, and, therefore, consistently valued the traditional Catholic clothing which the Church has, as it were, woven round the inner spirit of her common and social worship.

The truth is that Tyrrell did not really pass, except most rapidly, through any distinctively Anglican stage on his way to seek training for the Roman Catholic priesthood and for his membership in the Jesuit Society. The first deepening of his spirit, when the keen intelligence of the boy looked out upon " the manifold disorders of the world," was almost simultaneous with the first touch of Newman's influence upon his reason and soul. Tyrrell was never, to any degree, a High Churchman of the Oxford type, indeed. In Ireland everything discouraged the rise of such a party. He was a Newmanite, and in the opinion of the present writer Newman's most distinguished disciple, at least among those who have followed the great Cardinal, after his death, to the Roman fold.

This lad, however, who read Bishop Butler's *Analogy* with the mind of a genuine truth-seeker, and whose intelligence soon after became saturated with Newman's logic and idealism, was no mere precocious pedant or unpractical dreamer. He was essentially a boy and an Irish boy to the backbone, delighting in fun of all sorts, and with gifts of mimicry which made his frequent parodies a joy to listen to. He had, even as a youth, a mind ever on the alert, ever quick to detect humbug and to strip off the mask of conventionality from the features of pomposity and boredom.

Tyrrell's transparent truthfulness, his abounding humour, his youthfulness of spirit, were indeed essentials of his most charming character. Amid the thousand worries and troubles of his later life, he never really lost these hopeful buoyant traits of temper. To correspond with Tyrrell, still more to meet him, was a continual tonic to jaded spirits and fading hopes.

The present writer's chief remembrances of him as a young man are of his inimitable playfulness, the verve and quick flashes of his delicate wit. Even then also a foretaste of the later "zig-zag lightnings of the brain" was given in the rapidity of his mental processes, and the mingled versatility and depth of his intellectual powers.

In subsequent years, no troubles (and he had to wade through a sea of them) could dull the keenness of his spirit. The present writer remembers calling to see him at the Jesuit House at Farm Street at a time when his relations with the Society were becoming difficult and strained. He was engaged at the time of the call, and so, while waiting to see him, the opportunity was taken of inspecting the adjoining Church of the Order. A sermon was being preached by one of the older priests. It was a proclamation of unbending scholasticism, and a not very forcible denunciation of the Modernist and Liberal tendencies. "Persons who join the Catholic Church must learn," said the preacher, "that they have entered her not as critics but as obedient children. Roma locuta est, causa finita est." So he concluded. A long conversation afterwards with Tyrrell in the clergyhouse was conducted, on his part, in an absolutely different manner, as to the treatment of present-day religious questions, from the dictatorial and complaining style of the preacher next door, but then, as always, without any bitterness individually towards the members of a theological school from the limitations of which his mind was gradually disentangling

itself. But then and always he was loyal to Catholicism, as he understood the true ideals which he believed to be immanent in its organic life, though weakened and obscured in their realization, as was his conviction, by the perversions of the system arising from the conscious or unconscious influence of a one-sided autocracy and from the interests of a caste of Italian ecclesiastics. The spirit of Colet and of Erasmus seemed to quicken again, as Tyrrell pointed out, as he did continually in his later years, that the mind of the Counter Reformation was, equally with the Protestantism of the sixteenth century, an inadequate and imperfect attempt to foreclose even by force the consideration of problems the complexity of which its leaders failed to understand. Ultramontanism, was, as Tyrrell came to see, an unsatisfactory solution, sacrificing one side of the truths necessary for human needs to the other, and, as in the case of Protestantism, God's logic-mill of History was slowly but surely demonstrating its inadequacy as a permanent religious settlement. "We must go back," he once wrote to the present writer, "behind both the Reformation and the Counter Reformation and pick up again the work of Erasmus."

Besides a certain similarity of theological tendency and standpoint, Tyrrell resembled the great Humanist Erasmus in another way. This was in his interest in books. He was an omnivorous reader, and in this respect, with the exception, of course, of mere trash, all was fish that came to his net. At the same time, no man possessed with the *sacra fames* for books was ever less superficial. He became an admirable linguist, as so many of the Jesuit Order are, and so as time went on he read deeply and widely in almost all the great European literatures, both past and present, especially French, German, and Italian, and that not only in philosophy and psychology, the subjects in which his mind

moved with the most congenial ease and rapidity, but also in poetry and fiction as well, though always looking mainly for new light on the tangled problems of human nature and of human needs. Of the great "masters of those who know," Dante was probably his favourite. He was deeply interested, as might have been expected, in the writings of the Christian mystics. These he regarded as forming a sort of invisible Church. Hence not only did he prize the *Shewings* of the Mediaeval Juliana of Norwich, and the *Serious Call* of the Non-Juror William Law, but he also came to value several of the Quaker writers, though thinking the latter deficient in regard to their tendency towards an almost exclusive emphasis on the Inner Light, to the danger of a corresponding obscuring of common worship and of external and organic religion. For an English essay on the *Imitatio* he wrote an admirable preface, in which he points out the weakness as well as the strength of that great classic of Christian Mysticism and admits that little stress is laid in it on the social side of the following of Jesus Christ. For Mystic as was Tyrrell to the core of his being, he was no Buddhist or Manichee. The theory of dualism, the method and aim of the world-flight, had no attraction for his thoroughly wholesome mind and sane intelligence. As he tells us rightly, in his last article in the *Quarterly* (a review of the work on St. Catherine of Genoa by his friend Baron von Hügel), the true mystic must be essentially the prophet and the redeemer, his mountain solitude chosen as the indirect means of wider human service, "his heart ever in the world, and the world in his heart."

In regard to the questions that concern themselves with the growth of the Bible, Father Tyrrell was a student of Hebrew, and had a considerable knowledge of Oriental research in its bearing on the problems of the Old Testament literature. In the modern Biblical criticism of Germany he

was thoroughly versed, reading the works of its chief representatives at first hand, and seldom or never trusting to mere summaries or compilations of views. All this, however, was, of course, the result of years of laborious study, pursued during a thoroughly self-disciplined life. Of the stewardship of time, he was a splendid example. During the more conservative and ecclesiastical period of Tyrrell's intellectual and spiritual interests, his mind owned especially two masters, i.e. Newman and St. Thomas Aquinas. He threw himself, heart and soul, into the movement, encouraged and blessed by Pope Leo XIII., for the general revival and systematic study in all Roman Catholic seminaries and colleges of the scholastic philosophy of the Angelic Doctor, as furnishing the most appropriate categories and the only really adequate scheme of arrangement for the doctrines of Divine Revelation. As he afterwards said (in the days when he was no longer a believer in the absolute character of Thomism), he had some right to criticise the adequacy as a system of Christian teaching of the scholastic Intellectualism and its attempted coercive and rational proofs of religion. He considered that he was justified in this criticism since he had passed years of apprenticeship to the study of the greatest of the schoolmen, becoming intimate with the mind and spirit of St. Thomas and being honoured above his contemporaries by the encouragement of high authorities to translate the Thomist philosophy into forms most likely to recommend themselves to the intelligence of the younger clergy and of educated Catholics in general.

So entirely was he trusted by the rulers of his Church and Order during the period when he was an exponent of Scholasticism, that again and again educated persons perplexed with difficulties about faith were referred to Father Tyrrell as to the priest best able to explain the facts and principles of

Christian belief in terms consistent with the exercise of reason and intelligence in the modern world.

Even, however, during this period, when Tyrrell's orthodoxy was unquestioned, his enthusiastic feeling for the Church of his adoption was an adherence to Catholicism rather than to Romanism as such. No doubt he accepted the Papacy, but never as a mere irresponsible and autocratic oracle, but rather as a guarantee for the Church's visible unity, and as the authorised mouthpiece of the Church's collective mind.

His attitude also towards the Anglican Communion, the Church of his baptism, was, even in his more scholastic and distinctively Roman days, marked by a generous appreciation of the good to be found within her pale and by a total absence of that waspish or insolent spirit so often exhibited towards the Church of England by those who have crossed the Rubicon which divides her from her Roman sister. Even in his earlier days, his conviction was that the exhibition of Catholicism not as pugnacious Anti-Protestantism and Anti-Anglicanism, spitting venom from every convert's pen, but as the home and synthesis of the various truths which are elsewhere found scattered as *disjecta membra*, was the truest way in which to recommend the great Communion of which he was a priest to the respect, and in time to the adherence, of the Christian world.

An Ultramontane in mind and temper, therefore, he never was at any period, even when a Jesuit. Yet since the Jesuit Order and Ultramontane theory and practice are to all intents and purposes convertible terms, the severance of George Tyrrell from the Society founded by Ignatius Loyola was bound to come, in the judgment of all who noted that the Catholicism of his writings was bearing less and less resemblance to the actual Catholicism as exploited by the Curia. The former was growing richer, wider, and

fuller under the idealising processes of Tyrrell's intellect and pen and his unfailing hopes that the Church of his love would at last become true to her own splendid potentialities. The later, the actual Catholicism, was becoming day by day the victim of curialist intrigue and ambition, a Tridentine and Vaticanist sect, its God shrivelling up into " the Head of the Clerical interest in Europe," its communion and fellowship " a place too straight for men to dwell in," a practical contradiction to the glorious name of Catholic. In a very characteristic communication which Tyrrell allowed the present writer to insert in the latter's *Life of Father Dolling*, he discusses the probable reasons which restrained Dolling, his old friend, from seeking refuge in Roman Catholicism from the turmoils and trials incidental to his career as an Anglican priest who was an unsparing critic of average Anglicanism. His conclusion is that it was the conviction on Dolling's part that a noxious reversal of the true maxim " Ecclesia propter homines " was no mere passing perversion, but a fundamental and ingrained characteristic of the Church of Rome which kept him from ever thinking of that Communion as a solution of his difficulties as an Anglican. To Dolling, Tyrrell goes on to say, " sacerdotalism " was repugnant, and he implies that in his own opinion that objection to it was a just one, although he did not yet realise how deeply ingrained is this sacerdotalism, or rather clericalism, in the practical system of Rome.

It may be startling to " Free Churchmen " to read of Dolling's and Tyrrell's feelings of antagonism to " sacerdotalism," for the former gloried in Eucharistic worship, and united to his evangelistic zeal the use of such features of ceremonial as vestments and incense, while the latter was so convinced a sacramentalist that it was his conviction that the average Protestant attitude on this subject is meagre and unsatisfactory, which would have made it quite im-

possible for him ever to become a Protestant, even when he was, as at the last, regarded by Rome as a heretic and treated as an outcast.

By "sacerdotalism," however, neither of these two men —powerful religious leaders of such different types—meant the conception of mystery in the Eucharist for instance, or those sacramental beliefs which were most real and essential to each of them. What they both profoundly disliked was rather the caste conception of the ministry and what Tyrrell often called "Bureaucracy" and "Officialism" in the government of the Christian Church. To both, the clergy were the organs, the hand and mouth as it were, of the mystical Body, not the Body itself, while the believing people are the main substance and structure of the Spirit-filled Church. The strong and increasing sympathy with the main advance of the social movement which Tyrrell felt, especially in his later years, was not, indeed, carried into action by him, as in Dolling's case. Yet while his was too spiritual an intelligence and too well-balanced a mind not to shrink from the vulgarity and materialism of much in modern Democracy, he still felt strongly and instinctively that the upward trend of Labour on the one hand and the principles of the Gospel and of the Magnificat on the other should stand in the closest and most sympathetic relationship with one another.

This sympathy was undoubtedly one of the reasons which detached Tyrrell from Scholasticism and, indeed, from *à priori* "Intellectualism" in religious matters and from that one-sided emphasis on God's Transcendence which sees His operations almost exclusively under a sort of regal category rather than as those of the "Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." At the root and basis of the Scholastic theology lies a conception of Authority which was natural enough under mediaeval conditions, but which can only drag out a very meagre existence in the modern world

in which authority does not operate *ab extra* to the community, but is the organic instrument and expression of the latter, the making available for the guidance and direction of the individual of the accumulated experience which is transmitted through the collective life.

Another reason for the growth of Tyrrell's conviction that the revival of Scholasticism was like the refurbishing of a weapon out of date, though useful in its time, lay in his increasing sense that Science has so revolutionised our conceptions of the world that, from the time of the proof of Copernican astronomy onward, the necessary changes in our way of looking at the Universe, at this earth, at organised life, and, above all, at man with his complex nature of body and soul, have been so profound and far-reaching that the older categories of thought under which the mediaeval and the sixteenth century theologians arranged the truths of Christ's religion are so shrunken and inadequate that they tend to involve Christianity itself in a feeling of unreality and lack of fidelity to fact.

But Tyrrell was not one of those who disparage theology without trying to understand the history of its growth, or who prophesy with flippancy the divorce of religion from all dogmatic creeds. He knew well that Christian life involves a Creed as its instrument of propagation and preservation, that it involves a bringing to the surface of man's nature, of those root-convictions of the heart which are elicited, strengthened and fed by the historic facts of the Christ-Revelation and of its consequences. He strove to steer his bark between Scylla and Charybdis, the Scylla of the confusion of Revelation with Theology, of the essence of Religion with its protective envelope, and the Charybdis of the denial of any importance or necessity to the historic reality of the facts upon which the spiritual experience of the Church has raised the structure of the Christian life. A

sane Via Media in this, as in other matters, was his ideal, a Via Media not consisting of some weak and plausible compromise between two inconsistent principles, but of the recognition of a truth richer and larger than either, by which the distinctive contribution of each is preserved to add to the fullness of the whole body of truth.

From a letter written by Tyrrell to this writer, not long before his death, we know that, although some have claimed him as in complete agreement with Mr. Campbell's "New Theology" movement, such was far from being the case, although we believe he occasionally contributed to the pages of the *Christian Commonwealth*. Of the leader himself Tyrrell wrote: "I admire his courage and his candour," but he went on to write that he thought there was a certain crudity of thought in the movement which made its attempted solution one-sided and premature. In another letter he severs his own position most definitely from that of Sabatier, and from what he styles the "Extreme Left" of the more unbalanced members of the Pragmatist school. Certainly, Jesus Christ was to him no mere Idea, rather than an actual energising Personality. Of his deep devotion to our Lord as a Living Master and Friend, it would be impertinence to write, as if of a matter as to which any doubt was possible. The Cross of Christ was never obscured by him in his dealings with the souls of men and women, nor were those he taught starved by philosophic theories, and fed, as it were, on barren husks. On the contrary, Tyrrell's whole life was filled with the Evangelic spirit. Of none, in modern times, could it be said with greater truth, and all the more as he was given to drink more deeply of the cup of suffering, that he had "the mind of Christ." He has gone before God attended by the prayers of a multitude of souls.

CHARLES E. OSBORNE.