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A comparison of the Holy Club and the Oxford movement with respect to their influences, manner of expression, and place in the church of England

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A COMPARISON OF THE HOLY CLUB AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT WITH RESPECT TO THEIR INFLUENCES MANNER OF EXPRESSION AND PLACE IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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by

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

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PREFACE

The study that follows began when the seed of an idea was planted in the writer's mind regarding the remarkable similarity between certain aspects of the beginning phases of the Methodist Revival and the Oxford Movement. The vast difference between these two events in the history of the English Church added an aspect of mystery to this idea. Indeed, how could there be significant similarities between the free-wheeling Methodists and the highly liturgical, Romeward leaning High Church Anglicans of the Oxford Movement? The idea was spanned approximately three years ago; the exploration of the idea has taken the course of two summers of nearly singular attention to this project, together with manyhours during the pursuit of the writer's Divinity degree.

The purpose in exploring the possibility of this similarity between the Holy Club and the Tractarians has been to put to a test of plausibility the historians who enunciated the idea of this relationship between the two movements. By exploring the intellectual and spiritual resources of the men of these movements, and by comparing their manner of expression and their place in the Church of England, whatever traces in them of similarity would be sure to be found. This has been the task in constructing this thesis.

The excellent resources of several libraries gave immeasurable aid in doing research for this study. Seabury-Western Theological Seminary (Episcopal) gave unlimited borrowing privileges and Garrett Theological Seminary provided free use of its materials as well. Between these two

institutions most of the primary source material pertaining to Methodism and the Church of England were to be found. Northwestern University and Purdue University libraries supplied most of the public documents that needed to be perused.

Sincere thanks is here offered to Dean Carter and to Professor Trickett of the University of Nebraska at Omaha for allowing an eighteen month extension of time for completion of this thesis. Thanks is also due to my wife Bonnie for helping in proof reading and in shepherding my two year old son, Stuart II, as he found himself ill disposed to allow his father the freedom to work unmolested.

The suggestions which follow regarding the similarity of these two movements are not tentative, but neither are they absolutely to be taken as final decisions. This writer has the "feeling," in Newman's terms, that perhaps the personal similarities between Wesley and Newman various writers saw were warranted. Yet the drift of the two movements seems to have little in common except for a basic drive and sincerity that must characterize any successful human endeavors. It is for the thesis to demonstrate whether this was successfully indicated in their lives.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There have been three "Oxford Movements" of spiritual reformation; the first was associated with John Wycliff, the second with John Wesley, and the third with John Henry Newman.[1] The leaders of these movements shared more than a common Christian name. All three men had the desire to see an English Church that would reassume the Scriptural ecclesiastical ideal. In the fourteenth century, Wycliff sought reform from within the Church because the Pope, "the anti-Christ, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and cut purses,"[2] had become unduly involved in English politics.[3] And as a proponent of vigorous personal spirituality, Wycliff taught that each man was personally responsible to obey God's law, the Bible.[4] In the eighteenth century, John Wesley attempted to bring about practical reforms by providing an example for the Church of England, putting into practice

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[1]Yngve Brilioth, The Anglican Revival; Studies in the Oxford Movement (London: Longman's Green and Co., 1925), p. 29. See also Samuel Parkes Cadman, The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and their Movements, John Wycliffe, John Wesley, John Henry Newman (New York: Macmillan, 1916).

[2]Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (8 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), V, ii, 316.

[3]Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, Rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 268.

[4]F.F. Bruce, The English Bible; A History of Translations (London: Methuen, 1961), p. 14.

that which the Church taught. John Henry Newman wrote, in the nineteenth century:

> I have ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ.[5]

Philip Schaff compared the tracts written by John Wycliff with those produced by John Henry Newman and his colleagues of the Oxford Movement, and found Wycliff "reaching the conscience, the other appealing to the aesthetic tastes; the one adapted to break down priestly pretension, the other to foster it."[6] Though Schaff's judgment concerning "priestly pretension" is an opinion open to debate, it is worthy of notice that the movements with which the first and last of this Oxford trio were associated were contrary in their orientation.

The second and third of these "Oxford movements" are the subject of this thesis. The idea of pursuing a comparative study of two movements which were apparently so different as to be categorically distinct, was provided by numerous references in books discussing Church history to the <u>similarity</u> between the two and the connections possibly standing between them. Yngve Brilioth, the Swedish Lutheran historian has written:

> The members of the Holy Club in many respects anticipated the High Church movement which a hundred years later was to proceed from the same place. . . . Wesley's legacy was never fully used up by his direct successors. It was in some measure his spirit which was to fertilize the organism of old High Churchmanship that it could once more bear offspring.[7]

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[5]Francis Warre Cornish, <u>The English Church in the Nineteenth Century</u> (2 vols.; London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd, 1910), I, 214.

[6]Schaff, <u>op. cit.</u>, V, 319. [7]Brilioth, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 30.

C.T. Cruttwell observed that one of the significant parallels between the early Methodists and the Tractarians was in the fact that "inferior clergy . . . met the attacks of faith" in both generations.[8] Pusey's biographer, Henry Parry Liddon, wrote that "the Oxford movement was a completion of the earlier revival of religion known as Evangelical. . . . the movement which outside the Church became Wesleyanism and within it Evangelicalism."[9] Trevor Dearing cited Brook's New History of Methodism which said:

> Wesley and his associates at Oxford emphasized so many of the tenets and practices which characterized the ritualistic movement a hundred years later in the same University, as to lead to the suggestion that there may have been definite points of connection between Methodism and Puseyism.[10]

Williston Walker nearly echoed the eminent Methodist biographer, Luke Tyerman, in writing: "As matters then were, they the Holy Club more resembled the Anglo-Catholic movement of the nineteenth century than the Methodism of history."[11]

The extent of the references comparing the Holy Club with the Tractarians serves to underscore the usefulness of a study such as this. This writer is aware of the historical danger of creating synthetic parallels between events far removed in time and significance just for the sake of novelty. Besides the comparisons that have been drawn between

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[8] C.T. Cruttwell, Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement; and its Results on the Church of England (London: Skeffington & Son, Piccadilly, W., 1899), p. 25.

[9] Henry Parry Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey (4 vols.; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1894), I, 254-55.

[10] Trevor Dearing, Wesleyan and Tractarian Worship: An Ecumenical Study (London: Epworth Press, 1966), p. 6.

[11] Walker, op. cit., p. 457.

the Tractarians and the early Methodists which have been demonstrated above, one other consideration lends credibility to this study. Trevor Dearing's book on Wesleyan and Tractarian Worship, first written as a doctoral thesis for the University of Birmingham,[12] states as its raison Methodist History, porary conversation between the Church of England and the Methodist Church, which might be made more intelligible by a comparison of the liturgical ways of their respective forebears.[13]

its raison d'etre the contemporary conversation between the Church of

In an age when ecumenicity is one of the projects of nearly every major denomination of Protestantism, it is most important to understand the historical development of the various denominations. In investigating the founder of the Methodist denomination and comparing him and his early colleagues with the men who helped to shape the modern version of the Episcopal Church, a stride is made in the direction of intelligent ecumenicity.

The Holy Club and the Tractarians were not originally committees formed at Oxford to waken a dormant Church of England. They were "accidental" developments, brought about by young men with like interests who gradually, almost unwittingly found themselves striving toward common goals. The Tractarians did not seek any pattern for their development, least of all would they have copied the early Methodists. Indeed, John Henry Newman wrote inside the cover of his copy of Southey's Life of Wesley: "I do not like Wesley--putting aside all his exceeding self-confidence, he seems to have a black self-will, a bitterness of religious passion which is very unamiable."[14] Yet the lines of growth in the

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[12] Dearing, op. cit., ix. [13] Ibid., p. 1.

[14] Frederick E. Maser, "The Early Biographers of John Wesley," Methodist History, I, 2 (new series) (January, 1963), 29.

early Methodists and the Tractarians were not dissimilar. And both developments were the response of active young men to a drowsy and largely Erastian Church. The same pattern of response has appeared elsewhere in recent Church history.

The reforms which Dietrich Bonhoeffer sought to achieve in the Reichskirk, a national establishment which had bowed to Hitler rather than risk abiding by the first commandment of the decalog, reflected the course of action announced by John Keble in his Assize Sermon of 1833, "National Apostacy."[15] Either the Church would evade the problems of challenging State control by chiming-out vague, general principles which would not be heard as rejoinders, or the Church would seek to somehow meet the difficulties head-on, by asserting its interpretation of divine commands.[16] Similarly, though only on an individual scale, Søren Kierkegaard berated the Danish Church for having made of Christianity another form of secularity. He called on the Church of Denmark to review the principles which Christ announced for those who would be His disciples.[17]

The history of the Church has been characterized by a continuous struggle between the simple ideas of its Founder and the forces of culture. H. Richard Niebuhr saw that John Wesley successfully waged this battle of the continuing Church as he understood the substance of

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[15]Georgina Battiscombe, John Keble: A Study in Limitations (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1963), p. 152.

[16]Dietrich Bonhoeffer, No Rusty Swords, ed. by Edwin H. Robertson (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1947), p. 163.

[17]Søren Kierkegaard, Attack Upon "Christendom," trans. by Walter Lowrie (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1944).

the Church in the promise of personal freedom given by its Founder. Niebuhr wrote: " . . . Wesley insists on the possibility . . . of a present fulfilment of that promise of freedom."[18] Though Wesley saw his ideal in the Primitive Church, that is, the Church of the first century, he did not suffocate, as Newman may have, beneath the accumulated layers of interpretation that had intervened since the first century. The history of the Church is a record of the kind of conflicts that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, extended backwards in time. Through this two-thousand year chronicle can be traced the odyssey of an idea much as Hegel attempted to do through the history of the world. Wesley and Newman were interested in the history of Christianity because the position of the Church in their respective eras was, they knew well, very much a part of what had come before. Particularly was this true of the Church of England, whose destiny had been linked by constitution with the State since its origin as an entity apart from the Church of Rome. Perhaps as great a reason as any why they were interested in the history of the Church was that the heresies of the past continued to visit the Church. Henry Moore described the theological situation to which Wesley addressed himself as a wretched combination of Arianism, Socinianism, naturalism, and "Papism."[19] He wrote: "The great body of the clergy neither knew nor cared about systems of any kind."[20]

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[18] H. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1951), pp. 218-19.

[19] Henry Moore, The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. (2 vols.; London: Printed for John Kershaw, 14, City-Road, 1824), I, 435.

[20] Ibid.

At eighteen, Newman had read thoroughly Herodotus, Thucydides, and Gibbon's account of the Roman Empire.[21] He went to the Fathers of the Church to learn his theology. When he was only sixteen he had completed Joseph Milner's Church History. Newman wrote: 'I read Joseph Milner's Church History, and was nothing short of enamoured of the long extracts from St. Augustine and the other Fathers which I found there. I read them as being the religion of the primitive Christians."[22] Newman found not only the errors of which to beware, from the reading of the Fathers, but he found dogma which took deep root in his mind.

Both Wesley and Newman participated in the writing of history. This was not done as an avenue to wealth or renown, but as an exercise in learning history's lessons. In Wesley's Christian Library, a fifty volume series, he "abridged the choicest works of practical divinity, beginning with the Apostolic Fathers." On this project, which he began because he "wished to place the whole range of such literature within the reach both of his preachers and his people," he lost two-hundred pounds.[23] Newman contributed to the Library of the Fathers, a compendium of fifty volumes, edited by Charles Marriott, published "to bring the mind of the clergy back to the teaching of the primitive church 'before the division between East and West'."[24] Newman and his close

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[21] John Henry Newman, Autobiographical Writings, ed. by Henry Tristram (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 44.

[22] John Henry Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Image Books, 1956), p. 129. Hereafter cited as Apologia.

[23] John Telford, The Life of John Wesley (New York: Hunt & Eaton, n.d.), p. 326.

[24] Cornish, op. cit., I, 249.

associates, John Keble and Edward Pusey, also gathered a Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, composed of "the works of most of the notable English divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[25]

The cultivation of Newman's ideas on the Church was accomplished largely by his reading of the antiquities of the Church. He wrote in the Apologia:

> . . . in the long vacation of 1828, I set about to read them the Fathers chronologically, beginning with St. Ignatius and St. Justin. About 1830 a proposal was made to me by Mr. Hugh Rose, who with Mr. Lyall . . . was providing writers for a Theological Library, to furnish them with a History of the Principal Councils. I accepted it, and at once set to work on the Council of Nicaea. It was launching myself on an ocean with currents innumerable; and I was drifted back first to the ante-Nicene history, and then to the Church of Alexandria. . . . . .
>
> I do not know when I first learnt to consider that Antiquity was the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the Church of England. . . . The course of reading which I pursued in the composition of my work was directly adapted to develope it in my mind.[26]

This heavy concentration which Newman made in the traditions of the Church, to the exclusion, apparently, of study of the Bible, is a clue to formulating an idea of why the thrust of Newman differed so from that of Wesley. Though Wesley read widely, and deeply in the Fathers, he considered himself homo unius libri, "a man of one book, regarding none, comparatively, but the Bible."[27] As the progress of this study unfolds the import of Wesley's primary orientation and the clear direction of Newman's guide in ecclesiology will show their effects. And it has been

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[25] Ibid., p. 250.

[26] Newman, Apologia, pp. 144-45.

[27] John Wesley, Christian Perfection (London: Epworth Press, 1952), p. 39.

so in the history of the Church. Though all segments of the Church had their origin in the "primitive church," those that looked to the practiced traditions have proven to be greatly different from those that concentrated on the Bible as a source book for polity.

The society called "the Holy Club"[28] began in November, 1729,[29] and came "to an end when in October, 1735, Charles Wesley, Mr. Ingham and John Wesley were induced, by a strange chain of providences, to go over to the new colony of Georgia."[30] John Wesley summarized the purpose of the Holy Club in defining his concept of religion, "the way to life, which our blessed Lord hath marked out for us."[31]

> I take religion to be, not the bare saying over so many prayers, morning and evening, in public or private, . . . but a constant

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[28]John Wesley said of this title: "If all the persons concerned in 'that ridiculous society' . . . could but give such a proof of their deserving the glorious title (the Holy Club) which was once bestowed upon them, they would be contented that their lives too should be counted madness, and their end too thought to be without honor. But the truth is, their title to holiness stands upon much less stable foundations, as you will easily perceive when you know the ground of this wonderful outcry, which it seems England is not wide enough to contain." John Wesley, The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., ed. by John Beecham (32 vols.; London: John Mason, 1856), I, 6. They were also dubbed "Methodists," "Enthusiasts," "Sacramentarians," "Supererogation men," "The Reforming Club," "The Godly Club," "Bible Moths," as well as other names by their critics. Wesley said of the name "Methodist," "I should rejoice if the very name might never be mentioned more, but be buried in eternal oblivion." Works, VII, 326.

[29]John Wesley, John Wesley's Letters, ed. by John Telford (8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1931), I, 124.

[30]Wesley, Works, VII, 401.

[31]Wesley, Letters, I, 152.

> ruling havit of the soul; a renewal of our minds in the image of God; a recovery of the Divine likeness; a still increasing conformity of heart and life to the pattern of our most Holy Redeemer.[32]

With this goal in mind the participants in the "little society" would "confirm one another as well as they could in the resolutions to communicate as often as they had an opportunity (which was once a week); and to do what service they could to . . . the prisoners, and two or three poor families in the town."[33] In response to the "outcry daily increasing" about their activities, they proposed certain questions on the nature of the duty of the Christian:

> I. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions to imitate Him, as much as they can, 'who went about doing good'? Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, 'While we have time, let us do good to all men'? Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now? . . . . . .
> II. Whether, upon these considerations, we may not try to do good to our acquaintance? Particularly, whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of being Christians. Whether of the consequent necessity of being scholars? Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by communicating as often as they can? Whether we may not assist them, as we are able, from time to time, to form resolutions upon what they read in those authors . . . whom we conceive to have wrote best on those subjects? . . . . . .
> III. Whether we may not give them, if they can read, a Bible, Common Prayer Book, or Whole Duth of Man? . . . Whether we may not enforce upon them more especially the necessity of private prayer and of frequenting the church and sacrament?[34]

To answer these questions in the affirmative was to accept the duties of the Christian as the men of the Holy Club conceived them to be.

The Tractarians were more specifically a movement with a particular end in view. Newman considered Sunday, July 14, 1833, as the "start of the religious movement," when "Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon

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[32] Ibid. [33] Ibid., pp. 128-29.

[34] Ibid.

in the University Pulpit."[35] This was a movement "in opposition to the specific danger which at that time was threatening the religion of the nation and its Church."[36] Newman saw the Church of England, as he did any truly Christian body, as "part of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church, if it has the succession and the creed of the Apostles, with the note of holiness of life."[37] In part he did not see his task as identified with the broad Church related problems. "Our business," he said, "is with ourselves, --to make ourselves more holy, more self-denying, more primitive, more worthy of our high calling. To be anxious for a composition of differences is to begin at the end."[38]

The Oxford Movement was a university affair as much as it was a Church of England affair. The implications of the struggle that ensued, following Keble's Assize Sermon and the instigation of the Tracts for the Times, involved the careers of Newman, in particular, but also of Keble, Pusey, Isaac Williams, and Richard Hurrell Froude as academicians and as Churchmen. When the Tracts were ordered to cease by the Heads of houses of the University, the Oxford Movement lost its life's blood. Dean Church wrote that the Oxford Movement then became divided as its members became exasperated and frustrated.[39] The end of the Tractarians activity is formally cited as being the time of their leader's entry into the Roman Catholic Church on the 8th of October, 1845.[40] But, in truth, its work was finished when it could no longer

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[35]Newman, Apologia, p. 152. [36]Ibid., p. 153.

[37]Ibid., p. 251. [38]Ibid.

[39]R.W. Church, The Oxford Movement; Twelve Years, 1833-1845, Third ed. (London: Macmillan, 1897), p. 297.

[40]J. Lewis May, The Oxford Movement (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., 1933), p. 2.

communicate with the Church whose aim it was to reform.

The men of these two movements were their own best historians. John Telford's edition of John Wesley's letters, running to eight volumes, and Nehemiah Curnock's gathering of Wesley's journals document well, though not fully, the great reformer's personal development. Unfortunately, an unknown quantity of Wesley's journals were destroyed by one of his preachers, John Pawson, who thought they were "dangerous literature." Pawson had been put in custody of Wesley's home, when John Wesley died, until the conference of Methodists could decide what to do with his remaining papers.[41] What remained from this catastrophe was gathered in the Colman Collection after being rescued by Henry Moore, who wrote, with Thomas Coke, one of the first biographies of Wesley. John Whitehead, Henry Moore and Thomas Coke were issued Wesley's original papers from which each wrote a biography, but Whitehead's was considered the "official" biography of the 1791 Methodist Conference.[42] Between 1791, and 1871, F.E. Maser has observed, "seven major biographies of John Wesley were published in England . . . besides innumerable shorter pieces."[43] The last of these major biographies, Luke Tyerman's, was the greatest and was in truth little short of being a primary source itself. Tyerman's method was to gather every particle of information available from original sources, put everything in chronological order, and render verbatim the numerous quotations with connecting narrative. His The Oxford Methodists is like the Life and Times of John Wesley in

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[41] John Wesley, The Journals of John Wesley, ed. by Nehemiah Curnock (8 vols.; New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909), I, 261.

[42] John Whitehead, The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. (2 vols.; London: Printed by Stephen Couchman, 1793), I, iv-v.

[43] Maser, op. cit., p. 29.

presenting the members of the Holy Club exclusive of the Wesley's and Whitefield, whom he treats of in separate biographies. John Hampson's biography of Wesley is noteworthy as a "pen sketch" of the reformer by one who knew him well; this volume was begun while Wesley was still alive. Other biographies of note are John Whitelamb's, himself a member of the Holy Club, and Robert Southey's. Whitelamb's work suffers from having been written in a time of controversy over who rightfully should receive the great reformer's papers. Southey's Life of John Wesley is written in beautiful prose, as one would expect of the renowned poet, but it is superficial.[44] Wesley's Sermons and his Works have gone through numerous editions. John Beecham's and Thomas Jackson's editions of Wesley's Works approximate each other in quality, but Jackson's has been revised more recently. Included in the Works are many of Wesley's sermons, but Edward H. Sugden's two volume compilation, and the Sermons on Several Occasions, in nine volumes, are devoted solely to Wesley's pulpit literature. Richard Green's two bibliographic works, The Works of John and Charles Wesley; A Bibliography, and Anti-Methodist Publications issued during the Eighteenth Century, are authoritative guides to primary and secondary works relating to the early Methodists.

The literature pertaining to the Oxford Movement is similarly complete. Newman's Works have been published in complete form in forty volumes. Anne Mozley's edition of Newman's Letters and Correspondence covers his time in the Anglican Church, and C.S. Dessain's edition contains Newman's diaries and letters as a Roman Catholic. Richard Hurrell Froude's Remains, edited by John Keble and John Henry Newman, and

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[44] Ibid., p. 30.

Thomas Mozley's Reminiscences are not trustworthy as guides to the detail of the Tractarian movement, but they are profound insights into the mind of the movement. John Keble's Assize Sermon, "National Apostacy," is quoted in full in Eugene R. Fairweather's The Oxford Movement. This was Keble's principal contribution of literature to the movement, apart from his Tract "On Reserve," which is included in the five volume published edition of all the Tracts for the Times. Numerous biographies of the men of the Oxford Movement serve as guides, not only to the lives of the men concerned, but to the bibliography of the movement as well. Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua describes his development in theology such that the 8th of October, 1845, appears as the climax as well as the beginning point of his life. His Autobiographical Writings include considerable detail from his diaries not included in Anne Mozley's collection of his correspondence. Edward Bouverie Pusey's biography by Henry Parry Liddon compares with Luke Tyerman's biography of John Wesley as a compendium of primary source material. Liddon quotes at length the correspondence not only of Pusey, but also of the other Tractarians. Also included in this biography are numerous block quotations from newspapers and journals of the day which are extremely scarce today. The finest biography of John Keble is that by Georgina Battiscombe.

Of the general works on the Oxford Movement, R.W. Church's is the finest from a sympathetic point of view. Dean Church was personally familiar with the Mozley's who were relatives of John Henry Newman by marriage. Church was sympathetic to the movement, but he was frequently critical of particular actions taken by Newman, W.G. Ward, and others who appeared to him to lose their comportment when the in-fighting became

difficult. Bishop Knox's The Tractarian Movement was written from an Evangelical perspective, thus it is understandably critical of the High Church Oxford Movement. Knox displays a balance, however, not exhibited in the rest of the accounts not sympathetic to the movement. For example, in Walter Walsh's The History of the Romeward Movement in the Church of England, 1833-1864, and The Secret History of the Oxford Movement one reads of scheming to pollute the Anglican Church with "popist" perversions as the deliberate intent of all in the Oxford Movement. Though Walsh's works present detail illustrating the obvious Roman Catholic tendencies of many of the Tractarian ideas, the selectivity of documentation is such and the vigorousness of the a priori point of view is of such a nature that the books are polemics rather than explanations of a movement. The numerous other works of significance to this study are listed and annotated in the Bibliography, but these volumes bear special notice as the core to a profitable study of the early Methodists and the Oxford Movement.

CHAPTER II

THE MOLDING OF THEIR MINDS

What comes from a man reveals what he is. For some men, what they are has been determined largely by their environments during the formative years of early childhood. For others, the giants of intellect and virtue, events and influences are shaped to meet the demands of high goals which they have devised, or to which they believe Providence has prodded them. The men of the Holy Club and the Tractarians appear to have been of the latter variety.

The creative acts of these men revealed the factors that influenced them. Most of them paid ample tribute to the men, women, and books which guided their development. Yet, for several of the men concerned it might well be said as Henry Tristram said of John Henry Newman: "We can affirm without hesitation that Newman derived the idea of development from no other source than his own mind."[45] If this was so, only Newman's Creator would know; but at least one can affirm that John Henry Newman and the others under consideration in this study were masters over their outside influences rather than being mastered by them. A less complimentary opinion was offered by William Robbins, who said that Newman was "in large measure the sum of his influences."[46] Indeed,

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[45]Henry Tristram, "J.A. Moehler and J.H. Newman," Revieu des Sciences Philosophique et Theologique, XXVII (1938), 196. Cited in J.H. Walgrave, Newman the Theologian (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1957), p. 14.

[46]William Robbins, The Newman Brothers (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1966), p. 21.

the bias of the historian is a factor in judgments of this sort. To determine the influences on men such as these is not a completely objective task.

Newman said that Dr. Whately "opened my mind, and taught me to think and to use my reason."[47] John Wesley gave credit to his mother for much of his intellectual development. Writing to his mother during his Oxford days, he said:

> If you can spare me only that little part of Thursday evening which you formerly bestowed upon me in another manner, I doubt not but it would be as useful now for correcting my heart, as it was then in forming my judgment.[48]

One cannot be absolutely sure which "influences" made the significant formative impressions, though some appear to be clear. Dean Church suggested that John Keble owed his prominence in England to his pupil R.H. Froude who forced the reclusive don out of his quiet cacoon to a metamorphosis that resulted in a prominent, influential person in English church circles.[49] John Wesley said he received a "lasting impression" from an encounter he had with the porter of his college "that there was something in religion which he had not yet found."[50] Late one wintry night, Wesley met the porter, who was clad only in his work clothes with a light-weight coat thrown over his shoulders. In speaking with him, Wesley discovered that the man owned only the clothes he had on, and that "nothing had passed his lips that day but a drink of water." Wesley was

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[47] Newman, Apologia, p. 133.

[48] John Wesley, Letters, I, 21.

[49] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 27.

[50] John Wesley, Letters, I, 37.

amazed at the porter's cheerfulness, his plight notwithstanding. "You thank God when you have nothing to wear, nothing to eat, and no bed to lie upon, what else do you thank Him for?" Wesley asked. "I thank Him," replied the porter, "that He has given me my life and being, and a heart to love Him and a desire to serve Him."[51] This casual encounter was an influence of seemingly some importance to John Wesley. Richard Hurrell Froude of the Oxford Movement once lamented the impact of "every minute circumstance" on him. He said that " . . . events . . . affect me as mechanically as if I was a brute thing without will or foresight."[52] To detect, then, the relationship between Froude and his influences, would presumably oblige one to inspect "every minute circumstance" of his life. But this would be impossible.

The principal areas in which it is meaningful to discover the parallel influences on the participants in the Holy Club and the Tractarians are those of family, education, friends and books, and the Anglican Church. One might object that these areas would apply to any two groups of scholarly men at Oxford University in the time span under consideration. Nevertheless, the distinctive likenesses are suitably illustrated within such a framework. Necessity limits the selection of persons to be used in this comparison. Indeed, there were approximately fourteen men in the Holy Club and the Tractarians, with their close sympathizers, numbered many beyond Newman, Keble, Pusey, Froude and Williams.

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Richard Hurrell Froude, Remains, ed. by J.H. Newman et al (4 vols.; London: J. & F. Rivington, 1838-39), I, 449.

The persons used in this study are not considered to be indexes for all of the men in the movements. But in some way they may be seen as representative of their movements. The purpose in so comparing the influences on these groups of men is to further clarify the extent to which they were like or unlike each other.

The mothers of the men in these movements played notable roles in the development of their sons. Edward Bouverie Pusey, the intellectual giant of the Oxford Movement, said: "All that I know about religious truth I learnt, at least in principle, from my dear mother."[53] For Pusey's mother, "time was laid out by rule; a certain portion was always given to reading the Bible; and another portion to some book of established literary merit."[54] Though having a mother with habits of this nature would not require the son to be a divine and a scholar, it is noteworthy that Pusey became both a scholar and a divine at Oxford. John Henry Newman emphasized the importance of these early years to a child's inclinations before Sigmund Freud proclaimed to the world this phenomenon. Newman wrote:

> I grant . . . that we cannot assign a date ever so early, before which a child learned nothing at all, and formed no mental associations, from the words and conduct of those who have the care of him. . . . If a child of five or six years old, whom reason is at length fully awake, has already mastered and appropriated thoughts and beliefs, in consequence of their teaching. . . . Those beliefs at the very least must be singularly congenial to his mind if not connatural with its initial action.[55]

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[53]Henry Parry Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey (4 vols.; London: Longmans Green & Co., 1894), I, 7.

[54]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[55]John Henry Newman, Grammar of Assent (London: Burns & Oates, 1881), p. 112.

Newman said of his own childhood: "I was brought up from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible; but I had no formed religious convictions till I was fifteen. Of course, I had a perfect knowledge of my catechism."[56] John Keble, the "patron saint" of the Oxford Movement, had a mother whom he described as "brandishing a dredger or rolling pin or something of the kind for our good in the kitchen."[57]

Susannah Wesley, mother of John and Charles, took considerable notice of her children's development in intellect and judgment. When they were quite young she "set such a proportion of time as she could spare every night, to discuss with each child by itself, on something that relates to its principal concerns. On Monday she talked with Molly. . . . Thursday with Jacky, . . . Saturday with Charles."[58] Little wonder that John Wesley confided his spiritual and intellectual quandaries with his mother. Even in his days as Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, he brought before his mother the concerns which were uppermost in his mind.[59]

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[56]Newman, Apologia, p. 1.

[57]Georgina Battiscombe, John Keble; A Study in Limitations (London: Constable, 1963), p. 7.

[58]John Whitehead, The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. (2 vols.; London: Printed by Stephen Couchman, 1793), I, 48-49.

[59]Besides the notices which will be made below with reference to Susannah's judgment on Jeremy Taylor and Thomas a Kempis, observe the repeated solicitations of advice from his mother which John made: concerning salvation and the knowledge of God, in a letter from Oxford, July 29th, 1725; concerning Berkeley's ideal epistemology, Oxon, November 22nd, 1725; concerning education, January 27th, 1725, in which he writes: "I am perfectly come over to your opinion that there are many truthes it is not worthwhile to know;" concerning a funeral sermon he was to preach, March 19th, 1727, etc., throughout his Oxford career and beyond until his mother's death. John Wesley, Letters, I, 22 ff. See Whitehead, op. cit., p. 22 concerning John Wesley and his father, in which Samuel Wesley expresses high regard for his son's critical understanding of comparative Hebrew texts and of the Septuagint. Wesley's relationship with his father was more like that of scholar's than of a counselee.

The participants in the Holy Club and the Oxford Movement were young men. They all demonstrated early industry in their approach to scholarship, and they sought to direct their lives in meaningful directions. The Imitation of Christ, by Thomas a Kempis, was perhaps second only to the Bible in importance to John Wesley in his early development. He wrote to his mother his impressions of a Kempis:

> I think he must have been a person of great piety and devotion, but it is my misfortune to differ from him in some of his main points. I can't think that when God sent us into the world He had irreversably decreed that we should be perpetually miserable in it. If it be so, the very endeavor after happiness in this life is a sin; as it is acting in direct contradiction to the very design of our creation. . . . Another of his tenets, which is indeed a natural consequence of this, is that all mirth is vain and useless, if not sinful. But why, then, does the Psalmist so often exhort us to rejoice in the Lord?[60]

He concluded this letter to his mother with these words: "I hope that when you are at leisure you will give me your thoughts on that subject, and set me right if I am mistaken."[61] Though Wesley apparently detected this untoward emphasis on sobriety in a Kempis, the years prior to his "Aldersgate" experience in 1738, were characterized by a strictness very much characteristic of a Kempis' philosophy of life. Indeed, some of Wesley's critics said that he and his friends in the Holy Club lad "burthens on them selves too heavy to be borne; . . . too heavy to be of any use to them."[62] John Wesley approached his mother on this matter:

> If you, who are a less prejudiced judge, have perceived us faulty in this matter, too superstitious or enthusiastic, or whatever it is to be called, we earnestly desire to be speedily informed of our error, that we may no longer spend our strength in that which profiteth not.[63]

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[60] John Wesley, Letters, I, 15-16.

[61] Ibid., p. 17.

[62] Ibid., p. 86.

[63] Ibid.

Though John Wesley assumed the position of leadership in the Holy Club, and was a vigorous leader in the Methodist Revival which grew from it, he was heavily dependent on his mother's point of view. She was instrumental in shaping his early judgment and she remained a bulwark to his sense of certainty in religious matters. Her opinions were given as being unequivocally certain. She replied to her son concerning a Kempis:

> I do positively aver that he is extremely in the wrong in that impious, I was about to say blasphemous suggestion, that God, by an irreversable decree, has determined any man to be miserable even in this world. . . . The case stands thus: This life is a state of probation, wherein eternal happiness or misery are proposed to our choice; the one as a reward of a virtuous, the other as a consequence of a vicious life. Man is a compound being. The true happiness of man . . . consists in a due subordination of the inferior to the superior powers. . . . I take a Kempis to have been an honest weak man with more zeal than knowledge.[64]

John replied: "You have so well satisfied me as to the tenets of Thomas a Kempis, that I have ventured to trouble you once more on a more dubious occasion."[65] In this manner John Wesley brought to his mother the authors whom he was reading. Even though she may not have known of the particular books in question, she would reply with advice pertaining to the subject matter of the book. When John Wesley requested his mother's opinion of Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living and Holy Dying, she answered: "I know little or nothing of Dr. Taylor's 'Holy Living and Holy Dying,' having not seen it for above twenty years; but I think it

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[64]Franklin Wilder, Immortal Mother (New York: Vantage Press, 1966), p. 132. See The Arminian Magazine, I (1778), 33-34. Wroote, June 8, 1725.

[65]Luke Tyerman, The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, founder of the Methodists (2 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1870), I, 39.

is generally well esteemed. . . . I will tell you my thoughts of humility as briefly as I can."[66] Susannah Wesley then expressed her views on whether salvation could be achieved for certain, on forgiveness, and on the necessity for repentence. John Wesley's matured viewpoint reflected his mother's opinions. His sermon, "Free Grace," preached at Bristol in 1740, proclaimed the certainty of salvation wrought by God's grace, "FREE IN ALL, AND FREE FOR ALL (sic)."[67]

John Wesley was a man of many books. Though there were four books which, besides the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, influenced him most, he was thoroughly acquainted with a wide range of literature.[68] George Jackson has written concerning Wesley and his books:

> . . . among the authors of classic rank whom he mentions in the Journal . . . in a way to indicate that he was actually reading them at the time or had long been familiar with them are Homer, Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Anacreon, Lucian, Virgil, Cicero, Juvenal, Horace, Ariosto, Tasso, Voltaire, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Milton, Clowly, Dryden, Locke, Pope, Swift, Prior, Young, Thompson, Gray, Sterne, Johnson and Ossian.[69]

Wesley's reading between 1733 and 1738, the years when he was exploring his awareness of the divine lure upon him, was primarily in the devotional writers a Kempis, Taylor, Scougal, and after 1736, Law. After 1747, when

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[66] Ibid., p. 38.

[67] John Wesley, The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., ed. by John Beecham (15 vols.; London: John Mason, 1856), I, 357.

[68] Onva K. Bosheare, "The Books in John Wesley's Life," Wesleyan Theological Journal, III, 1 (Spring, 1968), 48-56. These four principal works were Thomas a Kempis, Imitation of Christ, Jeremy Taylor, Holy Living and Holy Dying, William Law, Serious Call and Christian Perfection, and Henry Scougal, The Life of God in the Soul of Man.

[69] George Jackson, "John Wesley as a Bookman," The London Quarterly and Holborn Review, CLX, 6th series, IV (July, 1935), 296.

he had fairly settled on the religious tendency which would be his for the rest of his life, he read broadly in many areas including botany, history, and travel, for the admitted purpose of broadening his mind.[70] Before entering a new part of the country, he would read what literature he could find that related to the area.[71] He later wrote to one of his itinerent preachers, John Trembath, concerning the importance of reading:

> You can never be a deep preacher without it reading any more than a thorough Christian. . . . Whether you like it or not, read and pray daily. It is for your life; there is no other way; else you will be a trifler all your days, and a pretty, superficial preacher. Do justice to your own soul; give it time and means to grow.[72]

John Wesley even read while riding his horse or walking. After reading a book, he would write a summary and appraisal of it. He often gave stinging criticisms of the books he read and seldom did he find a book he could praise.[73] Though Wesley was broad in his reading, he thought of himself as homo unius libri, "a man of one book, regarding none, comparatively, but the Bible."[74] He said: "At any price, give me the book of God."

John Wesley "eagerly studied William Law's Christian Perfection

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[70]Boshears, op. cit., p. 52. See Frank Baker, "A Study of John Wesley's Readings," The London Quarterly and Holborn Review, CLXVII, 6th series, XII (April, 1943), 141. "His expenditure on books from May, 1732, until 1733, shows the strong devotional trend of his mind, with a tendency towards mysticism and ritualism." p. 142. "May 24, 1738, was the last great turning point. From henceforth he was no longer hesitantly groping his way, he was a spiritual 'man-of-the-world.' He was done with asceticism and ritualism as saving forces, though they were to take part in the general background of his life."

[71]Jackson, op. cit., p. 297. [72]Ibid., p. 295.

[73]James R. Joy, "Wesley: Man of a Thousand Books and a Book," Religion in Life, VIII, 1 (Winter, 1939), 73.

[74]Ibid., p. 71. See also John Wesley, Christian Perfection (London: Epworth Press, 1952), p. 15.

and the Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life."[75] Bishop Wharburton maintained, in fact, that "William Law was the true begetter of Methodism."[76] From 1726, when Wesley obtained and read Law's recently published Christian Perfection, until "Aldersgate," Wesley was affirmatively impressed with Law's views. Wesley said: "I had objections to almost every page; but they Law's works convinced me more than ever of the exceeding height and breadth and depth of the law of God."[77] Wesley wrote:

> The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul, that everything appeared in a new view. I cried to God for help, and resolved not to prolong the time of obeying Him as I had never done before. And by my continued endeavor, to the utmost of my power, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of Him, and that I was even then in a state of salvation.[78]

William Law apparently had respect for the Wesley's reciprocol in some measure to theirs for him. He penned an apologetic for the Oxford Methodists in reply to an attack entered in Fogg's Journal against them. His defense, entitled "The Oxford Methodists; being an Account of some Young Gentlemen in that city, in Derision so called, setting forth their Rise and Designs, with Some Occasional Remarks on a Letter inserted in Fogg's Journal of December 9th, 1732," was offered anonymously, but there

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[75] Wesley, Letters, I, 238.

[76] Hugh A. Lawrence Rice, The Bridge Builders (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961), p. 39.

[77] John Wesley, The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley, A.M., ed. by Nehemiah Curnock (8 vols.; New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909), I, 467.

[78] Ibid.

was little doubt of the authorship of the article.[79] John Wesley had paid a visit to William Law at the Edward Gibbon residence in Putney in July, 1732, after which the two men enjoyed a close friendship that lasted until 1738.[80]

William Law was a Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, until 1714, when he had to resign his post because he could not comply with the Abjuration Oath of George I. Law was tutor of Edward Gibbon from 1727, until the death of the senior Gibbon in 1740. Law founded King's Cliff, to care for and to educate destitute girls, and he was noted for other benevolent works. He is remembered more for his mystical devotional writings than for his controversial status as a Non-juror.[81] John Wesley responded to Law's works in a radically different manner following his Aldersgate conversion. He accused Law of misleading him.

> For two years (more especially) I have been preaching after the model of your two practical treatises; and all that heard have allowed that the law is great, wonderful and holy. But no sooner did they attempt to fulfill it but they found that it is too high for man, and that by doing 'the works of the law shall no flesh living be justified.'[82]

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[79] The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, 4th series, IV, ii, LXXI from the commencement (1848), 754. Law published this without the knowledge or approval of John Wesley. It was published anonymously but with all the trappings of Law's manner of writing. The British Museum catalogues this article under William Law's authorship.

[80] Eric W. Baker, A Herald of the Evangelical Revival; A Critical Inquiry into the relations of William Law to John Wesley and the Beginnings of Methodism (London: Epworth Press, 1948), p. 10. See also Frank Baker, "John Wesley's Introduction to William Law," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXXVII, 3 (October, 1969).

[81] Rice, op. cit., pp. 35-42.

[82] John Wesley, Letters, I, 242.

Law had given the writings of a Kempis and the anonymous Theologica Germanica to Wesley, thinking his ideas were more developed than they were.[83] He replied to Wesley's charges against him: "I put that author into your hands, not because he is fit for the first learners of the rudiments of Christianity who are to be prepared for baptism, but because you were a clergyman that had made a profession of divinity."[84]

George Whitefield, the orator of the Methodist Revival, gave to another of the Nonjurors, Bishop Thomas Ken, the credit for much of his early spiritual stimulus. Whitefield's mother, whom he said "was very careful of my education, . . . placed me at a school called St. Mary de Crypt, in Gloucester. . . . I cannot say I felt any drawings of God upon my soul for a year or two, saving that I laid out some of the money that was given me . . . in buying Ken's Manual for Winchester Scholars--. . . . which for some time, . . . was of great benefit to my soul."[85]

Bishop Ken was first known as an ardent High Churchman who suffered imprisonment in the Tower rather than publish the Declaration of Indulgence in his diocese.[86] King James II issued this declaration in

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[83]Wesley said of the Theologica Germanica, perhaps reflecting the distaste which his mother had for the mystical writers along with his newly-found antipathy to Law and the writers whom Law had encouraged him to read: "Oh how was it that I could ever so admire the affected obscurity of this unscriptural writer! Glory be to God, that I now prefer the plain apostles and prophets before him and all his mystic followers." Jackson, op. cit., p. 302. Wesley became exceedingly critical of mystical writers generally. After reading Jacob Behmem's Mysterium Magnum he pronounced it "the most sublime nonsense, inimitable bombast, fustian not to be paralleled." Ibid., p. 300.

[84]Wesley, Letters, I, 242.

[85]George Whitefield, Journals, ed. by Arnold A. Dallimore (London: Billing & Sons, Ltd., 1960), pp. 36-40.

[86]Rice, op. cit., p. 23. See also Herbert M. Luckock, The Bishops in the Tower (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1887), pp. 147-63, 191-221.

1687 to grant toleration to Roman Catholics by recognizing the rights of dissenters generally. In 1688, the declaration was repeated with the added requirement that bishops have it read in all their parishes. "King James . . . claimed the power of dispensing with the penal laws, in order that the Romanists might reap the benefit."[87] Yet Bishop Ken believed King James was the lawful sovereign, so he would not swear allegiance to William of Orange, to whom parliament had offered the throne. In not giving the oath of allegiance to the recognized king, Ken did not receive the benefit of the new king's Toleration Act, and he was ipso facto taken from the Anglican Church by not swearing allegiance to the "defender of the faith." Thus the devotion which he had to the established principles of the Anglican Church eventually led to his being named a "Nonjuror." He wrote the Manual for Prayers in 1764, while he was a Fellow of Winchester College.[88]

George Whitefield read William Law's Serious Call before he went to Penbroke College, Oxford. At Oxford he purchased this volume of which he said, "God worked powerfully upon my soul by that excellent treatise."[89] Charles Wesley was perhaps the chief influence on Whitefield during his time at Oxford. The younger Wesley brother initiated their acquaintance when he learned of Whitefield's work among the prisoners at the Castle. Whitefield had persuaded a woman bent on killing

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[87] Thomas Lathbury, A History of the Nonjurors (London: William Pickering, 1845), pp. 3-5.

[88] Rice, op. cit., pp. 23-25.

[89] Whitefield, op. cit., p. 46.

herself not to commit suicide and the story of this encounter was heard by Wesley who made contact with Whitefield and invited him to breakfast. Wesley gave him to read Francke's Against the Fear of Man and Scougal's The Life of God in the Soul of Man from which Whitefield learned that "true religion was the union of the soul with God and Christ within us." When he had this perception, Whitefield said, "a ray of Divine light was instantaneously darted in upon my soul, and from that moment . . . did I know I must be a new creature."[90]

William Law was significant to John Henry Newman and Richard Hurrell Froude of the Tractarians. Newman said that Law impressed on his mind the "main Catholic doctrine of the warfare between the city of God and the powers of darkness."[91] Froude affirmed, after a thorough exposure to the Roman Church during his travels, that the "only (topos) now is the 'ancient Church of England--Charles the First and the Nonjurors."[92] He was intrigued by Law's arguments against Bishop Hoadly of Bangor. "Law's brilliance quite astonished me; I think it the most striking specimen of writing I ever saw."[93] He wrote again in even stronger terms, commending Law's writing:

> If you have not yet got Law's letters to Hoadly, do with all speed. I read them through, . . . they are the most brilliant writing as well as argumentative overthrow of liberalism that I ever saw. . . .

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[90] Ibid.

[91] Newman, Apologia, p. 129.

[92] Froude, op. cit., I. 308.

[93] Ibid., pp. 336-37.

> I begin to think that the Nonjurors were the last of English divines, and that those since were twaddlers.[94]

The Nonjurors had the ἦθος (ethos) of the early Church.[95] This attracted Froude. Because of his interest in the antiquities of the Church, his friend, Newman, was encouraged to look toward the Roman Church as the linear descendent of the early Church. Newman wrote: "From Froude I learned to admire the great medieval Pontiffs."[96] Newman edited Froude's Remains; thus he read and had the opportunity to ponder over what his deceased friend had written concerning the errors of Rome vis-a-vis their acceptable traditions. Froude had written:

> I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping the Saints, and honouring the Virgin and images, &c.

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[94] Ibid., pp. 355-56. Bishop Hoadly, who held the Episcopate of Bangor, Wales, from 1715 until 1721, was a "typical Low Churchman" who was loathed by the Tories and loved by the Whigs. He detested authority as that "which keeps up the grossest errors in the countries round us." The "Bangorian controversy," in which Bishop Hoadly was the focus of national attention, brought the issue of the episcopacy to the fore. He was not impressed with the traditions of the Church. He wanted peace in the church, whatever the cost to the historic doctrines and traditions. He saw "the authority of Christianity as that which not only laid waist the honour of Christianity, but well-nigh extinguished it from amongst men." Charles J. Abbey, The English Church and its Bishops; 1700-1800 (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), II, 1-13. William Law's Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor was a biting denunciation of Hoadly in which Law said: "You have, at once, my Lord, by these doctrines denying the supernatural origin and supernatural authority of the Church, condemned the Scripture, the Apostles, their martyred successors, the Church of England, and you suspect whether you, who allow of no other Church but what is founded upon sincerity, are yourself really a member of any church." Rice, op. cit., p. 38.

[95] Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1890), I, 29.

[96] Newman, Apologia, p. 167.

> These things may perhaps be idolatrous; I cannot make up my mind about it; but to my mind it is the Carnival that is real practical idolatry.[97]

And in another place Froude defended the Roman view of the Eucharist: "We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by or upon the consecration of them, do become and are made the Body and Blood of Christ."[98]

Newman's thoughts had not progressed so as to accept these views at the time Froude's Remains were published in 1838. His spiritual odyssey began at Ealing, a preparatory school, when he was fifteen years old. He "received deep religious impressions . . . which were to him the beginning of a new life" under the influence of Rev. Walter Mayer, one of his masters in Classics.[99] He said of this impression:

> I fell under the influence of a definite creed, and received into my intellect impressions of dogma, which, through God's mercy, have never been effaced or obscured. Above and beyond the conversations and sermons of the excellent man, long dead, who was the human means of this beginning of divine faith in me, was the effect of the books which he put into my hands, all of the school of Calvin.[100]

The "doctrine of final perseverance" he "received at once, and believed that the inward conversion of which I was conscious, (and of which I still am more certain than that I have hands and feet,) would last into

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[97]Froude, op. cit., p. 363.

[98]Ibid., p. 367.

[99]Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman During His Life in the English Church (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1890), I, 29.

[100]Newman, Apologia, p. 127.

the next life, and that I was elected to eternal glory."[101]

Newman lingered some time under the impression that he alone could claim this apodictic certainty of salvation. He was rescued from this "detestable doctrine" by Thomas Scott, who "first planted deep in his mind the fundamental Truth of religion," the Holy Trinity.[102] Newman was twenty-one when he received this immense idea. He ingrafted several doctrines at this time in his life. He learned the Calvinist distinction between the elect and the world, which was a suitable preparation for the idea of the Church which became his controlling preoccupation in the days to follow. He gave "full inward assent and belief to the doctrine of eternal punishment."[103]

Newman affirmed that he was impressed by two other works during his time at Ealing. Joseph Milner's Church History introduced him to the Church fathers. Milner had quoted large sections of the fathers' writings in his history. Newman also received a distinct impression that the Roman Catholic Church was the "Antichrist," spoken of in the book of the Revelation through Thomas Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies.[104] Newton had written:

> . . . The dragon having failed in his purpose of restoring the old heathen idolatry, delegates his power to the beast, and thereby introduces a new species of idolatry, nominally different, but essentially the same, the worship of angels and saints instead of the gods and demigods of antiquity.[105]

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[101] Ibid. See Yngve Brillioth, The Anglican Revival, p. 32.

[102] Ibid., p. 128. Scott uttered two sentences which Newman used almost as axioms of life, "Holiness rather than peace;" "Growth the only evidence of life."

[103] Ibid., pp. 128-29.

[104] Maisie Ward, Young Mr. Newman (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1948), pp. 25-26.

[105] Ibid., p. 28.

Newton interpreted prophecy in terms of history, emphasizing such dispicable acts of the Roman Church as the slaughter of the Huguenots in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, when Catharine de' Medici had made bloody sport of the French Protestants. He saw this type of historical event as evidence that the church of Rome was the beast foretold by the Old Testament prophet, Daniel, and by the Apostle John in the Apocalypse.[106] Newman's mother was of Huguenot ancestry. This may or may not have been significant in his thinking; but until 1843, his conscience was stained with a view of the Roman Catholic Church that left him unable to think of it without accompanying bitterness.[107] Not the least of his impressions at Ealing was that he should spend his life without taking a wife.[108]

Who can fully estimate the significance to Newman of his failure to win the honors he "fagged" so hard to receive in his undergraduate examinations. After reading "nearly at the rate of nine hours a day" during the Long Vacation of 1819, he attempted to take honors in mathematics and classics, but he missed his goal miserably. He finished with a bachelor's degree, but with no honors to show for his supererogating diligence at study. Anne Mozley wrote of his father's ambitions for him:

> He had been destined by his Father's loving ambition for the Bar, and with that purpose had been sent to the University, and in 1819 had entered Lincoln's Inn; but his failure in the schools making his prospect of rising in a difficult profession doubtful, and his religious views becoming more pronounced, he decided in the course of 1821, with his Father's full acquiescence, on taking Orders.[109]

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[106] Ibid., p. 27. [107] Ibid., p. 29.

[108] Newman, Apologia, pp. 129-30.

[109] Anne Mozley, op. cit., I. 41-42.

Newman came under the influence of the "noetics" at Oxford in 1822. These learned, liberally inclined men (theologically) sharpened his intellect and aroused his sensitivity to the Church. He said: "Dr. Hawkins . . . taught me to weigh my words."[110] Mr. Blanco White, a converted Spanish Roman Catholic "led me to have freer views on the subject of inspiration than were usual in the Church of England at the time," wrote Newman.[111] Filling the gap in the previously evangelically oriented view of sola scriptura as the foundation of church doctrines came Dr. Hawkins stress on the role of tradition in perpetuation of the original teachings of the church. He laid down the doctrine "that the sacred text was never intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it, and that, if we would learn doctrine, we must have recourse to the formularies of the Church; for instance to the Catechism, and to the Creeds."[112] Rev. William James, of Oriel College, taught him the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, "in the course of a walk, I think," said Newman, "round Christ Church meadow."[113] Newman read Bishop Butler's Analogy around this same time, which book was for him, as for others of the Tractarians, "an era in his religious opinions." From this work he learned "First, that the very idea of an analogy between the separate works of God leads to the conclusions that the system which is of less importance is economically or sacramentally connected with the more momentous system."[114]

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[110] Newman, Apologia, p. 130. [111] Ibid., p. 131.

[112] Ibid., p. 132. [113] Ibid.

[114] T. Mozley, op. cit., II, 214. "One striking peculiarity in Newman's character must have been often noticed by his walking companions. It was his admiration of the beauties of the earth and sky, his quickness to observe the changes overhead, and the meaning he put into them, sometimes taxing the patience of a dull observer."

"Secondly, . . . that Probability is the guide to life, which led me to the question of the logical cogency of Faith."[115]

Newman gave Dr. Richard Whately the credit for teaching him "the existence of the Church, as a substantive body . . . and for fixing in me those antierastian views of Church polity, which were one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian movement."[116] Whately introduced Newman to the "Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian" which, he said, would "make his blood boil." Though the author of this work was anonymous, Whately never denied having written it, and all of Oxford attributed it to his pen. This powerful essay stated:

> First, that Church and State should be independent of each other; --he speaks of the duty of protesting 'against the profanation of Christ's kingdom, by that double usurpation, the interference of Church in temporals, of the State in spirituals,' and secondly, that the Church may justly and by right retain its property, though separated from the State.[117]

Newman said this "work had a gradual, but deep effect on my mind."[118] It achieved fruition in 1833, when the Oxford Movement enunciated the principles so forcefully presented in its pages.

Two clear impressions were made on Newman by Bishop Lloyd and by a Monsignor Wiseman, head of the English College in Rome. Lloyd taught Froude, and through him, Newman, that the Prayer Book was only a reflection of medieval and primitive devotion, implanting deeply the idea of the connection between the medieval and the pre-reformation church.[119]

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[115] Newman, Apologia, pp. 132-33.

[116] Ibid., p. 134.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid., pp. 134-35.

[119] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 77.

Wiseman skillfully seeded Newman with the doubts that eventually led to his separation from the Church of England. Without making Newman swallow the Council of Trent, the Roman Catholic conciliar reply to the Reformation, Wiseman shook his confidence in the via media, that middle road between Protestantism and Romanism which Newman believed to be the correct path of belief taken by the Church of England. After his visit with Wiseman in Rome, Newman wrote to his sister:

> What can I say of Rome, but that it is the first of cities, and that all that I ever saw are but as dust (even dear Oxford inclusive) compared with its majesty and glory? Is it possible that so serene and lofty a place is the cage of unclean creatures? I will not believe it, till I have evidence of it.[120]

John Henry Newman and John Wesley were impressionable as young men. Indeed, they sought to be influenced by worthy sources. Whereas Oxford was, in Newman's day, singularly congenial to one inclined to learn,[121] "the Oxford of 1720 might have been pronounced, in advance, to be a singularly ungenial field for a clever lad of seventeen who took life very seriously," Fichett has written.[122] "Oxford at the beginning

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[120] E.A. Knox, The Tractarian Movement; 1833-1845 (London: Putnam, 1933.

[121] A. Mozley, op. cit., I. 30. Newman said: "If anyone wishes to study much, I believe there can be no college that will encourage him more than Trinity." Yet Newman was much opposed to some of the social practices there, in particular. He wrote to Rev. Walter Mayer on Trinity Sunday, 1819: "Tomorrow is our Gaudy. If there be one time of the year in which the glory of our college is humbled, and all appearance of goodness fades away, it is on Trinity Monday. Oh, how the angels must lament over a whole society throwing off the allegiance and service of their Maker, which they have pledged the day before at His table, and showing themselves the sons of Belial. . . . the wine party is agreed upon, and this wicked union, to be sealed with drunkenness, is profanely yoked upon the allusions to one of the expressions in the Athanasian Creed." p. 33.

[122] W.H. Fichett, Wesley and His Century (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1908), p. 45.

of the eighteenth century was perhaps the most prosaic patch in the whole drab-colored English landscape."[123] The historian Edward Gibbon said his tutor "remembered that he had a salary to receive and forgot that he had a duty to perform."[124] When Whitefield went to Penbroke College, Oxford, in 1732, the inefficiency of the tutors was such that Samuel Johnson described one of them as not knowing the difference between a noun and an adverb.[125]

During the first half of the eighteenth century in particular, Oxford University "suffered from the lassitude which in the history of institutions so often follows a period of energy and action.". A graduate of Wadham College wrote a comedy entitled The Humours of Oxford in 1730. In the fourth act, the don, Haughty by name, sang these words:

> What Class in life, tho' ne'er so great
> With a good Fellowship can compare?
> We still dream on at our old rate
> Without perplexion care . . .
>
> An easier Round of Life we keep
> We eat, we Drink, we Smoak (sic), we sleep
> And then, then, then
> Rise and do the same again.[126]

Despite the abundant evidence supporting a low view of Oxford at this time, Wesley had good things to say of his tutor at Christ Church, and Wesley was himself a conscientuous tutor at Lincoln College.[127]

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[123] Ibid., pp. 45-46. [124] Ibid., p. 46.

[125] Luke Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1870), p. 15.

[126] V.H.H. Green, The Young Mr. Wesley: A Study of John Wesley and Oxford (London: Edward Arnold, Ltd., 1961), pp. 13, 18.

[127] Ibid., p. 36.

This state of affairs at Oxford in Wesley's day provides a partial explanation for John Wesley's constant soliciting of his mother's opinions. His father was a serious scholar; and his mother too took scholarship seriously. The intimacy which Susannah Wesley had developed with her children stood John Wesley in good stead when he was in need of intellectual companionship. The Holy Club itself was a means to this end, if only in part. Wesley said: "Our design was to read over the classics, which we had before read in private, on common nights, and on Sunday some book in divinity."[128] Oxford was not generally a happy place for the scholarly appetite of John Wesley and the others who showed a like interest by associating with him.

Oxford University was instrumental in forming the direction taken by the Holy Club and the Oxford Movement. The intellectual intensity of the nineteenth century Oxford provided Newman with broad exposure to the extremes of evangelicalism and liberalism. He tasted of both.[129] In 1823, Newman's letters resembled Wesley's in their Puritan spirit. Though Wesley was radically Arminian in doctrine, and Newman was a Calvinist, they exhibited similar concerns on the practice of daily living. Writing to his sister, Harriet, Newman said:

> For a long time after God had vouchsafed His grace to me, I saw no harm in going to the play. But I don't suppose I can have gone more than once or twice between 1816 and 1820. Directly I changed I grew uncharitable towards those who went. While I was an undergraduate I profaned Sunday; for instance, I made no objection to reading newspapers on Sunday.[130]

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[128] Wesley, Letters, I, 124-25.

[129] Ward, Newman, p. 25. Rev. Walter Mayer, Master of Classics at Ealing, was "a narrow Calvinist Evangelical."

[130] A. Mozley, op. cit., p. 70.

His words to her some months later echoed another of Wesley's themes:

> If you have leisure time on Sunday, learn portions of Scripture by heart. The benefit seems to me incalculable. It imbues the mind with good and holy thoughts. It is a resource in solitude, on a journey, and in a sleepless night; and let me press most earnestly upon you and my other dear sisters, as well as on myself, the frequent exhortations in Scripture to prayer.[131]

Newman and Wesley had similar spiritual inclinations which were guided in different directions. Whereas many ideas played upon Newman's growing mind, Wesley felt the centripetal force of primarily one idea.[132] Newman swayed under the influence of the evangelicals, next under the "noetics," and he eventually was persuaded to find the true expression of the Church in the Roman Catholic Church by the weight of influences thrown by several factors (which are to be considereddin Chapter IV). Wesley gathered round himself men of like interest and depended on them for friendship and intellectual stimulus. They largely reflected his leadership, though one ought not to minimize the contributions of the other members of the Holy Club. It is noteworthy that Wesley was easily persuaded by the Moravians during his trip to Georgia, that his understanding of Christianity was not complete.[133] Had he experienced the array of influences which Newman felt at Oxford, his direction might well have been different.

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[131] Ibid., p. 72.

[132] Green, op. cit., p. 11. "John Wesley was a man of wide reading but of increasingly circumscribed intellectual interests."

[133] Luke Tyerman, The Oxford Methodists (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1873), pp. 103-56. The future of the Methodists was, in fact, threatened by the fusion of their identity with the Moravians. Benjamin Ingham and John Gambold, two of the members of the Holy Club, left Wesley's movement to join the Moravians. See Maldwyn Edwards, The Astonishing Youth; A Study of John Wesley as Man Saw Him (London: Epworth Press, 1959), p. 20.

The influence of the Church of England on the Oxford Methodists and the Oxford Movement was largely negative. Indeed, the spiritual poverty of the Established Church was instrumental in bringing about both movements. Though the law of the land required Church attendance throughout the eighteenth century, the number of persons going to church decreased as the century progressed.[134] Charles Abbey wrote: "Some of the remoter parts of England seemed to be absolutely in danger of relapsing into literal heathenism."[135] Roman Catholics were not permitted to practice their faith. James II had lost his throne on this issue. Only the Protestant sects were tolerated.[136] The Nonjurors' numbers had been strengthened by the Abjuration Act which practically required the imprematur of the state upon the Church.[137] Conformity to an inert Church such as the Anglican Church was, was not possible for spiritually men. Samuel Wesley, the father of John and Charles, tried twice to persuade those who would read his publication that both conformity and nonconformity were ingredients contributing to the health of the total Anglican fellowship[138] even as the Bishop of Bangor spoke for conformity to a Whiggish Church for the sake of mere peace.[139]

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[134] Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), p. 439.

[135] Ibid., p. 440. [136] Abbey, op. cit., I, 2.

[137] Ibid., p. 5. The Abjuration Act required churchmen not only to vow allegiance to King William, but to repudiate the claims of the dethroned monarch, James, as well.

[138] Abbey and Overton, op. cit., I, p. 29.

[139] Joy, op. cit., p. 71. See also Abbey, op. cit., p. 15. Samuel Wesley wrote the preface to the "Athenean Oracle" which appeared in 1706, and 1708. This paper asked if a comprehension of conformists and nonconformists was not possible. Wesley called for a renewal of the ancient Church disciplines.

The protest which the Holy Club made against the Anglican Church was not one primarily of words. Theirs was one of action. Sacheverell's sermon against the Whiggish sickness which had begun to erode the health of the High Church of England was bruited widely,[140] but his effects were not so lasting as were those of the more active, less outspoken Methodists. The churchmanship of the Wesleys was impeccably high. They followed the Prayer Book and attended the Sacrament of Communion more often than was considered appropriate by their fellow students.[141] The other activities which they took upon themselves were not contradictory to Anglican principles; instead, their activities were the practical extension of Anglican principles. The jail visitation began when "William Morgan discovered that much good could be done at the city "jail" after he visited a man condemned for killing his wife.[142] In a while, they were all spending "six evenings in the week" in "reading the scriptures and in provoking one another to love and good works."[143]

The problems in the Church of England with which the Tractarians took issue were of a different nature than those of the eighteenth century. The French Revolution affected the Anglican Church in two basically different ways. It made many fear "Jacobinism," which was loosely interpreted to mean any new thing, be it improvement or actual danger to the Church. The other reaction was to promote increased activity

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[140] G.R. Cragg, The Church in the Age of Reason (Baltimre, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1960), pp. 62-63.

[141] Wesley, Works, I, 12. At Christ Church College they were dubbed "Sacramentarians" for their frequent communion.

[142] Wesley, Letters, I, 124-25.

[143] Wesley, Works, VII, 402.

towards reform.[144] The Church itself had become impoverished by the general financial drain on the whole English economy caused by the Napoleonic wars. Consequently the measures taken by Parliament to greater economy eventually struck the Church, bringing about the dissolution of certain sees in Ireland.[145] John Keble preached his famous sermon "National Apostasy" in response to this act of Parliament.[146] Keble called this bill a "direct disavowal of the sovereignty of God."[147] This act was in complete opposition to the principle which Newman imbibed from the "Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian" that it was a usurpation of the Church's rights for the State to act authoritatively against it in any manner.[148]

The roots of the Oxford Movement might be seen as reaching directly to the Hadleigh Rectory of Rev. Hugh James Rose. Rose had begun on an individual scale, to enact the very principles of the Oxford Movement. Nor was he alone in this. The Clapton Sect, numbering the close friends of Joshua Watson, advocated High Church principles and sought to work its influence against the latitudinarianism that was sapping the integrity of the Church.[149] But Rose's efforts were self-consciously an attempt at beginning a movement. He desired to gather clergymen together to defend the traditional Creed being undermined by latitudinarian principles and the general spirit of defiance of religion that was en

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[144]John H. Overton, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), p. 2.

[145]Elie Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, trans. by E.I. Watkin (6 vols.; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), III, 139.

[146]Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 92. [147]Ibid., p. 93.

[148]Halevy, op. cit., III, 145. See Chapter IV.

[149]Brilliioth, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

aftermath of the French Revolution. Rose began the British Magazine, a scholarly journal of theology, and founded a Theological Library to restore the awareness in the clergy of the traditions of the primitive Church and to reacquaint clergymen with the patristic writers.[150] Though Rose's efforts were not necessarily reactionary, what he did was in response to the spirit of the times. Several of the Oxford men, including William Palmer, R.H. Froude and William Perceval met with Rose at Hadleigh to begin this association in defense of the Church. These men agreed to defend against the revision of the Liturgy and against any tampering with the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession.[151] John Keble and John Henry Newman contributed to the British Magazine, and agreed in principle with Rose's goals, but they did not join the movement because they felt themselves not nearly so illustrious personages as those were who Rose had initially gathered around himself. Yet this earlier association was an action of the same kind as the Oxford Movement and the later development employed the efforts of several of Rose's associates.

The shaping of the minds of the men in the Holy Club and the Oxford Movement took the impressions of many influences. Indeed, the total number could never be demonstrated. Yet in this chapter a presentation has been offered of the principal kinds of influences, with noteworthy examples to show the impact of each kind. Home, Church and school were in many ways similar experiences for the men concerned. Yet

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[150] Halevy, op. cit., 145. Newman's The Arians of the Fourth Century was written for this Library. John Wesley compiled a similar library which he called A Christian Library.

[151] William Law Mathieson, English Church Reform; 1815-1840 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923), pp. 81-83.

from this similar pattern of impressions there came two different patterns of response to the needs of the Church of England. The next chapter will discuss the manner of activity each movement chose to express its concern over the condition of the English Church.

CHAPTER III

THEIR MANNER OF EXPRESSION

To compare the way the Holy Club expressed itself with the way the Tractarians expressed themselves requires something more than determining the amount of expression by each movement. Nor is it enough to compare one kind of expression with another to see if they were at all alike. The differences between the Oxford Methodists and the Tractarians are sufficiently great to make either procedure, or the mere attempt to find points of similarity fully satisfactory. Only the ἦθος (ethos) of the two developments were similar. Oxford University was a different institution in Newman's time than it was in Wesley's day. The Anglican Church of the Victorian era was different from that of the Georgian period; likewise, the political situation in England was certainly more complex in the nineteenth century reform era than in the more quiescent eighteenth century.

The value in juxtaposing the words and deeds of the leaders of these two movements has value only when it is made clear that each one had as its principal objective the reaffirmation of the truth of Apostolical Christianity. Edward Bouverie Pusey wrote for The British Critic these words:

> . . . For our own part we cannot but think that different schools of theology were meant to rise up from time to time in the Christian world according as change was wanted, nay in order to bring out and give fulness and expression to the truth itself. . . . Even the

> Fathers, . . . were of different schools.[152]

To pursue this manner of comparison is to take an inventory of the treasures of two reforming episodes in the Anglican Church. Pusey's description of the Tractarian movement was a suitable reflection on the nature of the Holy Club as well:

> . . . the phenomenon in question is in a manner quite independent of things visible and historical. It is not here or there; it has no progress, no causes, no fortunes; it is not a movement, it is a spirit, it is a spirit afloat, neither 'in the secret chamber' nor 'in the desert,' but everywhere. It is within us, rising up in the heart where it was least expected, and working its way, though not in secret, yet so subtly and impalpably as hardly to admit of precaution or encounter on any ordinary human rules of opposition. It is an adversary in the air, a something one and entire, a whole wheresoever it is, unapproachable and incapable of being grasped, as being the result of causes far deeper or other visible agencies, the spiritual awakening of spiritual wants.[153]

It might be said that the Tractarians were so outspoken and so steeped in tradition that they were a sort of Anglican montanism,[154] both a movement and founded upon an ancient heritage. Yet the Tractarians were an eruption of the spirit of traditional Christianity, bursting to free themselves from ecclesiastical and political shackling. What was the bondage from which the Tractarians sought release? William George Ward described it in this way:

> . . . to speak plainly, . . . ever since the schism of the 16th century the English Church has been swayed by a spirit of arrogance, self-contentment, and self-complacency, resembling rather

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[152] Edward Bouverie Pusey, "The Articles treated on in Tract 90 reconsidered and their Interpretation vindicated in a Letter to Rev. R.W. Jelf, D.D., Canon of Christ Church," The British Critic, XXV, 80 (1839), 412.

[153] Ibid., pp. 401-02. See also Newman, Apologia, pp. 203-03.

[154] "Montanism" was originally a sect of Christianity, appearing in the second century, protesting against worldliness in the Church at large. Proclaiming themselves passive instruments of the Holy Spirit, they tried to prophesy the time of Christ's return. "Ultramontanism," a phenomenon of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was a reactionary Roman Catholic movement exalting the papacy above national Church authority. See Walker, op. cit., pp. 55-56, 523-24.

> an absolute infatuation than the imbecility of ordinary pride, which has stifled her energies, crippled her resources, frustrated all the efforts of her most faithful children to raise her from her existing degredation.[155]

Dean Church called the Oxford Movement "a protest against the loose unreality of ordinary morality."[156] The Holy Club also protested, though not in the same manner that the Tractarians used. The members of the Holy Club stirred each other by mutual edification[157] and disturbed the consciences of their critics by implementing the Gospel.[158]

The manner of expression of these two movements may be separated into two categories. Primarily, the men of these Oxford movements engaged in personal revolt against what the Church of England represented by being themselves true to their convictions.[159] Secondarily, their protest came in the form of stirring words and deeds, appropriate gestures as evidence of that which grew within them. The Oxford Movement was a bona fide protest against the Church of England and against the English government. The Holy Club's protest was tacit; its members simply

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[155] William George Ward, "The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice," The Oxford Movement, ed. by Eugene R. Fairweather (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 166.

[156] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 67.

[157] John H. Overton and Frederick Relton, The English Church From the Accession of George I to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800) (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1906), p. 67.

[158] Arnold Lunn, John Wesley (New York: The Dial Press, 1929), p. 29. "John Gambold said the Methodists were unpopular not so much because of their frequent communion and fasting, but because of their charitable ministrations to the poor and sick." John Wesley said of the significance of critics: "By this alone may we judge of the value of censure: God hath so constituted this world that, so soon as ever any one sets himself earnestly to seek a better, censure is at hand to conduct him to it." Wesley, Letters, I, 96.

[159] Owen Chadwick observed that "Like its predecessor the Evangelical Movement, it the Oxford Movement was more a movement of the heart than of the head." The Mind of the Oxford Movement (Stanford, Ca.; Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 11.

acted upon the principles they believed, and their activity stood above the common behavior as a protest against the standard practice of the Christians of the day.

To list the actions of these movements on a divided ledger to compare how many things each one said or did would give evidence to suggest that the Oxford Movement did much more than the Holy Club. Indeed the Tractarians existed as a unified thrust for twelve years, whereas the Holy Club lasted only six years.[160] The Tractarians were self-consciously a protest movement from the first, whereas the Holy Club, only one of many little societies[161] active during the eighteenth century, was not aware of its place in history. Furthermore, the impact of the Holy Club came after the society dissolved, while the Tractarians peaked in their achievement roughly six years after their movement got officially under way.[162] In evaluating these two phenomena, the order of history will be reversed to view first the Tractarians and then the Holy Club. The reason for this is that the principles of disagreement with the

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[160]The great effects of Wesley's activity with the Holy Club, the Methodist Revival, did not begin until after Wesley's conversion at Aldersgate in 1738. This was three years following the dissolution of the Holy Club when Wesley went to Georgia with his brother Charles and Benjamin Ingham. Thus, by Wesley's reckoning, all of his acts with the Holy Club were performed as an unconverted man. Yet the Oxford experience was significant in the memory of the great reformer in his twilight years. Near the end of his long life he wrote to Charles: "I often cry out, Vitae me readi priori: Let me begin again an Oxford Methodist." Lunn, op. cit., p. 44.

[161]Overton and Relton, op. cit., p. 67. See also Abbey and Overton, op. cit., p. 18. "Societies for the suppression of vice, and for the reformation of public manners, sprang up in most of the large towns, and displayed a great, some thought excessive, zeal in bringing to the bar of justice offenders against immorality. Numerous associations were formed . . . of men who banded to further their mutual religious observance of the ordinances and services of the Church."

[162]Newman, Apologia, p. 200.

Anglican Church appear more clearly in historical context with the Tractarians.

Newman was elected Fellow of Oriel College in April, 1822, just two years after his failure to win any honors as an undergraduate.[163] His first "public" act came seven years later when he successfully opposed the re-election to Parliament from Oxford of Sir Robert Peel.[164] Peel had introduced the Catholic Emancipation Bill, which became law on April 13, 1829, after showing himself previously as anti-Catholic.[165] Wilfred Ward said of Newman:

> He had no decided views on the measure itself. But he considered that it was proposed on principles of indifferentism. The Papist was to be tolerated, just as the Socinian was to be tolerated. He regarded it as 'one of the signs of the times,' a sign of the encroachment of philosophism and indifferentism in the Church.[166]

But the significance of the Catholic Emancipation Bill was greater than Newman then understood it to be. First of all, there was imbedded in the national consciousness of England an instinctive hatred of Ireland and France and Rome.[167] Second, the prerogatives of the National Church were threatened by the recognition of an International Church. At a time when Spain had reinstituted the Inquisition and the Jesuits had

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[163] Wilfred Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913), I, 34-35.

[164] Ibid., p. 44.

[165] Halevy, op. cit., II, 270-71.

[166] W. Ward, op. cit., p. 44. Newman wrote in the Apologia: "I took part against Mr. Peel on a simple academical, not at all on ecclesiastical or political ground: and this I professed at the time. I considered that Mr. Peel had taken the University by surprise, that he had no right to call upon us to turn round on a sudden, and to expose ourselves to the imputation of time-serving, and that a great University ought not to be bullied even by a great Duke of Wellington." pp. 135-36.

[167] Halevy, op. cit., II, 273.

resumed influence in the Bourbon Restoration monarchy in France, the "threat" of Rome was a fear to the stout defenders of the Anglican Church.[168] The Toleration Act of 1689 had expressely excluded Romanists.[169] Since then there had been no innovations in the official attitude towards non-Anglicans. The indifference of the Walpolian era towards theological niceties, given evidence in the extensive influence of Deism and skepticism, resulted in a general relaxation of the enforcement of rules against Papists;[170] but the dread of the "Popish plot" which was so real during the reigns of Charles II and James II, which prompted the anti-Roman verbage of the Toleration Act (William III's tolerant attitude notwithstanding) was perpetuated in the High Church Anglicans. At any rate, the Established Church was threatened by the Catholic Emancipation Bill because it was a signal to the Liberal forces in England that the Church no longer held its position of lofty security under the protection of the State.[171]

John Keble's famous assize sermon at Oxford, "National Apostasy," began the Tractarian's defense of Church principles against the spirit of the times.[172] Judge Coleridge had said: "If you want to propagate your opinions you should land your sermons."[173] The sermons preached

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[168] Ibid., pp. 274-75.

[169] Alfred Plummer, English Church History from the Death of Charles I to the Death of William III (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907) p. 138. The Toleration Act excluded non-Trinitarians as well.

[170] The tale of Walpole's influence is well told in I.S. Leadam, "Sir Robert Walpole, First Earl of Oxford," Dictionary of National Biography, ed. by Sidney Lee, Vol. LIX (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899), 178-206. Also see R.K. Webb, Modern England From the 18th Century to the Present (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1968), p. 40.

[171] Halevy, op. cit., II, 278-80. [172] Newman, Apologia, p. 152.

[173] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 76.

preached by the Tractarians heralded their forthcoming attack upon the bastions of Liberalism. On December 2, 1832, Newman preached before the University of Oxford a sermon which anticipated Keble's "National Apostasy." Newman's topic was "Wilfulness, the Sin of Saul." He made his most pointed application of the text (I Samuel 15: 11. "It repenteth Me that I have set up Saul to be king; for he is turned back from following Me, and hath not performed My commandments.") in a concluding peroration.

> . . . With these principles fresh in the memory, a number of reflections crowd upon the mind in surveying the face of society, as at present constituted. The present open resistance to constitued power, and (what is more to the purpose) the indulgent toleration of it, the irreverence towards Antiquity, the unscrupulous and wanton violation of the commands and usages of our forefathers, the undoing of their benefaction, the profanation of the Church, the bold transgression of the duty of Ecclesiastical Unity, the avowed disdain of what is called party religion (though Christ undeniably made a party the vehicle of His doctrine, and did not cast it at random on the world, as men would now have it),the growing indifference to the Catholic Creed, the sceptical objections to portions of its doctrines, the arguings and discussings and comparings and correctings and rejectings, and all the train of presumptuous exercises, to which its sacred articles are subjected, the numberless discordant criticisms on the Liturgy which have shot up on all sides of us; the general irritable state of mind, which is every where to be witnessed, and craving for change in all things; what do all these symptoms show, but that the spirit of Saul still lives?--that wilfulness, which is the antagonist principle to the zeal of David,--the principle of cleaving and breaking down all divine ordinances, instead of building up. . . . . .
>
> These remarks may at first sight seem irrelevant in the case of those who, like ourselves, are bound by affection and express promises to the cause of Christ's Church; yet it should be recollected that very rarely have its members escaped the infection of the age in which they lived: and there certainly is the danger of our considering ourselves safe, merely because we do not go the lengths of others, and protest against the extreme principles or measures to which they are committed.[174]

Two other formal protests were submitted to the Archbishop of

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[174]John Henry Newman, Fifteen Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford (London: Rivington's, 1880), pp. 174-75.

Canterbury before Keble's assize sermon of July 14, 1833. William Palmer had composed an address to which 7,000 clergymen signed their names affirming a broadly based disapproval of the course of the Church vis-a-visthe State. A Lay Address also had been prepared to which 230,000 heads of families added their signatures for the consideration of the Archbishop.[175] The public reactions to the official danger of the Established Church were slow in coming. Nearly three years elapsed between the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill and the enactment of the Church Temporalities Act whereby the Irish bishoprics were dissolved.[176] Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy" may be seen as a somewhat fortuitous event; the dramatic effect it had was due to the fact that it was preached before government lawyers at the Oxford County assize. Bertram Windle has described the circumstances of Keble's address:

> Oxford, it must be remembered, like its sister Cambridge, is a county as well as a university city, and the representatives of the crown and the law pay their visit there, in course of their assize, to hear and adjudicate upon such cases as may have found a place on the list. . . . When such a visit covered a Sunday, the judges were expected to go to the principal church in state, wearing their scarlet robes and full-bottomed wigs and accompanied by their javelin-men, with the high sheriff in attendance, and there they were treated to some very special discourse delivered by some specially selected preacher. It was before such an audience that John Keble, on July 14, 1833, delivered his memorable address entitled "National Apostasy."[177]

Keble's sermon began with a text drawn from I Samuel 12: 23, in

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[175] Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 106-07.

[176] The Corporation Act of 1661 forbade dissenters to hold any municipal office. The 1673 Test Act ("aimed primarily at Catholics") excluded non-Anglicans from any office under the Crown. Webb, op. cit., p. 38.

[177] Bertram C.A. Windle, Who's Who of the Oxford Movement (New York: The Century Company, 1926), p. 18.

which the prophet Samuel said: "As for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way." The context of this passage finds the Israelites requesting a king to reign over them instead of the judges whom God had given them. The thrust of the text which Keble employed for his sermon against "National Apostasy" was that the national will was contrary to the divine will. Keble said: ". . . as regards reward and punishment, God dealt formerly with the Jewish people in a manner analogous to that in which he deals now, not so much with Christian nations, as with the sould of individual Christians."[178]

The basic assumption of Keble's sermon was that like as the Israelites were the "people of God," so England was a Christian nation, a "people of God" under a new dispensation of the divine adoption. Despite the questionable sanctity of the origin of the Anglican Church in the days of Henry VIII, Keble drew a direct analogy between England and Isreal as the people of God. Because of the structure of authority in a national community which is a "people of God," the priests have the last word rather than the temporal authorities. Two years after this assise sermon, Keble preached another sermon expounding the same issue. Using the propeht Isaiah (49: 23) as authority, he said:

> . . . Instead of representing the Church as dependent on the State, the holy prophet intended to point out the entire submission which the State owes to the Church: that is, in other words, the entire submission which God's ministers in temporal things owe to that great enduring plan, which he has set on foot in a lost world subduing all things to himself.[179]

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[178] John Keble, "National Apostasy," Fairweather, op. cit., p. 38.

[179] John Keble, "Sermons Academical and Occasional, 2d ed." cited in Fairweather, op. cit., p. 40.

With this view of the appropriate relationship between the Church and the State, Keble had little commendation to offer the assembled barristers from the University pulpit. He said:

> The point really to be considered is, whether, according to the coolest estimate, the fashionable liberality of this generation be not ascribable, in a great measure, to the same temper which led the Jews voluntarily to set about degrading themselves to a level with the idolatrous Gentiles. And if it be true, whatever opinion, is APOSTASY too hard a word to describe the temper of that nation?[180]

Keble's point of view reflected the ideas of High Churchmen who preceded him. The Elizabethan bishop, Hooker, had announced in his "Ecclesiastical Polity" that "Church and State are identical, the same society merely seen from different points of view." Bishop Wharburton affirmed, in the eighteenth century, that though the Church and the State are separated entities, they can enter into an alliance with reciprocal duties. The romantic poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, viewed the national church as a segment of the Universal Church, with the spiritual values coming to the nation because of and through the supernatural Church. John Henry Newman found Coleridge's view on the relationship between Church and State remarkably like his own. Newman sought Catholicity; his ideas groped for the One true Catholic Church even as he saw the National Church as having great responsibility. But along with reciprocal responsibilities with the State, Newman and Keble believed the Church had inviolable prerogatives.[181]

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[180] Keble, "National Apostasy," Fairweather, op. cit., p. 42.

[181] Brillioth, op. cit., p. 6.

The grounds for Keble's objection to the actions taken by the Parliament on Church properties were different from Newman's. Newman claimed to learn the theory of the Church from Richard Whately, the probable author of the "Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian."[182] This document expressed disdain of all connexion between Church and State. The Church, it stated, had absolute rights to property which the State could not take away. Thus any meddling by the State in Church affairs was apostasy. The reviewer in The British Critic, a magazine representing Tractarian interests, said of the author of the "Letters:" "At . . . times we have been almost lured into the belief that we had to deal with a Papist in disguise."[183] The opinion of the author of the "Letters" was that

> The clergy, though they ought not to be the hired servants of the Civil Magistrate, may justly retain their revenues; and the State, though it has no right of interference in spiritual concerns, not only is justly entitled to support from the ministers of religion, would, under the system I am recommending, obtain it much more effectually.[184]

The very personal nature of the Tractarian protest against the situation of the Church and State may be seen in the reasoning behind the Tracts produced initially by Newman, and then by others as well. Newman believed that the remedy for the ills in the system was not a counter-system, however lofty the principles might be upon which the counter-system might be founded. "In Newman's view the one thing needful was a direct and personal affirmation of definite religious

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[182] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 6.

[183] "Letters on the Church," by an Episcopalian (1826), The British Critic, VI, 12 (October, 1829), 267.

[184] Newman, Apologia, p. 135.

conviction."[185] This evaluation of Fairweather's is well supported by Newman's activities as a spokesman for the High Church view.

The first of the Tracts for the Times, written by Newman, was an unsigned appeal "To My Brethren in the Sacred Ministry, The Presbyters and Deacons of the Church of Christ in England, Ordained Thereunto By the Holy Ghost and the Imposition of Hands." Newman described himself as a "shield-bearer" of the duly ordained leaders of the Church, the bishops. He emphasized early in the tract that the bishops had the rights of sword and crozier as SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES. He defended the practical necessity of the Church being supported by the State because the Dissenters gave ample illustration of the condition of ecclesiastical bodies that must depend upon their popularity with the people for support. But he stressed the inviolability of the Church by the State. The Church, he declared, did not derive its authority from the State but from "APOSTOLICAL DESCENT." "The Lord Jesus Christ gave his Spirit to his apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives."[186]

Tract One was published on September 9, 1833. Eighty-nine others followed. The most famous of the Tracts were the first and the last. Though tracts were not an uncommon form of publicizing points of view, they were seldom employed by men of the stature of the Oxford dons of the Tractarian movement. Dean Church remarked that "the form of Tracts

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[185] Fairweather, op. cit., p. 54.

[186] "Tract One," Tracts for the Times (5 vols.; London: J.G.F. & J. Rivington, 1840), I, 1, ii.

used by distinguished University men was perplexing--these were men, who as a rule were representative of soberness and self-control in religious feeling and writing."[187] They were written in a time when the Church was largely ignorant of doctrine. One of the bishops of the Anglican Church could not decide whether he believed in the Apostolical Succession when he read Newman's first tract.[188] The Tracts were not long, for the most part; usually no more than four pages in length. Their subject matter was the "constitution, ordinances, and services of the Church."[189] They were not altogether polemical; in fact many were didactic, simple presentations of important features of the Church. Liddon wrote: "Their first object was to restore and strengthen faith in those portions of the Divine Will which relate to the nature and organization of the Body of Christ, and which had been denied or forgotten by the popular religionism of the day."[190]

The Tracts were not "symbols ex cathedra." Newman said that they were intended "as the expressions of individual minds."[191] The principal reason why the Tracts were interpreted as the expression of a "movement" was that the contributors were men of stature. Pusey was the first of the writers to initial a Tract. Tract Eighteen, "On Fasting," drew the national attention to Pusey because his already established reputation as a student of German theology, and as a Hebrew scholar (Regius

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[187] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 119. [188] Ibid., p. 120.

[189] Liddon, op. cit., I, 277. [190] Ibid.

[191] Ibid., p. 278. Letter from Newman to Perceval, July 20, 1834.

Professor of Hebrew at Oxford) made his initials as recognizable as his name. Thus "Puseyism" became one of the bywords for the Tractarian movement.[192]

Newman attempted to steer a course between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. The Via Media, published first in 1837, expressed Newman's thoughts on bringing unity to the Church. He said: "If I have had any bias, it hath been my desire of peace, which our common Savior left as a legacy to His Church, that I might live to see the re-union of Christendom."[193] In pointing out the errors of Romanism and Protestantism, he attempted to demonstrate that each was both right and wrong. The Roman Catholics, he pointed out, stressed Tradition; the Protestants emphasized the Bible. Newman asked: "How do we know that Scripture comes from God? It cannot be denied that we of this age receive it upon general Tradition; we receive through Tradition both the Bible itself, and the doctrine that it is divinely inspired."[194] In a letter to a benefactor of the Tractarians, Newman said: "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."[195]

The very personal nature of the Tractarian movement, the absolute dependence of the life of the movement on its progenitors, is illustrated

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[192] Fairweather, op. cit., p. 93.

[193] John Henry Newman, The Via Media of the Anglican Church (2 vols.; London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 1877), I, xiii.

[194] Ibid., p. 33.

[195] A. Mozley, op. cit., II, 92.

in the drift of the Tracts. The issues became more complex as Newman and the others probed more deeply into the origins of the Anglican Church. Tract One had stressed the Apostolical Succession. There was little discord on this point in the Church. It was something to be reaffirmed, but this belief had not been forsaken in the Church. In 1837, Newman first produced The Via Media and the Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, viewed Relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism, which recognised the interplay of motifs from both sides of the Reformation. Newman then viewed the Anglican Church as being neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, but as a reproduction of the Catholic, that is, the Universal Church of Christ.[196] Tract Ninety, "Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles," appeared in 1841, two years after Newman had received "the first real hit from Romanism."[197] This "hit" was an article in the Dublin Review, written by Nicholas Wiseman, the priest Newman and Froude met during their voyage to Rome in 1832, comparing Newman's idea of the Church in The Via Media with the Donatist Schism of North Africa in the fourth century.[198]

On March 9, 1841, Newman wrote to his sister, Thomas Mozley's wife:

> 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

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[196] Fairweather, op. cit., p. 144. [197] Ibid., p. 146.

[198] Newman was struck with the realisation that St. Augustine's words: "Securus judicat orbis terrarum!" "absolutely pulverised" the theory of the Via Media. "The heavens had opened and closed again. The thought for the moment had been, 'The Church of Rome will be found right after all;' and then it vanished." Apologia, pp. 219-20.

> attention. I sent it to Keble before publishing it; he, too, made no remark upon it. But people are taking it up very warmly--thanks, I believe, entirely to Golightly.[199]

Newman had entertained a very serious defense of the via media of the Anglican Church in Tract Eighty-one. In this Tract he argued that the Oly Eucharist which had been held "in high and awful honour in the Primitive Church, was both perverted in the later Church of Rome, and depreciated by Ultra-Protestants."[200] Newman repudiated Transubstantiation and Purgatory as corruptions of the Apostolic doctrine. He lauded the revisers of the Liturgy who removed "all occasion of stumbling" by dropping any mention of purgatorial benefit in the Eucharist, and by introducing the aspect of Christian duty as the "sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and bodies," rather than a renewed "bloody sacrifice" of the Savior. Whereas the Roman Church had perverted the Eucharist by making it considerably more than the Primitive Church would have allowed, the Ultra-Protestants took away the significance of the Sacrament by making it merely a commemorative service. Omissions and abbreviations in the service were introduced to expedite the Liturgy, meanwhile robbing it of its significance. Calvin was, Newman believed, largely responsible for this trend.[201]

Newman treated of the Thirty-Nine Articles in Tract Ninety. His position was altered noticeably as he leaned more and more towards a Roman Catholic interpretation. He said: "It is a duty which we owe

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[199] A. Mozley, op. cit., II, 326.

[200] Tract Eighty-One, "Catena Patrum, No. IV," Tracts for the Times, IV, 81, iv.

[201] Ibid., pp. xiv-xv.

both to the Catholic Church, and to our own, to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit: we have no duties towards their the Thirty-Nine Articles' framers."[202] R.H. Froude had more or less anticipated the direction which the Oxford Movement would go. He had informed Newman of his own sympathies with the Roman Church. Writing from Leghorn, in April of 1833, he said: "When I come home I mean to read and write all sorts of things, for now that one is a radical there is no use in being nice."[203]

Towards the end of the introduction to Tract Ninety, Newman wrote:

> . . . while our Prayer Book is acknowledged on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being catholic in heart and doctrine.[204]

The Tract itself is an artful exhibition of casuistry. In treating of Article XI, "Of the Justification of Man," which begins: "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings,"[205] Newman wrote:

> When, . . . Faith is called the sole instrument, this means the sole internal instrument, not the sole instrument of any kind.
> . . . . . .
> An assent to the doctrine that Faith alone justifies, does not at all preclude the doctrine of Works justifying also. If, indeed, it were said that Works justify in the same sense as Faith only justifies, this would be a contradiction in terms; but Faith only may justify in one sense--Good works in another--and this is all that is here maintained.[206]

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[202] Newman, Apologia, p. 251.

[203] Froude, op. cit., I, 308. [204] Fairweather, op. cit., pp. 150-51.

[205] E.J. Bicknell, A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919), p. 199.

[206] "Tract Ninety," Tracts for the Times, V, 90, xii-xiii.

Newman's innovation in interpreting the Thirty-Nine Articles was not in the broadening which he effected on the strict meaning of the Articles, but in the broadening-towards-Rome which he made. The Latitudinarians reinterpreted the Articles in an all-inclusive fashion. Owen Chadwick points out that some Anglican clergymen argued "that the Articles could not have been intended to bind all English minds for all time, whatever the results of Scriptural study, and that they were, therefore, intended to be articles of peace in the Church, not to be articles exacting an ex animo assent to the doctrines individually contained therein."[207] Pusey defended Newman's last tract on the basis that it was an overture at ecumenicity.

> Let us act up to the principles of our Church, and realise her worship, her fastings, her repentance, her humiliations, her praise, . . . Live up to what is evidently Catholic in her, . . . in a word, be raised to what our Church should be; and who knows but that He who raises us up, may purify Rome too. . . . Who knows, again, whether it may not be His gracious will to reunite His whole Church at once, and why should we then direct our eyes to the Western Church alone, which, even if united in itself, would yet remain sadly maimed, and sadly short of the Oneness she had in her best days, if she continued severed from the Eastern?[208]

The reviewer of Pusey's defense in The British Critic emphasized the growing tendency of interest in the Greek and Eastern Churches. He said that "Everyone who desires unity, . . . may be considered . . . as breaking down the middle wall of division, and renewing the ancient

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[207] Chadwick, op. cit., p. 24.

[208] Edward Bouverie Pusey, The Articles Treated on in Tract 90 Reconsidered and their Interpretation Vindicated in a Letter to the Rev. R.W. Jelf, D.D. (second edition) (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1841), pp. 183-84.

bonds of unity and concord by the power of charity."[209]

The principal organs of expression of the Oxford Movement were the Tracts for the Times. But at least passing comment must be made of some of the other effective means of communicating Tractarian ideas. The magazine, The British Critic, was largely a Tractarian organ. It was edited by Newman from 1836 until it expired five years later.[210] Newman also edited a Library of the Fathers. Newman's Parochial Sermons and Keble's Sermons, Academical and Occasional together with Pusey's collections of sermons were a formidable array of intelligent reflection on Church doctrines. The Tractarians participated actively in the affairs of Oxford University and they are remembered chiefly in this regard from the opposition they made to Dr. Hambden following his 1832 Bampton Lecture.[211] Their opposition to Dr. Hambden's election as Regius Professor of Divinity in 1836, earned them a number of bitter foes and provided the reason why some of the Tractarians did not win professorships in time to come.[212]

Hugh James Rose edited The British Magazine, which was largely sympathetic to the Tractarians, though articles critical of the Oxford Movement also appeared in it. The movement begun at Hadleigh Rectory, centered in the personality of Rose, was a parallel movement to the Oxford Movement; though it was more rigidly Anglican, it emphasized the

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[209] "The Articles Treated on in Tract 90 Reconsidered . . .," The British Critic, XXX, 59 (1841), 134.

[210] W. Ward, op. cit., p. 57. Brillioth, op. cit., p. 142. Brillioth affirms that Newman took over The British Critic in 1838 and was succeeded as editor by Thomas Mozley.

[211] Ibid., p. 287. [212] Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 170-72.

same points of doctrine drawn from Antiquity.

Thomas Mozley observed in his Reminiscences that "In Michaelmas term, 1829, Newman and the other Fellows and Probationers . . . began to meet twice a week for the study of the Scriptures."[213] Newman's career began in a manner remarkably like John Wesley's, in this respect. His activities too resembled Wesley's at one time of his life. When Newman was the acting pastor of St. Clement's parish in Oxford, "he founded a day school and raised the money to build a new church; . . . as the dean of his college, he had played a prominent part in taming a rowdy, hard-drinking set of undergraduates and in restoring a long-relaxed college discipline."[214] Edwin A. Abbott remarked that the first thing Newman did when he took his first parish at St. Clements was to revive the disused custom of visiting--determining to see every one of his parishoners in turn. He saw his duty not to the parish, but to the people in it.[215] Similarly, when Pusey suggested the establishment of Sisters of Mercy and other social welfare oriented organizations, Newman agreed that if the spirit of the Church was sound, charities of this sort must follow.[216] John Keble also acquitted himself well in his time as a pastor. A person who had experienced Keble's pastoral ministry wrote:

> I well remember Mr. John Keble coming to Eastleach to do duty when the Rev. B. Boyes, through age and infirmity, was unable

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[213] T. Mozley, Reminiscences, I, 175.

[214] Philip Hughes, "Introduction," Newman, Apologia, p. 17.

[215] Edwin A. Abbott, The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892), p. 68.

[216] Ibid., pp. 113-14.

> to do it. A very great change took place in the village; he commenced a Sunday-School and the Church, and at Southrop was well attended. . . . A sturdy Baptist, a shoemaker, used to attend Southrop Church, stating, as a reason, he there heard the Gospel. I myself have much to be thankful for on account of Mr. Keble's ministrations.[217]

Newman said in his Autobiographical Writings: " . . . my Sunday School is, I trust, in a good train of success. I find I am called a Methodist."[218] It is profitable to note that the men of the Oxford Movement were not altogether theoretical men, but that they were immersed in life to the extent that when opportunity offered them the chance for expression of their faith in a tangible, out-going fashion, they did not balk, but entered into the activity wholeheartedly.

John Wesley and the members of the Holy Club are remembered primarily for their deeds. Their names, in fact, were descriptive of their acts, however sarcastically the names were given them notwithstanding. Whitehead said of Charles Wesley: "The exact method and order which he observed in spending his time, and regulating his conduct, gained him the name of Methodist."[219]

John Wesley provided at least two detailed accounts of the beginning of the little society at Oxford. In his sermon "At the Foundation of the City-Road Chapel" Wesley explained the rise of Methodism in this manner:

> In the year 1725, a young student at Oxford was much affected by reading Kempis's 'Christian Pattern,' and Bishop Taylor's 'Rules

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[217] John Taylor Coleridge, A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble, M.A. (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1869), p. 64.

[218] John Henry Newman, Autobiographical Writings, p. 204.

[219] Whitehead, op. cit., p. 75.

> of Holy Living and Dying.' He found an earnest desire to live according to those rules, and to flee from the wrath to come. . . . in the year 1729 he found one who had the same desire. They then endeavored to help each other; and, in the close of the year, were joined by two more. They soon agreed to spend two or three hours together every Sunday evening. Afterwards they sat two evenings together, and in a while six evenings in the week; spending that time in reading the Scriptures, and provoking one another to love and to good works.[220]

Within four or five years there were fourteen members of the Holy Club. Three of these were tutors in the Colleges and the rest were Bachelors and undergraduates. Wesley said:

> They were all precisely of one judgment, as well as of one soul; all tenacious of order to the last degree, and observant, for conscience' sake, of every rule of the Church, and every statute both of the University and of their respective colleges. They were all orthodox in every point; firmly believing, not only the Three Creeds, but whatsoever they judged to be the doctrine of the Church of England, as contained in her Articles and Homilies.[221]

The Holy Club observed the rule of possession followed by the early Church, as described in Acts 2. Wesley said of them that in the infancy of their work they had no rules binding them together, but that of their own accord they shared their goods and lived each day as an end in itself.[222]

The objective of the Holy Club was clearly spelled out by Wesley in a lengthy series of questions he posed to his critics. Among these questions were these:

> I. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions to imitate Him, as much as they can, 'Who went about doing good?'

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[220] Wesley, Works, VII, 402.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Ibid.

> Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, 'While we have time, let us do good unto all men?'
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> Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now?
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> Whether we can be happy at all hereafter, unless we have, according to our power, 'fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited those that are sick, and in prison;' and made all these actions subservient to a higher purpose, even the saving of sould from death?
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> . . . . . .
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> II. Whether of the consequent necessity of being scholars?
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> Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by communicating as often as they can?
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> . . . . . .
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> III. Whether, upon the considerations above mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are hungry, naked, or sick? In particular, whether, if we know any necessitous family, we may not give them a little food, clothes, or physic, as they want?
>
> Whether we may not give them, if they can read, a Bible, Common Prayer Book, or 'Whole Duty of Man'?
>
> Whether we may not enforce upon them, more especially, the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the church and sacrament?
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> . . . . . .
>
> IV. Whether upon the considerations above-mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are in prison? In particular, whether we may not release such well-disposed persons as remain in prison for small sums?
>
> Whether we may not lend smaller sums to those that are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with?[223]

The dutious regard which Wesley paid to good works was prompted by his continual concern for his own salvation as well as by a love for his fellow man. His reading of Jeremy Taylor's works stirred an already sensitive conscience to enforce a wise and profitable use of time. Writing to his mother, Wesley said:

> . . . we can never be so certain of the pardon of our sins as to be assured they will never rise up against us, I firmly believe. We know that they will infallibly do so if ever we apostasize, and I am not satisfied what evidence there can be of our final perseverence till we have finished our course. But I am persuaded we may know if we are now in a state of salvation, since that is expressly promised in the Holy Scriptures to our sincere endeavors,

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[223] Wesley, Works, I, 9.

and we are surely able to judge of our own sincerity.[224]

John Wesley was concerned about keeping a balance in the perspective on Christian duty. By attempting to practice some particular duty "to so great a height as to make it clash with others; or the laying too much stress on the instituted means of grace, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law" was to inhibit oneself from reaching his goal. The advance towards heavenly affections in general might well be hindered by "progress in some particular virtue."[225] Even more than the Tractarians, the Holy Club was caught up in a quest for pure personal religion. Charles Wesley's personal reformation "was an fond something profoundly personal and spiritual," keeping him from any extensive participation in the social life of his college.[226] V.H.H. Green noted that the Holy Club was impelled towards philanthropic acts by the spirit of the times. Whereas the scholarly inclination of the Wesley's and their colleagues in the society might have drawn them contrepidally into asceticism and preoccupation with noetic aspects of Christianity, the evident needs in society forced them to turn their eyes outward.[227]

William Morgan drew John and Charles Wesley into social activity. John Wesley reported that William Morgan "frequently went into poor people's houses, in the villages about Holt, called their children together, and instructed them in their duty toward God, their neighbor, and themselves." Knowing well the importance of keeping the good-will

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[224] Wesley, Letters, I, 22. [225] Ibid., p. 86.

[226] Green, op. cit., pp. 148-49.

[227] Ibid., pp. 157-58.

of the villagers, Morgan would show his concern for their well-being by sharing his money as well as his ideas and time with them. Morgan also began a jail visitation program after he saw the benefit he had been able to provide for a condemned man in the Oxford goal. John and Charles Wesley joined William Morgan on the 24th of August, 1730, in a visit to the Castle, one of Oxford's prisons. They were so well satisfied at the benefit they were able to render in this visit that they immediately included two visits per week in their schedule.[228] William Morgan also cared for a number of destitute children, either by providing money for their support or by acting as a parent to them.[229] His father objected to his using the money provided for his comfort in benevolent outlays. John Gambold, another of the Oxford Methodists, spoke of William Morgan as "a young man of an excellent disposition, and who took all opportunities to make his companions in love with a good life; to create in them a reverence for public worship; and to tell them of their faults with a sweetness and simplicity that disarmed the worst tempers. . . . He kept several children at school; and when he found beggars in the street, he would bring them into his chambers, and talk to them."[230]

John Clayton, a tutor at Brasenose College, added other features to the activities of the Holy Club. He attempted to give the prisoners at the Castle legal aid. Luke Tyerman quotes a letter of Clayton's in which he states that he procured a copy of a young man's indictment for

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[228] Wesley, Works, I, 5-6.

[229] Tyerman, The Oxford Methodists, p. 13.

[230] Ibid.

his mother, who did not know what the charge was against her son. He also taught reading to the prisoners.[231]

John Clayton was perhaps even more of a High Churchman than the Wesley's. He encouraged the Wesley's to include twice weekly fasts in their spiritual discipline. Already the Holy Club participated in Holy Communion every week. The strict observance of the Anglican rituals earned for the Holy Club other titles, given in scorn, but descriptive of the early Methodists' interests. Clayton scheduled his week carefully, setting aside time each Friday for introspection, as well as on Saturday and Sunday. He considered Saturday to be like one of the "common saint's days, or as one of the inferior holidays of the Church." Clayton advised Wesley against permitting the Holy Club to become a formal "society" with rules etc. He said: "Observing the Stations and weekly communion are duties which stand upon a much higher footing than a rule of a Society; and they, who can set aside the command of God and the authority of His Church, will hardly, I doubt, be tied by the rules of a private Society."[232] Clayton observed the Liturgical calendar faithfully.

The churchmanship of the Holy Club became more high church as they progressed in their discipline. John Wesley believed in the "real presence" of Christ at the Sacrament of Communion; yet the meaning of this was a mystery to him. He wrote of this matter to his mother:

> One consideration is enough to make me assent to his and your judgment concerning the holy sacrament; which is, that we cannot

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[231] Ibid., p. 28.

[232] Ibid., p. 34.

> allow Christ's human nature to be present in it, without allowing either con- or trans-substantiation. But that his divinity is so united to us then, as he never is but to worthy receivers, I firmly believe, though the manner of that union is utterly a mystery to me.[233]

Wesley here demonstrates a profound puzzlement indeed. Article Twenty-Six of the Thirty-Nine Articles states the effectiveness of the Sacrament "ex opere operato," or "through the performance of the work" itself. Wesley did not expressly exclude the possibility of the Roman Catholic interpretation of the value of the Eucharist, while at the same time favoring the manner of operation of the Sacrament conformable to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The strictly Roman view of the Sacrament's benefit has been traditionally "ex opere operantis," or the Sacrament effectual even though administered by evil men because of Christ's institution of the Sacrament.[234]

John Wesley was accused of being a Papist on a number of occasions. In none of these, however, was the reasoning based upon his Sacramental views or upon his ritualism. Bishop Lavington came closest to accusing Wesley of having a Roman view of the Eucharist. He charged that Wesley "encouraged the notion of the real, corporal presence, in the sacrifice of the mass." Wesley answered this charge evasively. In fact, as it has been indicated above, this was a mystery to him.[235] Lavington said: "I would not be understood to accuse the Methodists directly of Popery; though I am persuaded they are doing the Papists'

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[233] Wesley, Works, XII, 13.

[234] E.E. Mascall, "Ex opere operato," A Dictionary of Christian Theology, ed. by Alan Richardson (Philadelphia, Penn.: The Westminster Press, 1969), p. 123.

[235] George Lavington, The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared (London: Printed for J. & P. Knapton, 1749-51), pp. 1-10.

work for them, and agree with them in some of their principles."[236] He likened Wesley's open-air preaching to the methods employed by various of the Roman Catholic saints, e.g., Peter of Verona, St. Nicholas of Belasco, and Anthony of Padua. Wesley replied to this charge: (citing St. Katherine of Sienna as an example)

> . . . the second, that 'not a word fell from St. Katherine of Sienna, that was not religious or holy. . . . I would to God the comparison between the Methodists would hold in this respect! yea, that you and all the Clergy of England were guilty of just such enthusiasm.[237]

Samuel Cozens, a nineteenth century Baptist, took a somewhat different approach in labeling Wesley a Papist. Cozens' John Wesley, The Papa of British Rome; and Philip Pugh, the Modern Pelagius, weighed in the balance of eternal truth and found wanting was a polemical work attempting to harness to John Wesley the epithets used by various of the Biblical prophets in describing apostates.[238]

V.H.H. Green observed, regarding Wesley's political views, that as a High-Churchman, he disliked the Hanoverian regime. Yet his dislike of Roman Catholicism prevented him from being a Jacobite. He preached a sermon before the university in June, 1734, that was called a "Jacobite sermon," and which drew him some criticism. In his early years at Oxford, he was in close association with a number of young men critical

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[236] Ibid., p. 10.

[237] Wesley, Works, XI, 4. After which flows a sixty-five page reply to the charges of Lavington.

[238] Samuel Cozens, John Wesley, The Papa of British Rome (Willenhall: Printed and Published by W.H. Hughes, 1852), p. 2. "I hesitate not to say, that if this wandering star--Jude 13. This wall without (living) water--2 Peter ii, 17. This dumb dog--Isaiah lvi, 10. This double deceiver--2 Timothy iii, 13. This mental murderer--Zechariah xi, 5, etc."

of the Hanoverian dynasty. Two days before his ordination he was heard vindicating Sacheverall against whom the government had directed its wrath. Green wrote that "after conversing with his friend Pollen of Corpus 'against King George' on 14th December, 1725, he had thought fit to include among his resolutions the following Saturday evening one not to detract 'against the King!'"[239]

Years later when Wesley was editor of The Arminian Magazine, he wrote:

> There is a plain command in the Bible, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy people.' . . . . . .
> It is always difficult and frequently impossible for private men, to judge of the measures taken by men in public offices, . . . Generally therefore it behooves us to be silent, as we may suppose they know their own business best: but when they are censured without any colour of reason, and when an odium is cast on the King by that means, we ought to preach politics in this sense also. We ought publically to confute those unjust censures. Only remembering still, that this is rarely to be done, and only when fit occasion offers; it being our main business to preach Repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.[240]

It is understandable that Wesley thought ill of Walpole and Bollingbroke, who stood for all that was contrary to Wesley's view of life. In his diary he noted on one occasion that "he and others had been talking against the government" on several occasions. Yet, this was only Wesley's private sentiment. No record has been seen by this writer of any formal anti-governmental activities performed by Wesley or any of the other members of the Holy Club. No acts of government against the established church took place during Wesley's Oxford days; the form of

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[239] Green, op. cit., p. 78.

[240] John Wesley, "How Far is it the Duty of a Christian Minister to Preach Politics?" The Arminian Magazine, V (March, 1782), 151-52.

protest which the Tractarians employed would have been, no doubt, quite our of place against the particular ecclesiastical ills of early eighteenth century England. Social activism and conspicuous personal piety were very effective tools for communicating a quickening message in Wesley's day. Wesley said that "The thing that gives offense here, is, the being singular with regard to time, expense, and company."[241] Wesley, Clayton and the others had the chief underlying concern of reviving as far as possible the traditions of the Apostolic Church.[242] Their method of expansion was to get other young men to join them voluntarily.[243] In a sense, the Oxford Methodists operated on a more popular level than did the Tractarians. The Oxford Movement was composed of men great in the University. The Holy Club accepted anyone who wished to conform his life style to the pattern agreed upon.

Dean Church noted that "the crude revolutionary projects of the Reform epoch; . . . called for something more effective than the ordinary apologies for the Church."[244] The Tractarians met this challenge effectively, although the mechanism of preparing a defense implanted ideas in the minds of some of them that made them leave the Anglican Church. In a sense, in Wesley's day all that was needed was an "ordinary apology," a practical illustration to serve as a reminder of the

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[241] Wesley, Works, XII, 14.

[242] Green, op. cit., p. 184.

[243] Ibid., p. 183.

[244] Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 1-2.

purpose of the Church. The Church could not abide either apology. Wesley's movement eventually was forced out of the Anglican communion, to his regret. Posterity can only wonder and speculate on what would have been Newman's expression had he lived in Wesley's day, and what Wesley's would have been if he were confronted with the nineteenth century and its ecclesiastical ills.

CHAPTER IV

JOHN WESLEY, JOHN HENRY NEWMAN AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

John Henry Newman wrote to the Rev. S. Rickards from Oriel College, on December 1, 1841:

> . . . 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.[245]

Fifty years prior to the time that Newman wrote these words, John Wesley defended the reasonableness of his own position in the Anglican Church. In what has been referred to as his "valedictory address" to his followers, he penned this defense:

> I never had any such design of separating from the Church: I have no such design now; I do not believe the Methodists in general design it. I do, and will do, all in my power to prevent such an event; nevertheless, in spite of all I can do, many will separate from it, although I am inclined to think not one half nor perhaps a third of them. . . . I declare, once more, that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgement will ever separate from it.[246]

One year after John Wesley wrote these words, he was separated from the Church of England by death. He died on March 2, 1791.[247]

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[245] John Henry Newman, Letters of John Henry Newman, ed. by Derek Stanford and Murial Spark (London: Peter Owen Limited, 1957), p. 86.

[246] Arminian Magazine, XIII (1790), 214-16.

[247] John Telford, The Life of John Wesley (New York: Hunt & Eaton, n.d.), p. 351.

Four years after the time John Henry Newman wrote the confession of his misgivings to Rev. Richards, he left the Church of England. He was received into the Roman Catholic Church by a Passionist priest, Father Dominic, on October 8, 1845.[248]

Why did two clearly devoted churchmen, Newman and Wesley, find the Church of England unsympathetic to their views? The purpose of this chapter is to explore this question. The reasons behind the antipathy of the eighteenth century Church of England to John Wesley appear to be quite different from the causes of hostility of the nineteenth century Anglican Church to Newman. Yet there is a prima facie parallel between these two persons, the movements they represented, and the Church of England.

Frank Baker has well said that Wesley "was an experimental Christian and an experimental pastor."[249] Wesley put faith to the empirical test of spiritual success.[250] Though he had learned the Anglican triad of "Scripture, reason and antiquity" at Epworth, under the careful tutelage of his parents, he evidently considered "spiritual success" to be a greater vindication of the truth of Christianity than the solemn pronouncements of Anglican authorities.[251]

The case was somewhat similar for John Henry Newman. An article written by one of his close associates, for The Christian Remembrancer, shortly after Newman became a Roman Catholic, said that Newman wanted

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[248] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 395.

[249] Frank Baker, John Wesley and the Church of England (New York: Abingdon Press, 1970), p. 24.

[250] Orville S. Walters, "The Concept of Attainment in John Wesley's Christian Perfection," Methodist History, X, 3 (April, 1972), 25.

[251] Baker, John Wesley and the Church of England, p. 151.

"a larger body to belong to; the English Church is too small. He tries her system as an experiment."[252] To Newman the circumference of the Catholic (Universal) Church was not coterminus with the Church of England. He asked in the second of the Tracts for the Times: "Are we content to be accounted the mere creation of the State, as schoolmasters and teachers may be, or soldiers, or magistrates, or other public officers? Did the State make us?"[253] Newman's concept of the Church was enormously broad. He wrote:

> . . . unity is the tenure of the divine favour; that communion with our brethren is the means of communion with our Lord and Savior; that the Church is not only Apostolic, but Catholic; that schism cuts off the fountains of grace; and that estrangement from the Christian world is schism; and, on the other, that in matter of fact our Church is emphatically in a state of estrangement, having intercourse with no other Christian body in any part of the world, except her own dependencies and offshoots.[254]

Newman saw the true Church as Apostolical in origin and necessarily "primitive" in many of its characteristics.[255] So long as he believed the Apostolical Succession was represented in the Church of England, he was a faithful communicant, practicing devotedly the instruments of piety provided by the Anglican Church. But he ever sought for the more exact representation of the "faith once delivered to the Saints."[256]

The particular manner of Wesley's experimentation was different

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[252] John H. Overton, The Anglican Revival (London: Blackie & Son, Limited, n.d.), p. 46. See "The Recent Schism," The Christian Remembrancer, LI (January, 1846), article vi.

[253] Tracts for the Times, I, 2, ii.

[254] John Henry Newman, Essays Critical and Historical (2 vols.; London: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1901), II, 4.

[255] Tracts for the Times, I, 1, vi. [256] St. Jude 3.

from Newman's. Wesley's experimentation was essentially practical, having to do with his attempts to evangelise England. Newman's experimentation had to do with the content of the faith itself. He was prompted, apparently, by unyielding existential doubt concerning the strength of the Anglican position as the embodiment of the Apostolic Church. Wesley's critics emphasized the manner of his ministry, seldom the matter. Stevens wrote of Wesley that "Not that his manner was clamorous, or in any way eccentric; nor that his doctrine was heretical, for it was clearly that of the Homilies and other standards of the Church; but it was brought out too forcibly and presented too vividly for the state of religious life around him."[257] Newman's critics stressed his propensity towards Roman Catholicism and his gestures towards separating the Church of England from the State.[258] Wesley's enthusiasm was untimely from the perspective of the rather dormant Anglican Church of the eighteenth century. And Newman's leanings toward Rome were untimely in a time when the Roman Catholic Irish radicals, led by O'Connell, were drawing unfavorable attention in the House of Commons. The Catholic Emancipation Bill posed a certain threat to the distinctly Protestant Church of England.[259] Popery had been long a disturbance to the political and religious equinimity of England. A threat from the Church of Rome coming from the bastion of learning of the Church of England, Oxford

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[257]Abel Stevens, The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism (3 vols.; New York: Published by Carlton & Porter, 1858), I, 111-12.

[258]Knox, op. cit., pp. 126-27.

[259]Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church (2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), I, 167.

was unwelcome.

The discussion which follows will center about two major themes. First, John Wesley and John Henry Newman, with their respective movements, will be viewed in terms of their associations with the Church of England leaders in their respective times. Second, the broader perspective will be taken of Wesley and Newman as Anglicans. The first consideration has to do with these men and Church politics. The second has to do with the question whether either Wesley or Newman were indeed Anglicans at heart, given their predominating interests in the development of Christianity. In particular this second consideration will be brought to bear on Newman. Did he indeed seek to strengthen the Church of England in a time of spiritual peril, or was his course of action an open-ended personal odyssey which influenced strongly the Church of England because of Newman's intellectual vigor, his lofty spiritual sensitivity and his ability to generate widespread interest in himself.

Charles J. Abbey, writing at the close of the nineteenth century, suggested that if John Wesley had lived in the nineteenth, rather than in the eighteenth century, he would have been accepted by the hierarchy of the Church of England. Yet Abbey spoke with an understanding of Methodism as it was in the nineteenth century, recognizing that "Wesley, liberal and tolerant as he was in some respects, was much more rigid and exclusive than modern Methodism."[260] C.T. Cruttwell, a contemporary of Abbey's, also believed that Wesley might have found a

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[260] Charles J. Abbey, The English Church and its Bishops: 1700-1800 (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), I, 270-71.

welcome in the in the Anglican Church. In fact, he thought that both Wesley and Newman might well have been accepted. He wrote:

> It is the glory and privilege of the Church of England to be so much broader in her comprehensiveness than the particular grasp of truth which even the most gifted of her children can attain, that we can thank God equally for the moral enthusiasm and spiritual simplicity of the one, and for the saintly purity and intellectual constructiveness of the others. We can rank them as alike loyal members of the English Church. We can claim them as alike true to her spirit.[261]

Though Cruttwell here exemplifies the breadth of spirit which might have taken in the diversity of emphases reflected by Wesley and Newman, the same spirit was not, and has not been found in the Church of England. Cruttwell saw Wesley and Newman as rays of light reflecting different, but compatible, flickers of the continuing flame of the Church.

John Simon has written that "the attempt to secure uniformity of public worship by the infliction of civil penalties has been a conspicuous failure in this country England."[262] The Tractarian controversy and the Methodist Revival were genuine problems for the Church of England because there did not exist within its structure the mechanisms for coping with personal expressions of faith departing from the prescribed forms, and because there was this "unholy alliance," as it often proved to be, between the sacred and the profane, the Church and the State. For Newman, as for Wesley, the private personal aspect of religion was inseparable from the fact that faith too was a part

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[261] Cruttwell, op. cit., p. 14.

[262] John S. Simon, "The Conventicle Act and its Relation to the Early Methodists," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XI, 4 (December, 1917), 82.

of the baileywick of the State. It is not uncommon that personal spirituality is accompanied by various forms of individuality, and conformity was necessary for the perpetuation of an established church. The history of this inevitable conflict is aptly illustrated in the lives of the three Oxford reformers, Wycliff, Wesley, and Newman.

John Wycliff, the founder of New College, Oxford, and the first of the triad of reformers to come to England via Oxford,[263] pleased King Edward III by his opposition to the Avignon Pope, but he introduced unreconcilable confusion in declaring the independence of the individual conscience before God. F.F. Bruce has written that "Wycliff propounded the theory of 'dominion by grace', according to which each man was God's direct tenant-in-chief, immediately responsible to God, and immediately responsible to obey His law. And by God's law, Wycliff meant not canon law, which he repudiated, but the Bible."[264] Ultimately, this point of view set Wycliff at odds with both the Church and the State. He was viewed as one with some of his followers who approved openly of the killing of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, by Wat Tyler's men during their invasion of London. Wycliff was declared a heretic for his promotion of individual religion,[265] and assumed to be disloyal by association.

The Reformation intervened between Wycliff and Wesley. In England the Reformation was, in Sir Maurice Powicke's words, "a parliamentary

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[263] Schaff, op. cit., V, ii, 309.

[264] Bruce, op. cit., p. 12.

[265] Ibid., p. 13.

transaction."[266] Practically speaking, the King replaced the Pontiff as head of the English Church. Queen Elizabeth I added to the control of the Church by the State with an Act of Uniformity which "bristled with penalties."[267] Simon has written that excommunication, in Elizabeth's time, "made a man liable to imprisonment and the loss of some of his civil rights."[268]

The history of mandatory conformity in the Church of England continued unabated through the Civil War and during the Commonwealth, although the form of the recognized Church changed from the Anglican to the Puritan. With the restoration of the Stuart Monarchy in 1660, the Puritans had to be dealt with in a particularly harsh manner, thus the "Clarendon Code" joined the list of suppressive measures taken by the State to coerce religious harmony in the realm. The 1662 Act of Uniformity and the Conventicles Act of 1664, were clearly political vengeance on a detested Puritan faction which had had its day of glory, but which was going to pay a fitting price for it.[269] Simon observed that these acts were in descent from Elizabeth I's Uniformity Acts, but quite clearly their direction was narrowed, being brought to focus on the Puritans. Under Elizabeth, the emphasis had been on mandatory attendance at Church; under the Conventicles Act of 1664, the emphasis was laid on "the presence of people 'at any unlawful assembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion.'"[270]

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[266] Sir Maurice Powicke, The Reformation in England (London: Oxford University Press, University Paperbacks, 1941), p. 38.

[267] Simon, op. cit., p. 83. [268] Ibid.

[269] G.M. Trevelyan, The English Revolution; 1688-1689 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 13.

[270] Simon, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

By John Wesley's time, "England was in search of some formula promising security and orderliness," Arthur Whitney has said.[271] James II had been singularly ruthless in his undisguised twisting or forcing changes in the laws to accomplish his goal of making Roman Catholicism the official religion in England.[272] But the reaction to James II's measures were other than he would have desired. Trevelyan cites the Tory pamphleteer, Davenant, who wrote:

> The measures King James the Second took to change the religion of the country, roused up fresh zeal in the minds of all sorts of men; they embraced more straitly what they were in fear to lose.[273]

Though the "Glorious Revolution" ushered in a more stable political and religious situation, it also introduced an uneasy dissatisfaction that remained through the time of William and Mary, and which appeared again when George I ascended the English throne. It took a foreigner to calm England and to resolve its monarchy problem. Not everyone was agreed that this was to be preferred. Abbey wrote of the Hanoverian accession: "The German dynasty was looked upon . . . with much distaste, but the old line was looked back to with regret."[274]

Yet with the Revolution Settlement had been introduced the rule of law, finally obliterating legally the idea of the divine right of kings in England. The Parliament hereafter would hold the actual reins of power in England. William of Orange ascended the English throne by

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[271] Arthur P. Whitney, The Basis of Opposition to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century (New York: New York University Press, 1951), p. 3.

[272] Trevelyan, op. cit., pp. 24-49. [273] Ibid., p. 46.

[274] Abbey, op. cit., p. 185.

by invitation, but he was no less the King because he was not born heir to the throne. As King, he was titular head of the Church, the "Defender of the Faith." And the Church was still an established Church, even though dissenters were given freedom to worship as they pleased.

Despite the legalization of dissent, nonconformity was an idea alien to the thinking of the leadership of the Church of England. The Roundheads of the Civil War, who were the political forebears of the Whigs and the spiritual ancestry of the dissenting groups, had brought on the inter-necine conflict which was the great smear on England's constitutional record. Perhaps that war and its aftermath of ill-will was a necessary growing pain inevitable in the transition from being a medieval monarchy (cujus regio ejus religio) to the modern form of the State and its accompanying liberties. The uncertainty of the eighteenth, and even of the nineteenth century with regard to the propriety of individualism in one's manner of religion, gave enduring evidence to the

symptoms of the inner convulsions England endured were the "Jacobites,"

symptoms of the inner convulsions England endured were the "Jacobites," who could not shake the instinct for an hereditary monarchy however Popish the monarch might be, and the "Nonjurors," who, though resolutely Anglican, felt the same pull towards the hereditary ruler.

Considerable refinement was needed both in the Church and in Church-State relations in Wesley's day. John Wesley believed it wrong to separate from the Church of England, though this conclusion was, he said, "almost without any premises that are able to bear its weight."[275]

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[275] Arminian Magazine, VII (1784), Letter LXXVIII, John Wesley to Rev. Mr. Walker, Bristol, September 24, 1755, p. 370.

He believed that only those separate from the Church who renounce her fundamental doctrines or who refuse to join with her public worship. And Wesley did neither of these.[276] He said, "If it be lawful to abide therein, then it is not lawful to separate."[277] Though Wesley considered the liturgy of the Church of England excellent, he did not believe Christians should be restricted from other forms of expressing worship. He maligned the Canons of the Church as "the dregs of Popery," and called the Decretals "as grossly wicked as absurd." Wesley criticized the majority of Anglican ministers for neither preaching the gospel nor trying to live by it.[278]

The exact nature of legal toleration towards dissenters was not certain at the time Wesley neared the age his ministry would begin. Though Cobbett's Parliamentary History fails to show debate during this time on the Church, Tyerman states that Parliament was discussing bills to authorize bishops and county magistrates to summon dissenting ministers to quarter sessions to make them subscribe to an official declaration of the Christian faith. If they refused, certain Tory members of Parliament wished to deprive them of the benefit of the Act of Toleration.[279] Meanwhile, Prime Minister Walpole, a Whig, sought toleration for Quakers, of whom Bishop Atterbury had to say that they were "a set of people who were hardly Christians."[280]

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[276] Ibid. [277] Ibid. [278] Ibid.

[279] Tyerman, Life of Wesley, I, 43.

[280] Ibid., p. 60.

Overton and Relton have suggested that Wesley's uniqueness as a reformer appeared in the fact that though he sought to bring about spiritual reform in the Church, he had no desire to alter the forms of worship or to weaken its relationship with the State.[281] The Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who influenced strongly Wesley's ancestry,[282] were discontented with both the Church practices and the constitutional linkage between the Church and the State. Cromwell, the militant Puritan who achieved a temporary subjugation of both Church and State, "did not want priest, ritual, or ceremony to intervene between him and his Maker," Ashley has written.[283] Wesley's similarity to the Puritans was limited to his concern, reflecting theirs, for the purity of the Christian life.[284] Lidgett has said that the task Wesley set out to perform was to "make the universal Christianity witnessed to by the Established Church real and the real Christianity of the Nonconformists universal."[285] While remaining at heart an ardent Anglican, Wesley tried to revive the "evangelical passion and experimental religion" of the Puritans.[286] Alexander Knox, the layman through whom a "main principle of the Oxford Movement, the unbroken continuity of the

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[281] Overton and Relton, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

[282] Robert C. Monk, John Wesley: His Puritan Heritage (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1966), pp. 15-27.

[283] Maurice Ashley, The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell (New York: Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., 1962), p. 51.

[284] Monk, op. cit., p. 16.

[285] J. Scott Lidgett, "Fundamental Unity," A New History of Methodism, ed. by W.J. Townshend, H.B. Workman, George Eayrs (2 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), II, 438.

[286] Horton Davies, The English Free Churches (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 141.

Church, reached Oxford, . . . was the most intimate of all the friends of John Wesley," wrote Bishop E.A. Knox. Bishop Knox said of Wesley that "he was a Church of England man even in circumstantials. There was not a service or a ceremony, a gesture or a habit, for which he had not an unfeigned predilection."[287] Wesley had this to say in one of his sermons:

> One circumstance attending the present revival of religion which I apprehend is quite peculiar to it. It cannot be denied that there have been several considerable revivals of religion in England since the Reformation. But the generality of the English nation were little profited thereby, because they that were the subjects of those revivals, preachers as well as people, soon separated from the Established Church, and formed themselves into a distinct sect. So did the Presbyterians first; afterwards the Independents, the Anabaptists, and the Quakers; and after this was done they did scarce any good; except to their own little body. . . . But it is not so in the present revival of religion. The Methodists (so termed) know their own calling. Their first purpose is, let the clergy or laity use them well or ill, by the grace of God, to endure all things, to hold on their even course, and to continue in the Church, maugre men or devils, unless God permits them to be thrust out.[288]

The particular concern of this thesis is Wesley's activity as a Churchman during his years while at Oxford University. Green has noted that in truth Wesley was not out of step with the spirit of his day as this spirit showed itself at its best. He wrote: "The Holy Club's activity was an aspect, a vivid practical aspect, of contemporary interest in prison reform."[289] The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which Wesley joined in 1732, had long been interested in improving the lot of prisoners and in inducing prison reform.[290]

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[287] E.A. Knox, op. cit., p. 75. See also Overton and Relton, op. cit., p. 91.

[288] John Wesley, Works, VII, 403-04.

[289] V.H.H. Green, The Young Mr. Wesley (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1961), p. 157.

[290] Ibid., p. 158.

The distinction of Wesley and his friends seems to have been that they took literally the truths which the Church had always been proclaiming, and this was uncommon at Oxford.

John Wesley's first biographer, John Whitehead, attempted to anticipate the predisposition to eulogize his subject by proclaiming to the reader that such a pre-understanding would detract from the objective value of a biography. The rearing he enjoyed, renowned as his parents were for piety and learning, nearly foretold that he would be an eminent churchman.[291] Wesley's advancement at Oxford University was the result of his own ability and the good fortune to be noticed by men in places of power in the Church. Bishop Potter of Oxford ordained him a deacon of the Church of England on Sunday, 17 September, 1725, and his career in the Church was underway.[292]

Marjorie Bowen's biography of John Wesley presents his development at Oxford as a reaction to the intellectual and spiritual aridness of the University. She wrote: "The young man felt a conscious superiority that intensified his natural arrogance; it was hardly possible for him to feel humble in the company of people so lost that they did not even know that they were in danger of damnation."[293] This appears to be somewhat of an overstatement. Upon coming to Christ Church as an undergraduate, Wesley found his tutors, George Wigan and then Henry

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[291] Whitehead, op. cit., I, 297. [292] Ibid., pp. 397-98.

[293] Marjorie Bowen, Wrestling Jacob: A Study of the Life of John Wesley (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1937), pp. 56-57.

Sherman, to be adequately stimulating.[294] Yet, in later life he reflected disparagingly upon his undergraduate days, calling them "horribly shockingly superficial, . . . an execrable insult upon common sense."[295]

John Wesley was hindered from receiving the patronage he might have expected, due to his brilliance in Classics and in logic, because his father and his elder brother held political views unsympathetic to the Whig government.[296] Thus, it was a combination of factors which secured for him the Fellowship he maintained till his marriage in 1751. The Rector of Lincoln College, John Morley, was, like Wesley, from Lincolnshire, and the Fellowship that became open upon the resignation of John Thorold, was prescribed to be awarded to a resident of Lincolnshire.[297] John Wesley's father, like John Morley, was a Tory in politics. Furthermore, Morley knew Samuel Wesley to be an honest man and an able scholar.[298] With the help of John's eldest brother, Samuel, and with the favorable word of the Bishop of Lincoln,[299] John was elected unanimously on March 17th, 1726, as Fellow of Lincoln College.[300]

The import of these seemingly routine matters of the progress of an aspiring academician towards his goal would not be great if Wesley had remained at Oxford as an academician; but, in view of his importance to England as a religious and a social reformer, the interactions

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[294]Green, Young Mr. Wesley, p. 61. Wesley wrote of Wigan: "He told me he would never take any more of me than he had done, but would rather add something to than take from what little I had." Letters, I, 5.

[295]Green, Young Mr. Wesley, p. 62. [296]Ibid., p. 65.

[297]Telford, Life of John Wesley, p. 42.

[298]Green, Young Mr. Wesley, p. 77.

[299]Henry Moore, The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. (2 vols.; London: Printed for John Kershaw, 14, City-Road, 1824), I, 135.

[300]Tyerman, Life of Wesley, I, 45.

he had with leaders in the Church during his early years bear notice. The restrictions which have been assigned to this thesis require that Wesley be investigated, in particular, during his Oxford years. The entire period of relevance to this study found John Wesley in good favor with every person in responsibility with whom he had relations both in the Church and in the University. Or, at least it can be said, no mention is made of any adverse reactions by anyone in authority to Wesley during the Oxford years. Though the Holy Club and Wesley, in particular, earned the scorn of some of their peers because of their devout adherence at communion and because of their strict deportment, this judgment was unofficial and not reflecting the views of the Church and the University. Bishop Potter, who ordained John Wesley, said of the early Methodists, "These gentlemen are irregular; but they have done good; and I pray God to bless them."[301] In 1729, when Wesley returned to Oxford after an interlude at his father's parish at Wroote, he read an edict which the vice-chancellor wrote as an antidote to the irreligion of the day. The edict expressed alarm at the "blasphemous notions of the advocates of pretended human reason against Divine revelation" and recommended that "college tutors should use double diligence in explaining to their respective pupils the articles of religion and their Christian duty, and in recommending to them the frequent and careful reading of the Scriptures, and such other books as might serve more effectually the orthodox faith and sound principles."[302] The practices of the Holy Club were a fulfillment of the vice-chancellor's suggestions.

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[301] Ibid., p. 43. [302] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

Little specifically is recorded of particular interactions between Wesley and his friends and Anglican and University officials. When, in 1730, the Holy Club decided to engage in prison work, after William Morgan had reported the good he was able to do in the Oxford goals, the course of action followed by John Wesley is reflective of the attitude he held towards the authority of the Church. Wesley wrote to his father, asking his opinion of jail visitation. Wesley described this interaction in this way:

> . . . that we might not depend wholly on our own judgments, I wrote an account to my father of our whole design; withal begging that he, who had lived seventy years in the world, and seen as much of it as most private men have overdone, would advise us whether we had yet gone too far, and whether we should now stand still, or go forward.

Samuel Wesley replied:

> Go on then in God's name, in the path to which your savior has directed you, and that track wherein your father has gone before you! For when I was an undergraduate at Oxford, I visited those in the castle there, and reflect on it with great satisfaction to this day. Walk as prudently as you can, though not fearfully, and my heart and prayers are with you.[303]

With this encouragement from his father thrusting him on, Wesley proceeded to clear the matter with Mr. Gerard, the Chaplain of the Bishop of Oxford, whose responsibility it was to minister to condemned prisoners. Wesley writes:

> He much commended our design and said he would answer for the Bishop's approbation, to whom he would take the first opportunity of mentioning it. It was not long before he informed me he had done so, and that his lordship not only gave his permission, but was greatly pleased with the undertaking, and hoped it would have the desired success.[304]

The details of Wesley's interaction with the authorities of the Anglican Church came in greater abundance following his departure as

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[303] Wesley, Works, I, 6-7. [304] Ibid., p. 8.

an active academic from Oxford. The Methodist Revival took place after the Holy Club had run its course. The Oxford Movement, however, had its greatest impact during the twelve year span of its endurance.

John Keble's famous "Assize Sermon" which Newman said was the opening volley of the Oxford Movement's attack against liberalism,[305] was followed by circumstances every bit as laden with political and ecclesiastical significance.[306] One great dissimilarity which the Oxford Movement had with the Holy Club was that the former was self-consciously a movement in a time when similar movements were afoot. It has been observed earlier in this thesis that Wesley's efforts were not thought to be a "movement" during his days at Oxford. In fact, the Holy Club was a highly individualistic and only reluctantly conspicuous society. That it was noticed at all was largely due to its detractors, its critics and its scoffers. But the Oxford Movement was a development that was paralleled in its major tenets by a loosely organized and somewhat pervasive movement within the structure of the Church. Because of this general concern, shared by High Church oriented men of the cloth, the distinctives for which the Oxford Movement has been remembered in history did not immediately present themselves to observers.

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[305] Knox, The Tractarian Movement, pp. 111-12.

[306] Though Newman marked the beginning of the Oxford Movement as the date of Keble's "Assize Sermon," he was not there to hear it. In fact there is no record that the judges assembled in St. Mary's, Oxford, were particularly stirred by Keble's sermon. When Pusey was sent a copy of the printed version of Keble's sermon, he did not so much as bother to open the envelope in which it was sent to him. July 14, 1833 seems to bear its historical significance because of Newman's attribution to Keble's sermon the merit of being the opening volley of the Oxford Movement. Marvin R. O'Connell, The Oxford Conspirators; A History of the Oxford Movement, 1833-1845 (London: The Macmillan Co., 1969), pp. 123-26.

The Christian Observer, which was a semi-official publication of the Church, and which, as Bishop Knox wrote, was Whig oriented by virtue of the influence on its editorial staff by the Clapham Sect,[307] chronicled a continuous concern in the condition of the Church. Even The Times exhibited more than an objective journalistic interest in the proceedings of the day pertaining to the Irish Church Temporalities Bill. An editorial published on Friday, July 19, 1833, when the debate was very heated on the second reading of this bill said:

> There never was a more striking illustration of the wanton manner in which the Church establishment of Ireland had been framed, or of the profligacy with which the acknowledged vices of its composition have been perpetuated, than that furnished by a comparison of the amount of Church Protestants in England and Wales with those of the communion of the Established Church in Ireland.[308]

Much space in the daily editions of The Times was given to the proceedings in Parliament. The transcripts of the debate were replete with many petitions from all over the realm against dissolving the Irish sees. Almost as if to off-set the emotional and sentimental force of these many petitions, the editors of The Times clarified the key issue as far as the Irish Church was concerned, namely the corruption infecting it. Said the editorial:

> This country contains, on a moderate computation, it is said, about 8,000,000 of communicants with the Church of England, and their spiritual concerns are superintended and cared for by six and twenty bishops; whereas in Ireland there are twenty-two bishops, having charge of no more than . . . 800,000 Protestants. Is there any shadow of equality or proportion here?[309]

Tractarian Movement

[307] Knox, The Tractarian Movement, p. 65.

[308] The Times (London), July 19, 1833, p. 5.

[309] Ibid.

The question which comes to the mind of observing readers of the history of this period is why the men of the Oxford Movement were not able to integrate their activities in defense of the Church with those of others with like interest. Clearly the Oxford Movement had concerns not shared by the Church at large, but on the other hand, the Church at large had an intimacy of concern with the Irish Church that the members of the Oxford Movement could not have had. Keble, whose sermon launched the Oxford Movement's attack on Church abuses, had never been to Ireland, and if others of the Tractarians had been there, certainly their principal interest was not the Irish Church.[310] Certain fundamental ideas on the relationship between Church and State were shared by all High Church Anglicans.

The Oxford Movement was unique among the reforming movements. In noting the ideas of the leaders of this movement, and in particular of John Henry Newman, the distinctives of the Oxford Movement may appear more clearly. In the section to follow the basic personal relationships between Newman and the Church hierarchy which catapulted him to his position at Oxford will not be considered in detail. Suffice it to observe that Newman, like Wesley, rose to prominence at Oxford because of a great desire to excel academically and because of the cooperation of men who were able to supervise his promotion. This is evidence that initially both Wesley and Newman stood in the good favor of the Church and University hierarchy.

Particularly in the earlier of the Tracts, Newman was strong to emphasize the Apostolical Succession as the raison d'etre of the Church

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[310] O'Connell, op. cit., p. 123.

of England.[311] Tract One, "Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission, respectfully addressed to the Clergy," echoed the thoughts of Keble's "Assize Sermon." Newman stressed that the Church was not the mere creation of the State, but that the Ecclesiastical sanction came through the Apostolical Succession. Newman did not quarrel with the matter of the union between Church and State. Rather, his complaint was with the autocratic authority which Parliament used in altering the Irish bishoprics.

There were other issues than this that he might have emphasized, but which Newman did not see as being important. For example, one of the key issues in the Parliamentary debate over the Church Temporalities Bill was whether the King was being counseled by his ministers against the coronation oath he had made upon being placed on his throne. As "Defender of the Faith," was the King being put into the position of tearing down the very Church of which he was the titular head?[312] But Newman pressed one theme, the Apostolical Succession as the sanction for the Church.

Tract Two, "The Catholic Church," advanced the same theme as the first Tract. In Tract Twenty-Nine, "Christian Liberty," Newman constructed an hypothetical dialogue with a skeptic in which he taught the doubter that the Church was guardian over the State rather than the State being over the Church. The point which the Oxford Movement spokesmen attempted to make clear was not an altogether unique one. Nor was it new, or unpopular. But the voice of Newman and of his colleagues

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[311] In fact, the subject matter of all ninety Tracts clustered directly or indirectly around this "fact."

[312] See The Times, July 16-19, 1833. "Parliamentary Intelligence."

was muted somewhat by the theoretical bent of their arguments. A "Memorandum of a Conference Between Bishop Hobart and Archdeacon Strachan on Ecclesiastical Establishments" printed in The Christian Observer called for the integrity of Ecclesiastical prerogatives. This memorandum ended with these words: ". . . . the nation which recognises no religion, is an atheistical nation."[313] The concern of these two churchmen was for a practical resolution of Church problems, while keeping in perspective that the Established Church was a national need.

The Irish Church reform bill which officially sparked the Oxford Movement, was objected to by many Churchmen, even by some who were not of the High Church variety. But it was recognized widely that certain wasteful measures were being perpetuated in the Irish wing of the Church. Wasteful spending and pluralities were nothing new to the Church of England. But the spirit of reform which haunted the first third of the nineteenth century hovered over this issue in particular. And a kindred spirit to that of reform, utility was being spread abroad by the writings and speeches of the Utilitarian prophets, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Clive Brose has written that "Applied to the Established Church, the criterion of utility certainly invoked thoughts not only in the minds of Philosophic Radicals, for whom utility was a creed, but also in the minds of many sectarians and Whigs."[314] The toleration of a tradition-steeped Established Church for wasteful overextension of the prelacies did not rest well with those who held the power of the control of the purse. It was neither practical nor utilitarian to keep

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[313] The Christian Observer, XXXIII, 4 (April, 1833), No. 376, 198-99.

[314] Olive J. Brose, Church and Parliament: The Reshaping of the Church of England, 1828-1860 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 23.

a few privileged prelates in sumptuous livings at the expense of people who were not of their religion, and for whom they provided no service.

The Christian Observer editorialized against the Irish Church bill because it threatened to weaken the position of the Church as an instrument for spreading religion in the Isles.

> The reform which we ask is not that which will weaken the Church, but that which will strengthen it; and it is to our minds a fatal objection to several of the provisions of the present bill, that they are not calculated to fortify the Church, to enlarge her borders, to render her more diffusive, more influential, more national, but quite the contrary; to diminish her weight as a public establishment; to spoil her of a portion of her revenues; to say in effect she is not national; that her clergy and the support of her worship ought to be placed upon a lower legislative ground than formerly; that the whole fabrick, in short, is to be regarded as an old endowment which cannot justly or decently be at once pulled down, but which is only tolerated from necessity, and is not to be enlarged so as to accomodate an increased number of inmates.[315]

The objection made here by the literary voice of the Church was not against reform per se. Halevy has pointed out that the Evangelical segment of the Anglican Church, represented by The Christian Observer, agreed in many respects with the High Church oriented Churchmen in their view of the need for reform.[316] Reform was desired, but not at the expense of throwing away altogether plans for the growth of the Church in Ireland. Though the ratio of prelates to parishoners was rediculously low, should hope be dead that the Irish Church would win to its fellowship the Roman Catholics who predominated on the isle?

It may be surmised that even Newman and his colleagues believed that reform was necessary wherein abuses existed in the Church. But

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[315] The Christian Observer, XXXIII, 4 (April, 1833), No. 276, "View of Public Affairs," 250.

[316] Halevy, op. cit., II, 138.

the agency of the reform was the crucial point. The Evangelicals wished the State to act as an impartial and wise agent to institute reform. This corresponded to the principle of Protestantism characterizing the Anglican Church.[317] But Newman, Keble, Pusey and the other Tractarians denied that the State could rightfully act in any other manner than as an agency of enforcement of that which the Church decided.[318]

John Henry Newman believed that reform was needed urgently in the Church of England. But the concept he had of the ills needing to be corrected was somewhat different from that of Parliament or of the non-Tractarian Churchmen. Newman wrote in the Apologia:

> I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well nigh faded away out of the land, through the political changes of the last 150 years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation:--a better reformation, for it would be a return not to the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth.[319]

The ideals of reform held by the Tractarians were shaped by their idealized concept of the seventeenth century divines, the Caroline Churchmen of the days of "King Charles the Martyr."[320] When thinking in terms of reform, the particular ends sought were largely dictated by the Tractarians' estimation of how the seventeenth century Church must have been. But their ideas on the ontology of the ideal Church were shaped by a vague appeal to antiquity. Tract Sixty-Three, "The antiquity of the

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[317] Ibid.

[318] Keble, "National Apostasy," Fairweather, op. cit., p. 42.

[319] Newman, Apologia, p. 159.

[320] Brilliioth, The Anglican Revival, p. 120.

Existing Liturgies," was written as an apologetic for existing liturgies "derived from remote antiquity" standing "as monuments" to what the Church was in its days of "ancient evangelical piety."[321] This somewhat vague reference to antiquity did not pin-point when "antiquity" was. Whereas the Primitive Church was the spiritual ideal of the Tractarians, the authorities which they persistently cited were from the fourth century and later. Bishop Wilson, in a carefully phrased, moderately worded expose of his judgment of the Tractarians' ills, wrote:

> . . . there are principles at work which threaten our very existence as a Protestant people. A momentous struggle has arisen, which lies between the Bible on the one hand, and tradition on the other; between primitive Christianity and the Christianity of the fourth and fifth centuries; between the settlement of our Reformed Church by Cranmer, and the deteriorated standard of a later age.[322]

The frequent allusion to the Church Fathers, which was a habit of Newman's in particular, Bishop Wilson said served "only to make books great and controversies endless;"[323] to refer generally to "the Fathers" was to claim an uncertain imprimatur. Newman seemed to discover an a priori worthiness in the words of the Fathers because "antiquity" clouded the errors of the past. The Dean of Salisbury objected to the Tractarian emphasis on antiquity.

> While the Church cordially recognizes and claims the consent of Catholic antiquity as to the grand outline of her doctrine, especially in the shape of her Creeds, and early Confessions of Faith, it is notorious that these embrace, for the most part, only the principal facts of Holy Scripture, concerning the Divine Trinity, the Incarnation, Sufferings, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of the Son

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[321] Tracts for the Times, II, 63, i-iii.

[322] Bishop Daniel Wilson, "A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the three Dioceses of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay," The Christian Observer XLII, 67 (July, 1843), 434.

[323] Hugh Pearson, "A Charge to the Clergy of the Deanery of Sarum," The Christian Observer, XLII, 64 (April, 1843), 242.

> of God. . . . it is merely gratuitous and delusive to assume, as some do, that there is among the writers of Catholic antiquity, one uniform and harmonious interpretation of Scripture upon these momentous subjects, which is as much a matter of fact as the articles of the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed. . . . the Romanists, . . . claim the consent of Catholic antiquity in favour of their own corruptions of the pure Apostolic Doctrines of the Christian Church.[321]

Newman's appeal to the Fathers for authority appeared to his critics as an untenable position. Of the Fathers, some were considered heterodox. And the issues which struck the Fathers as important often were not issues at all for the "primitive" Church, that is, the Church of the first century.

Bishop Knox's description of the Tractarian Movement observes details ignored by historians more in sympathy with the movement. One great hurdle to be crossed in understanding the relationship between the Oxford High Churchmen and the Church of England comes in the fact that most of the historians who have approached this subject were either vigorously opposed to it, or completely in sympathy with it. As was characteristic of the "Evangelical" Churchmen of Newman's day, so it is with Knox that he was able to perceive the strong points as well as the weak points of the Oxford Movement. Knox observed, it appears accurately, that the Oxford Movement suffered a condition of panic when the authority of the Church was challenged. And in its response it aroused a certain panic among thinking, but theologically uneducated, people in England.[322] The retreat from sola scriptura in favor of Tradition which Newman revealed, was a quest for the sanction of the Church. The Apostolical Succession

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[321] Ibid., p. 241.

[322] Knox, The Tractarian Movement, pp. 135-36.

though deduced as a doctrine from Scripture,[323] was most sturdily supported as a development in Church Tradition. An article in The Christian Remembrancer explained that

> the leading minds among these writers of the Oxford Tracts had not had the advantage of being trained themselves in the Anglo-Catholic school; they had to grope for their principles, as men suddenly beset by mighty robbers catch at weapons as the moment allows, while the darkness was as yet broken only by such uncertain glimpses of light as were supplied by the Pietistic or Neological parties with which they were severally connected.[324]

Though Newman had plunged himself into the writings of the Church Fathers, particularly during the time he wrote his work on The Arians of the Fourth Century, he was not formally trained in history. Thus he exhibited some of the defects of the amateur historian, namely, the tendency to select that which supported his own inclinations, while rejecting that which did not. Coloring strongly what facts he accepted were the "feelings" Newman experienced. Newman said: "The Gospel of Christ is not a matter of mere argument," built, like a syllogism on factual premises.[325] In order to discern truth, Newman believed a person must be "trained in right feeling and habits."[326] This mystical strain in Newman was fed by antiquity and repulsed by existential realities seeming to negate the "feeling" exuded by the Fathers. Newman defended the mysticism of the Fathers in a day when mysticism was not appreciated. Newman noted that "Mysticism conveys the notion of something essentially and altogether remote from common sense and practical utility;" that "it is almost always something which at once makes itself

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[323] cf. I Timothy 1: 6; Titus 1: 5 as interpreted by Tract Twenty-Nine.

[324] The Christian Remembrancer, III (April, 1842), 426-27.

[325] Tracts for the Times, III, 71, 1.

[326] Knox, The Tractarian Movement, p. 136.

discerned by internal evidence," thus suspect to the unbelieving man of the world. Newman recognized the common view that mysticism was a "disposition, first to regard things as supernatural which are not really such; and secondly, to press and strain what may perhaps be really supernatural in an undue and extravagant way."[327] But he saw these inclinations of disbelief in supra-factual reality to reflect an irreligious sensitivity, and Newman was supremely sensitive of spiritual matters.

This manner of thinking appears to be a key reason why Newman could not communicate with the Church of his day. Yet his eminence at Oxford, and the importance of his colleagues Pusey and Keble, in particular, made his views of significance to many people outside Oxford. A wide cleavage gaped between the judgments of outsiders on the Oxford High Churchmen. Within the University, many men who respected the Tractarians' scholarship were suspicious of their Churchmanship. In Scotland, the Edinburgh Review denounced Pusey and Newman as "enemies of the Church of England," and in Ireland, it was reported, "the clergy with a national vehemence are anxious to rise, enmasse, against them; though, it is acknowledged that scarcely a single Tract has ever found its way into the country."[328] A letter to the editor printed in The Christian Observer, signed "R.L.," expressed the view that the emphasis of the Tractarians on the Apostolical Succession was different from the distinctly Protestant understanding of the Church of England.

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[327] Tracts for the Times, V, 89, ii-v.

[328] "Oxford Theology," The Quarterly Review, LXIII (January and March, 1839), 540. See the Ulster Times, December 29, 1838.

> Many plans have been devised for a general union of all true Christians; the most recent of which is that so strongly pressed in the Oxford Tracts, of adhesion to the Apostolical Succession;--that succession which I perceive, sir, your publication strongly maintains, though I conclude,, not in the sense in which some urge it, so as to unchurch almost all other churches except the apostate Church of Rome. This adhesion, in the manner in which it is urged in the Oxford Tracts, is not a source of union, but a new and most prolific source of discord; the very object of pressing it not being to unite more closely upon spiritual principles all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, but to scatter them farther asunder and proclaiming a watchword, a Shibboleth, that is to band together the most worthless and wicked as well as the most pious and exemplary persons, who happen to profess themselves Episcopalians, in a warfare against all churches.[329]

Another protest in the same magazine denounced the Tractarians for seeking to institute a system that would rob the nation of religious liberty. "It would prostrate the prince at the footstool of his confessor, and subjugate men's persons as well as their consciences to the yoke of a tyrannical priesthood. If it came to prevail in the Church of England, that Church must soon cease to be nationally established; for the laity would not submit to its usurpations."[330] The principle of unity which the Tractarians alluded to often,[331] could be implemented in a visible church by forced subjugation of the diverse inclinations of individuals. "There is a groaning on the part of the Tractarians for communion with the darkest portions of episcopalianism; not a sigh, not a syllable for those other parts of Christendom, where, under 'diversities of administration,' there is 'one faith, one Lord,,one baptism.'"[332]

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[329] R.L., "Apostolical Union--To the Editor of The Christian Observer," The Christian Observer, XXXIV, 2 (February, 1835), 88.

[330] Edward Young, "Protestantism or Popery; a Tract for the Times," The Christian Observer, XLI, 61 (1841), 54.

[331] cf. Tract Eleven ("The Visible Church") and Tract Twenty-Nine ("Christian Liberty").

[332] Young, op. cit., p. 57.

A review article in The British Magazine, a Tractarian controlled publication, criticized a book written by J. Sinclair on the Church of England because it had "no design of excluding from the Church of Christ those Christian Societies whose forms of discipline are less agreeable to apostolic rule than our own."[333]

The Tractarians stirred no little anxiety among serious Churchmen. An editorial in the Church of England Magazine lamented that "the divisions promoted by many of our Protestant brethren on the one side, and the ambitious advocates of Romanism on the other, render this confessedly an age of trial to our Church."[334] The Bishop of Llandaff emphasized to his clergy the purpose of any actions within the Church, and the Apostolic example which was set in this regard.

> Carefully remember the Apostolic rule, that in the Church all things are to be done unto edifying, that such is the design of these very services,--that the most exact observance of the rubric has no virtue in itself,--and that it may be practised by those who will never impart a corresponding sense to their congregation,--and may be even indiscreetly obtruded and magnified, as if, besides decency and solemnity, it possessed a saving merit of its own.
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> And this, I fear, will be the effect on many minds if obsolete ceremonies are revived, especially such as approximate to those of Rome. For where can be the advantage of drawing us nearer than we are in outward appearances.[335]

The emphasis which the Tractarians placed on ritual aroused a suspicious attitude among many laymen towards ritual and innovations in the worship service. Proposed changes in the rituals of the Church were

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[333] The British Magazine, III (January 1, 1833), 195.

[334] Church of England Magazine, VIII, 215 (March 28, 1840), 208

[335] Bishop Copleston, "Charge to the Clergy of Llandaff," The Christian Observer, XLII, 64 (April, 1843), 239.

immediately suspected as being Tractarian in origin.[336] The Christian Observer wrote:

> There is no Tractarianism in not opening Divine service with a hymn or a psalm; or in a clergyman's announcing the metrical psalms; or in having the singing after the third Collect; or in baptizing after the second lesson; or in using the prayer for the Church Militant; or in making collections at the offertory; but in the present state of men's minds, no distinction is made between what is good and what is evil, what is clear and what is doubtful; and the Tractarians are adroit enough--witness the Times newspaper--to claim his Lordship as a powerful ally; as the Cardinal of Lyons, in his recent extraordinary pastoral address, does the Bp. of Salisbury.[337]

The controversy concerning the rituals of the Church was a function of the confusion introduced by the continual Tractarian reference to "antiquity." The Dean of Salisbury described the difficulties latent in the Tractarian position:

> Will the Tractarians go the length of implicitly following the ancient Church and Fathers? or if not, where is the boundary beyond which obedience is an evil? and who has authority to erect that boundary? Perhaps it will be said that they are ready to adopt all that is supported by the "ubique et ab omnibus" of the ante-Nicene period.[338] This however they have not done. Were they so to proceed, they must adopt some things which they disapprove, and others which they have not yet ventured to carry out. The doctrines generally called Millenarian, whether right or wrong, were considered Catholic for 250 years. Again, Confirmation and the Eucharist were anciently administered to infants, immediately after baptism. For many ages this was the universal practice; and was esteemed by some as absolutely necessary to an infant's salvation. It did not cease to be extensively observed even in the ninth century, nor was it generally abolished until the twelfth; and even to the present day it is practised by the Greek Church. Further, it was considered necessary to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, that water should be mingled with the wine;[339] and this opinion, says Bingham, had "the general

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[336] "View of Public Affairs," The Christian Observer, XLII, 66 (June, 1843), 384.

[337] Ibid.

[338] Cf. Tract Seventy-Eight, a "Catena Patrum," which demonstrated the duty of "maintaining quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est."

[339] Cf. Wesley, Works, XVIII, 153.

> consent of the ancient Church." It was moreover the custom of the Church in primitive times, to pray standing, and never to kneel on the Lord's day, or during the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. This custom was asserted to be derived from Apostolical authority; and the Council of Nice enforced conformity to it by a canon. It continued to be observed so late as the seventh century; the only exception being that penitents were ordered to kneel in token of humiliation, while others stood. Again Lay-baptism was allowed by the primitive Church to be valid, and to deny its validity was to Cyprianize.
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> On the other hand, will the Tractarians renounce every observance that is not ancient and ante-Nicene? The consecration of church-yards must be then abolished; nay, even church-yards must be done away with as places of sepulture; since the latter were hardly known until the sixth century, and the first mention of their consecration is made by a writer towards the end of that century. . . . . .
>
> Are we to conclude that their professed subjection to antiquity is of the same kind as that which they profess to episcopal authority; very great when it favours their own ideas, but rebellious when their superstition is condemned?[340]

The reaction of the Tractarians to all of this was understandably derisive. The question raised by The Christian Observer concerning the consistency of the Tractarians in pursuing antiquity, was treated as a "dread of antiquity."[341] The inability to perceive the pattern of the Church outlined in antiquity was attributed to the lack of reading done by the English people.[342] Newman's literary organ, The British Critic, said: ". . . that the lack of reading done by the English people and most clerics makes the learned Tractarians stick out for their erudition and this is part of the reaction to them."[343] This ad hominem, tu quoque manner of debate eviscerated the high level of interchange that

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[340] "Review of Bishops of Chester and Llandaff, and the Dean of Salisbury," The Christian Observer, XLII, 64 (April, 1843), 242.

[341] The British Critic, XXV, 50 (1839), 416.

[342] Ibid., p. 417.

[343] Ibid., p. 421.

might have occurred between the learned men on both sides of the controversy. In another place the voice of The British Critic said:

> It is obvious at the first glance, that if learning is of any weight in the controversy, it preponderates greatly on one side. Mr. Keble, Mr. Manning, Mr. Newman, and Mr. Churton, for instance, . . . exhibit in their respective publications signs of a patient and extensive research; while the arguments of Dr. Shuttleworth, Professor Powell, . . . are slight in texture, and offer no great appearance of laborious preparation.[344]

The side of the Tractarian controversy taken by the prominent Church oriented magazines remained constant during the heat of the debate. One interesting reversal which took place, however, came about in the prestigious The Times newspaper. Up until 1840, this newspaper opposed vigorously the Tractarians. The Times criticized the Oxford Movement as being a group of clergymen prompted by hatred of the divisions caused by Protestantism to adopt "the very worst figments of Popery."[345] The Times "sternly denied them 'the smallest credit for moral integrity. Their reputation shall not stand them instead of bona fide character.'"[346] In 1841, the Directorate of The Times changed hands from father to son; John Walter II gave way to John Walter III who had come under Newman's influence while studying at Oxford. Among the new lead writers hired by the new Director was Thomas Mozley, Newman's brother-in-law.[347] This change took place just as the Tractarians had received a serious set-back in being told to discontinue the Tracts.[348]

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[344] The British Critic, XXV, 50 (1839), 450-51.

[345] Knox, The Tractarian Movement, p. 256.

[346] Ibid., pp. 224-25.

[347] Ibid., p. 256.

[348] Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 296-97.

The controversy which the bishops of the Anglican Church promoted against the Tractarians has been chronicled in a volume by William Simcox Bricknell. The purpose of this volume was to illustrate the assertion made by the Dean of Salisbury that "in no one instance has the System which it is the great object of the Movement to advocate and restore, received the formal and avowed sanction and approval of any Member of the Episcopal Bench."[349] It is of interest to observe that the Tractarians, though none of their key figures were bishops, and though the Apostolical Succession of bishops was a cardinal point of stress with them, sustained the continual censure of the bishops without doubting the consistency of their position. Many of the issues causing the strain between the Church and the Tractarians have been suggested above. The greatest difference, however, remains to be discussed. The Tractarian propensity towards Roman Catholicism was the cause of the greatest alarm in the Church.

The list of Oxford men who seceded from the Church of England, going into the Church of Rome, is long. W.G. Ward was the first to go.[350] He was followed by numerous others.[351] This exodus from the Church was strong practical illustration that the apparent drift in the thinking of the Tractarians was not a mirage. When William IV addressed Parliament

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[349] W. Simcox Bricknell, The Judgment of the Bishops upon the Tractarian Theology (Oxford: J. Vincent, 1845), 1.

[350] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 394.

[351] "Secession of Oxford Men from the Established Church," Littells Living Age, VII (October, November, December, 1845), 536.

on the subject of Church Reform, he emphasised that the reform should be pressed by the ministers because the history of the Church suggested that Prelates are slow to accept reformation. The king's reference was to the time of the Reformation, but his reasons found illustration in the manner of thinking on reform of the Oxford Movement.[352] During the Reformation "the Prelates of the Church had shown themselves more disposed to protect the many abuses of the Church then that a reformation should take place, and they . . . used all their influence and power, . . . to prevent reform."[353] The Tractarians sought to keep the State's hands from touching the material problems of the Church because of spiritual implications touching such interference. Should the "Defender of the Faith" work to weaken the Church in any way? No! was the Tractarian answer. Newman said that he learned this view of the Church from Richard Whately, but the latter "noetic" Churchman did not imply in his teaching what the Roman Church meant in their view of temporal possessions. Newman's view savored of the Medieval Roman view in which the Church wielded the sword of steel as well as the "sword of the Spirit." Though Newman did not explicitly state this view, the inference he drew from the universality of the Church, from the "Divine Right of Episcopacy," and from the "Power of the Keys," transmitted through the Apostolical Succession, led directly to the temporal authority of the Church.[354] This tendency which was characteristic of the Roman

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[352] Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd ser., Vol. XV (February 7, 1833), p. 297.

[353] Ibid.

[354] Tracts for the Times, III, 74, xvii-xix.

Catholic view towards its relationship with temporal governments was not the greatest of the Tractarian adumbrations of Rome.

The Tractarians gradually spoke less harshly of Rome as their own movement progressed. In Newman's first Tract on the via media, he referred to the Church at Rome as a "resemblance" of the Catholic Church as any corruption represents the real thing.[355] Tract Seventy-One spoke of "the intrinsic majesty and truth which remain in it the Roman Church amid its corruptions."[356] Tract Ninety was a commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles showing how they could be possibly interpreted in a Tridentine sense.

Newman wrote in the introduction to Tract Ninety:

> . . . That there are real difficulties to a Catholic Christian in the Ecclesiastical position of our Church at this day, no one can deny; but the statements of the Articles are not in the number.[357]

The attempt Newman made here "to show how much of Romish doctrine might be held by an Anglican priest without legally or indisputably violating the Articles of the Church,"[358] was the beginning of the end for the Tractarians; it marked the end of the Tracts. Though Tract Ninety drew the ardent defense of Pusey, who never made any motion towards joining the Church of Rome, it outlined a form of Christianity favoring Roman Catholicism more than the via media of the Anglican Church which was Newman's position on the Church until he read Wiseman's article on

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[355] Ibid., I, 38, vii. [356] Ibid., III, 71, i. [357] Ibid., V, 90, i.

[358] James H. Rigg, Oxford High Anglicanism; And its Chief Leaders (London: Charles H. Kelley, 1899), p. 53.

sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, the Priests did offer Christ for the

this subject in the Dublin Review.[359] This marked the end of the tendency begun in 1839, when Newman studied the Monophysite controversy and came to believe that perhaps the Anglican Church was the modern schismatic representation of the fourth century monophysites.[360] The strength of the Catholic priest, Nicholaus Wiseman's influence on Newman, began when Froude and Newman visited him in Rome during their

became more plain as Newman's position matured. Bishop Knox suggested

became more plain as Newman's position matured. Bishop Knox suggested that the view of Newman on the Mass, proclaimed as it was in the ninth section of Tract Ninety, compared favorably with Session XXII of the Council of Trent.[361] Seen in parallel form, as Knox presented the two statements, the resemblance appears clear. The wording of Article XXXI of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England seems to say something similar to both the Tridentine article and to Newman's commentary found in the Tract Ninety. The clear difference is, however, that the thirty-first article of the Church of England denounced the Mass and the other two statements favored, either implicitly or explicitly the Mass. Article XXXI of the Church of England reads:

> The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.[362]

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[359] Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, pp. 146-47.

[360] Newman, Apologia, pp. 219-20.

[361] Knox, The Tractarian Movement, pp. 247-49.

[362] Bicknell, op. cit., p. 410.

Newman's commentary ended with these words:

> On the whole, then, it is conceived that the Article before us neither speaks against the Mass itself, nor against its being an offering for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin; but against its being viewed, on the one hand, as independent of or distinct from the Sacrifice of the Cross, which is blasphemy, and, on the other, its being directed to the emolument of those to whom it pertains to celebrate it, which is imposture in addition.[363]

The Pronouncement of the Council of Trent said:

> If anyone shall say that the sacrifice of the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving or a bare commemoration of the sacrifice made on the Cross, and not a propitiatory offering, or that it only benefits the recipient, and that it ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, pains, satisfactions and other necessities, let him be anathema.[364]

The theological tempests which raged in response to the Tractarians' improvisations on Anglican doctrines were closely related to issues affecting everyone in the Established Church. Roman Catholicism had been a source of concern in the politics of England as well as in its Church. The question of reform has never been approached peacefully in lands in which there is a de facto established Church. Whereas England in the nineteenth century had developed to the point of being able to loosen the control of the Church over the State, while not jeopardising the spiritual integrity of the Church, the Tractarians demonstrated the lure of tradition and the obstinacy of Tory-High-Churchmen in the face of change. Yet the abuses, particularly in Ireland, were grievous, and needed to be corrected. In Parliament the purely political

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[363] Tracts for the Times, V, 90, lxii.

[364] Knox, The Tractarian Movement, p. 248.

aspect of reform found vigorous proponents on both sides. In the Commons, in 1833, a Mr. O'Dwyer complained that when the collected tithes had been transferred from the Catholics to the Protestants, poor relief ceased. Thus tithes were the more vigorously objected to.[365] Meanwhile in Lords, the Bishop of Bristol presented a petition from the clergy of his diocese against the proposed plan for reforming the Church of Ireland on the grounds that it was subversive of the rights of property and destructive to the best interests of government.[366] This was the larger arena in which the Tractarians figured. The smaller, but perhaps more consequential for the Tractarians individually, was Oxford University.

The story of the events involving Pusey, Keble, Froude, Williams, Newman, and the several others, has been frequently told. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew since his approval by the King on November 13, 1828, did not enter the fray as vigorously as did Newman.[367] His place in the University was secure; to be Regius Professor was to have attained the pinnacle of one's field. Tract Eighteen, "On Fasting," was his first literary contribution to the Oxford Movement, and it did not excite too much interest apart from stray charges of asceticism and remarks of surprise that so noble a scholar should enter the market place of debate.[368]

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[365] Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd ser., Vol. XVI (March 25, 1833), pp. 995-96.

[366] Ibid., (House of Lords), Vol. XVI (April 1, 1833), pp. 1192-93.

[367] Liddon, op. cit., I, 186.

[368] Ibid., I, 280.

Keble, the "Patron Saint," as he was often called, of the movement, and the one who initiated its outspoken attack on the perils to the Church, suffered his most serious set-back at Oxford at the hands of John Henry Newman. Keble would have been elected provost of Oriel College had he been able to win the vote of Newman. But Newman said: "If the place of an angel was vacant, he would think of Keble; but here it was necessary to appoint a provost."[369] John Keble enjoyed the sustained respect and admiration of scholars and Churchmen alike throughout the controversy of the Tracts.[370] J. Lewis May has well said that "If the Church of England were provided with the means of canonising her illustrious children, she would, long ago, have numbered the poet of the Christian Year among her saints."[371] Richard Hurrell Froude said, near the time of his death in 1836, "if I was ever asked what good deed I had done, . . I should say I had brought Keble and Newman to understand one another."[372] Froude's significance to the movement was chiefly as an influence on Newman. Newman wrote: "from Froude I learned to admire the great mediæval Pontiffs; and, of course, when I had come to consider the Council of Trent to be the turning-point of the history of Christian Rome, I found myself as free, as I was rejoiced, to speak of their praise."[373] Froude "delighted in the notion of an hierarchical system, of sacerdotal power, and of full ecclesiastical liberty. . . . He had a severe idea of the intrinsic excellence of Virginity; and he considered the Blessed Virgin

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[369] A. Mozley, op. cit., II, 424.

[370] R.D. Middleton, Newman at Oxford: His Religious Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 53-54.

[371] J. Lewis May, The Oxford Movement, p. 38.

[372] Mozley, Reminiscences, I, 225. [373] Newman, Apologia, p. 167.

its greatest pattern. He delighted in thinking of the Saints; . . . He could not believe that I really held the Roman Church to be Antichristian," Newman said.[373] He died in 1836, when the Oxford Movement was young, but his impact on the Tractarians was such that he has been numbered with its principal individuals.

The participation of Pusey, Keble, and Froude was contributory to the dramatic events of the Oxford Movement, but John Henry Newman was the chief actor. The stage upon which the Methodist Revival played had been the English towns and country side. The scene for the Oxford Movement was a medieval setting in Oxford.[374] And the "walking shadow" upon this stage was not a poor player "that struts and frets his hour upon the stage, and then is heard no more."[375] Newman first made his bid for public notice in successfully opposing Sir Robert Peel as a candidate for Parliament from Oxford. Peel was opposed because of his support of the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829.[376] Dr. Pusey had supported Peel despite the latter's promotion of a measure that augered ill for the Established Church.[377] Curiously, Newman had worked against Peel in the election of 1829, because Whately's Letters on the Church had taught him a theory of the Church which was not compatible with the idea of Catholic Emancipation.[378] Yet the key teachings of this work were the necessity of separation of Church and State, and the right of

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[373]Windle, op. cit., pp. 119-20.

[374]Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, p. 101.

[375]William Shakespeare, Macbeth, V, 23-24.

[376]Newman, Apologia, p. 134. [377]Overton, The Anglican Revival, p. 40.

[378]Newman, Apologia, p. 134.

the Church to own property.[379] Neither of these doctrines implied much to the problem of the principle of Catholic emancipation. Furthermore, Whately had supported Peel in his reelection bid. Newman's confrontation with Whately on this occasion was one reason for the break in the friendship between Newman and Whately.[380] The import of Newman's action here was both political and ecclesiastical. The issue of Catholic emancipation threatened the disestablishment of the Church in that with the recognizing of Catholics and with the toleration of dissenters, legal competitors existed with the Church of England.

The next significant step of Parliament against the Irish bishoprics confronted the second of Whately's principles, so stoutly defended by Newman, the right of the Church to own, ergo to control, her own property. Keble's sermon castigating this act announced the Oxford Movement, Newman said. And, as it has been indicated earlier in this thesis, the first of the Tracts for the Times was directed against this act of Parliament. This act of Parliament was evidence of the "liberalism" of the day that threatened to destroy the finest aspects of the heritage of the past. Newman said:

> . . . I thought that if Liberalism once got a footing within her, the Church it was sure of victory in the event. I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination: still, I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ. . . . There was need of a second Reformation.[381]

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[379] "Letters on the Church," By an Episcopalian" (1826), The British Critic, VI, 12 (October, 1829), 267.

[380] Overton, The Anglican Revival, p. 40.

[381] Newman, Apologia, p. 149.

The principal continuing organ of response to the liberalism which Newman saw eating away the vitals of the Church was the Tracts for the Times. An associate of Newman's, William Palmer, had sponsored a Church Defence Association, which did not last for long.[382] This association stated that:

> Events have occurred within the last few years calculated to inspire the true members and friends of the Church with the deepest uneasiness. . . . Every one who has become acquainted with the literature of the day, must have observed the sedulous attempts made in various quarters to reconcile members of the Church to alterations in its doctrines and discipline. Projects of change, which include the annihilation of our Creeds and the removal of doctrinal statements incidentally contained in our worship, have been boldly and assiduously put forth. Our services have been subjected to licentious criticism, with the view of superseding some of them and of entirely remodelling others. The very elementary principles of our ritual and discipline have been rudely questioned; our apostolical polity has been ridiculed and denied.[383]

Newman heartily concurred with the grievances of the Association, but the inner politics of this movement were not stable, so that ir crumbled before long.

The antiquarian interests of Newman and his colleagues were threatened by the Bampton Lecturer of 1832, Dr. Renn Dickson Hampden, who chose as his topic, "The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology."[384] Dean Church described Dr. Hampden thus.

> Personally he was a man of serious but cold religion, having little sympathy with others, and consequently not able to attract any. . . . His mind, which was a speculative one, was not one, in its own order, of the first class. He had not the grasp nor the subtlety necessary for his task. He had a certain power of statement, but little of co-ordination; he seems not to have had the power of seeing when his ideas were really irreconcilable, and he

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[382] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 104. [383] Ibid., p. 105.

[384] Brillioth, The Anglican Revival, p. 92.

> thought that simply by insisting on his distinctly orthodox statements he not only balanced, but neutralized, and did away with his distinctly unorthodox ones.[385]

Dr. Hampden challenged certain doctrines received from the Church Fathers as being opinions rather than ex cathedra doctrines to be believed. He classed together the ideas of the Apostle's Creed, the Nicene and the Constantinopolitan Creeds and the sacramental ideas left by the heritage of the Church prior to the sixteenth century.[386] Dr. Hampden did not sufficiently balance these words of seeming heterodoxy with the appropriate weight of orthodox opinions. Thus he aroused opposition from Newman, who was supremely concerned with establishing the veracity of the key doctrines of the Church. Dean Church, who sympathized with the Tractarians, took Hampden's apparent unorthodoxy to be the result of the inability of the academician to express himself clearly. In trying to communicate caution in discerning between received opinions and received doctrines, Dr. Hampden did not distinguish exactly what he classified in each category. Church wrote:

> Strangely enough, without observing it, he took in--what he meant to separate by a wide interval from what he called dogma--the doctrine of the infallible authority and sufficiency of Scripture. In denying the worth of the concensus and immemorial judgment of the Church, he cut from under him the claim to that which he accepted as the source and witness of 'divine facts.'[387]

J. Lewis May has suggested that Hampden struck a particularly sour note with the Tractarians because his lecture was acutely "Protestant" in implications, while the inferences drawn from the Tractarians' acts were distinctly Catholic, Roman Catholic, that is to say.[388] Hampden's

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[385] Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 162-63.

[386] Ibid., pp. 163-64. [387] Ibid., pp. 165-66.

[388] May, op. cit., p. 82.

lecture was so uninteresting and drab in its manner of presentation that it might have been soon forgotten but for the fact that Dr. Hampden was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity by Lord Melbourne. Bishop Knox has pointed out that when the Regius Professor of Divinity until 1836, Dr. Burton, died, Newman saw the vacancy most adequately filled by none other than himself. As a tactical vantage point from which to present Tractarian viewpoints, the Regius Professorship would have had great profit. The Chair of Divinity would have given Tractarian positions a distinctly official aura. And there was the chance that Newman might have been selected by Lord Melbourne as Regius Professor of Divinity, because his name had been submitted to the King, along with Pusey's, Keble's, Hampden's and Thomas Arnold's.[389] Hampden's luster as a candidate, though it was dimmed by his unintelligibility as a lecturer and drabness of personality, was considerable because of the support of Richard Whately, because of the fact that he had delivered one of the very prestigious Bampton Lectures, and because he was not "an extreme man."[390] Newman committed a strategic blunder in writing an attack on Dr. Hampden's 1832 Bampton Lecture, entitled "Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements."[391] Dean Church considered Newman's attack a "flagrant instance of unfairness and garbled extracts."[392] They were needless "elucidations" of the "heresy" of Dr. Hampden because the appointee's lecture had been condemned by the Hebdomedal Board of the

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[389] Knox, The Tractarian Movement, pp. 166-67.

[390] Ibid.

[391] Middleton, Newman at Oxford, p. 114.

[392] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 167.

University.[393] The increment of personal resentment which Newman's "elucidations" added to the controversy made the crux or fulcrum of the issue to become a pro-Tractarian or anti-Tractarian question. The friends of Hampden, together with a Whig ministry, which was interested in putting down the strong Tory-High-Churchmen at Oxford, were sufficient to defeat a coalition of Tractarians and Evangelicals which made up a majority of the representation at Oxford. The Heads of the Oxford Colleges passed a formal censure of Dr. Hampden, seeking to prohibit him from voting on University lecturers, and Dr. Hampden offered to resign his position because of the furor his appointment had stirred. He did not enjoy his position of controversy. But he was persuaded to keep his chair at the University.[394]

The defeat of Newman's party in this controversy was a bitter personal defeat for Newman. Though the University generally sided with him, not because of Newman's personal stake in the issue, but because of the truly objectionable nature of Lord Melbourne's appointee to the Regius Professorship, Newman failed to attain a position that would have allowed him and his movement much authority. The battle lost with Hampden was a battle lost for the "principle of dogma," because anti-dogma was the principal thrust of Hampden's lecture.[395] Newman scarcely mentioned Dr. Hampden or the controversy which he had with him in the Apologia.[396] But as a result of the controversy over the Regius Professorship, Newman's own position vis-a-vis the Church became more clearly

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[393] Ibid., p. 170. [394] Middleton, op. cit., p. 114.

[395] Newman, Apologia, p. 163.

[396] This writer discovered the Hampden controversy mentioned only once in the Apologia, on page 162.

defined. It had been Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed Hampden as a candidate along with Newman, Pusey, Arnold and Keble.[397] The gaping canyon between the ideology of Newman and Hampden, and the fact that Newman was not chosen, set apart Newman a little farther, not only from the Church, but also from the Tractarian Movement, by virtue of the personal nature of this defeat.

Soon after this defeat, Newman received a strong impression from Nicholaus Wiseman, the Catholic priest he had met in Rome during his 1832 Mediterranean voyage, that the Tractarian via media interpretation of the Anglican Church was significantly different from the Roman Catholic Church.[398] When it is remembered that Father Wiseman had stirred the thought in Newman's mind during the latter's research on his volume, The Arians of the Fourth Century, that possibly the nineteenth century Anglican Church was a modern form of the Donatist schism,[399] the significance of a renewed acquaintance with Wiseman can be discerned. Wiseman delivered a series of lectures at Oxford on Roman Catholic doctrine and practice.[400] The very presence of an influential Roman Catholic scholar at Oxford as a lecturer was an indication of the "liberality" of the times, if not of the presence of "liberalism." Wiseman drew a picture of Roman Catholicism as the only ligitimate expression of the Apostolical Succession. He observed that it was to the Catholic Church represented at Rome that all true seekers of the Catholic Church were

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[397] Middleton, op. cit., p. 113. [398] Ibid., p. 114.

[399] Newman, Apologia, pp. 218-19.

[400] Middleton, op. cit., p. 114. These were then published as Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church (1836).

drawn. Middleton writes of Wiseman's lectures:

> 'Might not many Englishmen find,' the lecturer asked, 'as notable thinkers in France and Germany had found, their legitimate place and their natural home in the life and worship of the Roman Church, so long misrepresented in England as to be almost unknown? Some would be drawn to Rome by historical studies, others by philosophical considerations. Again, you will read a political economist who tells you that, having made a deep study in that science, he was forced to admit that only in Catholic morality could he discover the principles whereon it could be honestly conducted, and so was led to the practical adoption of the Catholic Creed.'[401]

Wiseman presented the Protestant system as one of private judgment, and the Roman Catholic position as one of authority.[402] Newman wrote in The British Critic:

> We hear with great equanimity the rumours of the impression which Dr. Wiseman's lectures have made upon the mixed multitude of London. Romanism has great truths in it, which we of this day have almost forgotten, and its preachers will recall numbers of Churchmen and Dissenters to an acknowledgement of them.[403]

The treatment which Wiseman gave to certain doctrines that were similar for Anglicans as for Roman Catholics may well have been the impetus Newman needed for the preparation of the most controversial of the Tracts, Tract Ninety. This commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England was received by the bishops of the Church with the kind of welcome usually reserved for heresies. The Bishop of Armagh wrote, soon after the appearance of the Tract, "The error of this Tract, as I conceive, consists in attributing to our Articles an ambiguity of meaning, or a want of precision, which would tolerate opinions the most adverse to that very Faith which those Articles were intended to

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[401] Ibid., p. 115.

[402] Ibid., pp. 115-16. See The British Critic (December, 1836).

[403] Ibid.

support."[404] Richard Whately, then Archbishop of Dublin, and Newmen's former mentor, wrote:

> Some individuals among the Reformers,have, in some places, used language which may be understood as implying a more strict obligation to conform to ancient precedents than is acknowledged in the Articles. But the Articles being deliberately and jointly drawn up, for the very purpose of precisely determining what it was designed should be determined respecting the points they treat of, and in order to supply to the Anglican Church their Confession of Faith on those points, it seems impossible that any man of ingenious mind can appeal from the Articles, Liturgy, and Rubric, put forth as the authoritative declarations of the Church, to any other writings, whether by the same, or by other authors. On the very contrary, the very circumstance that opinions going far beyond what the Articles express, or, in other respects, considerably differing from them did exist, and were well-known and current, in the days of our Reformers, gives even the more force to their deliberate omissions of these, and their distinct declaration of what they do mean to maintain.[405]

With nearly one accord Oxford University and the Church prelates denounced Tract Ninety. Seen from the perspective of the antagonists of the Tractarians, Tract Ninety appears to have the clear attempt to force the Thirty-Nine Articles into a Procrustean bed of Roman Catholic interpretation. Newman wrote in the introduction of the Tract:

> That there are real difficulties to a Catholic Christian in the Ecclesiastical position of our Church at this day, no one can deny; but the statements of the Articles are not in the number; and it may be right at the present moment to insist upon this.[406]

The issue having its focus on Tract Ninety is perhaps the keenest possible illustration of the degree to which the Tractarian movement was an extension of Newman's personal religious odyssey. As the proverbial hub of the Oxford circle of reformers, Newman's judgment was in large

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[404] Bricknell, op. cit., p. 532.

[405] Ibid., pp. 533-34.

[406] Tracts for the Times, V, 90, ii.

measure the determining factor in the direction taken by the Oxford Movement. The denotation of Newman's words in the introduction to Tract Ninety appears clear. The denotation of the term "Catholic Christian" was evidently to be understood as a member of the One Universal Church. Similarly, wherein Newman referred to the "Old Church" he meant to be understood as referring to the Church of the fatera Athanasius and Augustine, whose names he cited.[407] Liddon defended the Tractarian motives, saying that

> the object of the Oxford Movement, as he Newman no less than Pusey and Keble understood it, was to withstand the tendency towards unbelief inherent in the theological Liberalism of the day, by the reassertion of those principles of primitive Catholicism which the Church of England, as it then was, was so largely overlooking.[408]

Pusey wrote in his Historical Preface to Tract Ninety:

> For myself, I believe that Tract 90 did a great work in clearing the Articles from the glosses, which, like barnacles, had encrusted round. I believe that that work will never be undone while the Articles shall last. Men will gloss them as they did before, according to their preconceived opinions, or as guided by the Puritan system of belief; but they cannot do so undisputed. Even the Four Tutors, in their censure upon Tract 90, seem to have been half conscious of the force of the appeal to 'the literal and grammatical interpretation.' So long as that interpretation shall be applied, it will be impossible either to condemn Tract 90, or to import into the Articles the traditional system so long identified with them.[409]

Newman's sympathizers understood him; but most people, it appears, did not. The literature of the period clustered around two poles, each of which poles had to do with a personal acquaintance with Newman and friendship with him, or with animosity towards him. The slant of The Times, w

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[407] Newman, Apologia, p. 231. See Tract Ninety, Article 1, page 6.

[408] Liddon, op. cit., II, 161. [409] Ibid., p. 164.

which, it has been observed, changed in 1841, with the change of Directorship and the accession of Thomas Mozley as a staff writer, was pro-Tractarian. On March 4th, 1841, The Times entered a calm voice to the hurly-burly surrounding the debate on the controversial Tract:

> Whatever may be the merits or the faults of the gentlemen at Oxford to whom Lord Morpeth and Mr. O'Connell alluded,[410] it is notoriously false to say that any one of them ever thought of 'disclaiming' any single doctrine of the Church to which he belongs: the whole aim and object of their teaching is to recommend certain doctrines as identical with those of the Liturgy, Canons, and Articles of the Church of England. They prefer indeed to rescue from Popery the appellation of Catholic, which has ever been the inheritance of all Apostolic Churches, and they are not over-zealous for the denomination of Protestant, which occurs nowhere in the Prayer-book, which expresses no positive belief, and which is the common property of all who are separated from Rome, however widely differing among themselves. But we think it will be difficult for any man to show that in this respect, or any other, their doctrine or practice (whether erroneous or not) contradicts any oaths which they have sworn: and we wish all who speak ill of them were equally blameless in this respect.
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> We have said so much as this, not because we desire to identify ourselves with the opinions of the gentlemen in question (who, after all, as Sir Robert Inglis truly said, are not the University of Oxford), but partly because we were formerly led, on the very

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[410] Morpeth and O'Connell debated in Parliament in favor of securing the continuance of a grant to Maynooth College in Ireland. The object of the college was "that a portion of the Roman Catholic laity should be there educated as well as the clergy." Since Catholics could scarcely subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, and because such subscription was necessary to entrance into Oxford University, Roman Catholics were permitted this college, founded before the Catholic Emancipation Bill, by William Pitt in 1795. Morpeth argued that Parliament deigned to support Oxford University even while Roman Catholic sympathisers in this University, The Tractarians, published anti-Anglican literature. Thus, the Maynooth grant should be continued, particularly since no subversive Tracts proceeded from that Roman Catholic college. Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd ser., Vol. LVI (March 2, 1841), pp. 1238 ff.

> authority quoted by Lord Morpeth, to speak of them in terms of harshness which we now regret; and partly because it appears to us unjust and unmanly to single out absent and unrepresented men for an attack in the House of Commons, without any previous notice.[411]

The courtesy of The Times to the Tractarians was an example of considerable influence. But at Oxford, it was the Hebdomadal Board that was to have the last say as far as the Tracts were concerned. The Hebdomadal Board published their judgment against the Tract on the 15th of March, 1841, scarcely more than two weeks after its publication.[412] No more Tracts were permitted to come from Oxford.

The Roman Catholic tendency which Newman seemed to reflect as early as 1832, was shared to some extent by others of the Oxford Movement. Walter Lock cites a fragment of a letter which John Keble wrote to Coleridge, in which he said "My impression for a long time has been that we have as much to do with it apostasy as they."[413] Keble's conception of the Church paralleled Newman's. For Keble it was "a body independent of the State, founded by the Lord himself, perpetuated by direct succession from the Apostles, one in continuous history and in doctrine with the Primitive Church, filled with a Supernatural and sacramental life, witnessing to a high moral standard before the world."[414] Georgina Battiscombe said of Keble:

> One of Keble's most serious limitations was his inability to put his own belief in the Catholicity of the Church of England more firmly and effectively before Newman. Keble loved the Church of

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[411] Liddon, op. cit., II, 166.

[412] Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 290-91.

[413] Walter Lock, John Keble (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893), p. 20.

[414] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

> England as a man may love his mother, and devotion to her was the keynote of his life; yet, faced with Newman's arguments, he allowed her case to go by default. Never once does he attack Rome directly; never once does he put forward any argument to prove the soundness of the Anglican position; never once does he roundly declare the Church of England to be better, or at the very least, less in error, than the Church of Rome. To Newman's agonised cries he will only reply with arguments which have nothing to do with the respective merits of the two Churches. All through this correspondence it is as if two people were talking at cross purposes. Newman calls on Keble to exorcise a ghost and Keble replies with exhortations to Newman to continue in the prosaic path of duty.[415]

Newman and Keble became really acquainted as a result of an apology which Newman wrote to Keble after failing to support him in his bid to be elected Provost of Oriel College.[416] They shared a reproach of the Church-State situation. They mutually respected certain early Anglican Churchmen, among whom were Richard Hooker,[417] Archbishop Laud,[418] and Thomas Ken.[419] These three men were symbols of the conflict which had continued in the English Church between Apostolical purity and the incessant urge to become "protestant."[420] Both Keble and Newman had been impressed by Bishop Butler's Analogy, learning his probability test of truth well.[421] Newman shared many of Keble's interests and influences. But Keble did not share the one influence Newman had received which proved to be the decisive one; the Roman Catholic Church did not lure

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[415] Battiscombe, op. cit., p. 236.

[416] A. Mozley, op. cit., I, 152-53.

[417] Lord Irwin, John Keble (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1932), p. 32. See also M. Ward, Young Mr. Newman, p. 160.

[418] Battiscombe, op. cit., p. 180. See also Tracts for the Times, IV, 81, cii.

[419] Rigg, op. cit., p. 3.

[420] Review of F.W. Faber's Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and Among Foreign Peoples, The Christian Remembrancer, III (July, 1842), 627.

[421] Lock, op. cit., p. 10. See also Newman, Apologia, p. 139.

John Keble successfully.

Dr. Pusey had less in common with Newman than Keble did. He was a Hebrew scholar and somewhat of an authority on then contemporary German theology. In 1825, Pusey went to Goettingen to study under the renowned theologian J.G. Eichhorn from who he "learnt the vastness of the world of modern learning and the standard of work which was necessary in order to explore it."[422] Pusey also studied with Friedrich Schleiermacher in Berlin.[423] Henry Parry Liddon, Pusey's biographer, assumed that which the biographers of the other Tractarians saw fit to describe at great length, namely, the particular influences leading them to their high views on the Church. Apparently the fact that Pusey subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England and his friendly acquaintance with Newman and Keble, who conducted the viva voce for his bachelor's degree, was sufficient to enlist his considerable intellect on the side of the Oxford Movement.[424]

These three, Newman, Keble and Pusey, were the principal figures of the Oxford Movement. Newman wrote the majority of the Tracts, and all but one of the controversial ones. Keble's Tract Eighty, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," "gave the deepest offence to Evangelicals,"[425] because of its implied teaching that "Bible and tract circulation, . . . and above all of preaching the Atonement," ought not to be widely practiced. Isaac Williams replied to this charge in a manner

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[422]Liddon, op. cit., I, 74. [423]Ibid., pp. 80-85.

[424]Battiscombe, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

[425]Knox, The Tractarian Movement, p. 218.

reflective of the general Tractarian response to those who took issue with the substance of their Tracts. Williams wrote:

> It seems to me that none of you have grasped the very fundamental conception that the fear of God is the beginning of religion, and that you all three--I do not forget that you differ in earnestness and enthusiasm, and desire of conversion of sinners--yet you all three are alike in this, that you have never grasped the principle of Reserve in Religion. Now, if you will turn to the Scriptures, you will see that our Blessed Lord did not give His teaching indiscriminately. To the crowd He spoke in Parables, to the disciples He expounded the meaning of the Parables. . . . Religious truth must be approached by the path of obedience, not of speculation. God punishes with blindness those who approach sacred truth with a speculative mind.[426]

Keble avowed himself a faithful Anglican, and he gave little reason to suspect otherwise. Newman's Tracts dealt with themes that often did much more than Keble's Tract "On Reserve" in giving offense to the Anglican Church prelates. Tract Fourty-Seven, "The Visible Church," suggested that dissenting sects fall, on the Divine scale of recognition, somewhere between the Catholic Church and heathenism, while of the Roman Catholic Church he wrote: ". . . why should the corruptions of Rome lead us to deny her Divine privileges, when even the idolatry of Judah did not forfeit here, annul her temple-sacrifice, or level her to Israel?"[427] Tract Seventy-Five, "On the Roman Breviary as Embodying the Substance of the Devotional Services of the Church Catholic," courted the very Church which Newman had once referred to as "Antichrist" for its devotional aids.[428] He did this as an attempt to "wrest a weapon out of our adversaries' hands." The breviary was essentially

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[426] Ibid., p. 216.

[427] Tracts for the Times, II, 47, iv.

[428] M. Ward, Young Mr. Newman, p. 29.

a scheduling of prayers according to a calculation of hours of the day corresponding to significant events in the life of Jesus.[429] But the celebration of these hours included invocation of the Virgin Mary, supplication of the saints and angels, and other practices uniquely Roman, and unacceptable to the Church of England. Newman said that these were accretions, not a part of the original Breviary(s).[430] Newman traced the history of the Breviary so as to show which particular Breviaries were more or less possible to reconcile with Anglican principles. Though this may have been a worthy attempt to revitalise a valid devotional aid from the roots of the Anglican past, an elaborate treatise on what was in the nineteenth century a distinctly, and detestedly, Roman Catholic practice was not understood in this light. Bishop Knox borrowed a term often used by R.H. Froude, saying that the Breviary "includes . . . much that needs what Froude would call the Apostolic (ethos), to describe it as otherwise than repulsive."[431] Knox affirmed against the Breviary:

> There was more than adoption of a devotional manual in the use of the Roman Breviary as the Roman priest uses it. Use of it involved concession to the spirit of superstition, belief in miracles for which no authority could be vouchsafed but that of the Church when it had begun to be corrupted by the heathen world. . . . the use of the Breviary, especially in Protestant surroundings by one who has been baptized into a Protestant Church, goes very far indeed towards submission to the Church which makes the Breviary with all its contents a standard of devotion. The gulf between it and our Liturgy is indeed 'a great gulf fixed.'[432]

Newman had more affronts writing the Evangelical and latitudinarian consciences predominating in the Anglican Church. In fact, even

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[429] *Tracts for the Times*, III, 75, ii-viii. [430] *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

[431] Knox, *The Tractarian Movement*, p. 192. [432] *Ibid.*

High Churchmen who agreed with the Tractarian veneration of the early Anglican Churchmen, found Newman's "brinkmanship" towards the Roman Church difficult to accept. Tract Seventy-Nine, "On Purgatory," stated to be the third in a series "Against Romanism," is so worded as to leave the impression that its author was a "fifth-columnist" for the Churchof Rome. Newman laid the seeds of doubt in the introduction to the Tract, in which he purported to discuss the "germ" of the Roman teaching, from which had grown what was truly objectionable as a common belief in the Church. He said that this Tract built on the foundation laid by Bishop Ussher in "cutting away the prima facie evidence, on which the doctrine is usually rested."[433] The conclusion to the introduction nearly vitiated whatever appearance of an "attack" the Tract might have had. Newman wrote:

> And lastly, since we are in no danger of becoming Romanists, and may bear to be dispassionate, and (I may say) philosophical in our treatment of their errors, some passages in the following account of Purgatory are more calmly written than would satisfy those who were engaged with a victorious enemy at their doors. Yet whoever be our opponent, Papist or Latitudinarian, it does not seem to be wrong to be as candid and conceding as justice and charity allow us.[434]

If fairness were Newman's mark, he was considered to have performed, in Wesley's words, a work of "supererogation," by most Churchmen. The body of the Tract commenced with a retreat from criticism: "Such is the Roman doctrine; and taken in the mere letter there is little in it against which we shall be able to sustain formal objections."[435] Dean Church

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[433] Tracts for the Times, IV, 79, ii.

[434] Ibid., p. iii. [435] Ibid., p. v.

observed that the startling impact of Newman's "Romish" Tracts on Oxford was unforgiveable. The general theological ignorance characterising not only the Church, but Oxford University as well, made impossible the kind of theological debate which should have followed Newman's allegations concerning these questionable doctrines. But only Dr. Routh of Magdalen College had penetrated the surface of Newman's Tracts, and he, somehow, was not alarmed.[436] What was said of Newman as incrimination, that he made "innuendos" and suggestions implying more than he was honestly able to state in a forthright manner, may have been the paranoid response of unschooled clergymen.[437] As Dean Church said, the "mad rush" towards Rome had not yet begun, even until the time of Tract Ninety, February 27, 1841.[438]

When the defenses of the Tractarian position are viewed in retrospect, which is one of the tasks of history, the purpose of John Henry Newman, as this telos matured in him, appears to have differd from that motivating Keble and Pusey. Given the strong influence of Father Wiseman, in particular, on Newman, the germ of Rome had impregnated him unwittingly. The seeming Romeward thrust of the Oxford Movement was actually just that for Newman, however much Keble and Pusey might have been faithful Anglicans, which they were indeed. In writing the Apologia Pro Vita Sua, Newman was well aware of the drift in his thinking, such

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[436] Church, The Oxford Movement, pp. 302-05.

[437] cf. the remarks of Rt. Rev. Beresford, Archbishop of Armagh in Bricknell, op. cit., p. 532.

[438] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 308.

that October, 1845, was a climax rather than a capitulation. As far as the Oxford Movement itself was concerned, it was largely finished in 1841, when the Tracts were banned. Dean Church wrote of this demise:

> . . . after what passed about No. 90 a change came. The party came under an official ban and stigma. The common consequences of harsh treatment on the tendencies and thought of a party, which considers itself unjustly proscribed, showed themselves more and more. Its mind was divided; its temper was exasperated; while the attitude of the governing authorities hardened more into determined hostility.[439]

This result was far from the goal projected by the little fellowship of friends of the Church who had joined forces in 1833, in defense of the Church. And though Anglo-Catholicism continued as a definite strain in the Anglican and American Episcopal traditions, the specific goals of the Oxford Movement never were achieved.

By comparison with the results of the little band of Oxonians who, in the eighteenth century, gathered in order to mutually encourage one another in "methodical" discipleship, the Tractarians had an ignoble end. But the Methodists were not self-consciously a movement, thus the basis for comparison with the Tractarians actually does not exist, despite the particular parallels that have been drawn between the early Methodists and the Oxford Movement's leaders.

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[439] Ibid., pp. 196-97.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

> We should try to govern this strange drifting which we call history from the interior, by seeking the implicit objectives of men within the movement which carries them along, in order to propose them explicitly.[440]

The goal sought in this thesis has been very much a function of the statements made by the several cited historians concerning the similarity between, and the possible developmental tie between the Oxford Methodists and the Oxford Movement. Though the discussion of John Wesley has often borrowed material from his life beyond his Oxford years, the principal interest of this study has been in the early years of the movement; those six years between Charles Wesley's founding of the Holy Club and the departure of the Wesley's for Georgia.[441] It was the time of the Holy Club in which Wesley exhibited those extremely High-Church inclinations that were later seen to parallel the manifestations of John Henry Newman and his colleagues of the Oxford Movement. But these early years of John Wesley's development were not the basis upon which his fame has been built. In fact, had it not been for the Methodist Revival, which in Great Britain and North America, little mention might have been made of the Holy Club. The Oxford Movement, by contrast, cause celebre

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[440] Jean-Paul Sartre, Situations, trans. by Benita Eisler (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1965), p. 170

[441] Wesley, Works, VII, 401.

in its own right, had an aftermath that tended to dullen the luster of the eventful twelve years of the movement's duration. For this reason, in particular, really meaningful substantial comparisons between Wesley, Newman, and their respective movements were difficult to make. Yet certain similarities present themselves between these two developments in the Church of England. It was these similarities that called forth the remarks by the scholars whose task it is to evaluate the story of man, and to relate this story as they see man to have developed. The governing consideration in this thesis has been that the comparisons various historians have made of these two developments which stirred the interest of this writer to investigate the subject of this likeness, were opinions and not descriptive realities; but, that they were opinions with apparently enough substantiation to be worthy of investigation. Those parallels which have become apparent between the Oxford Methodists and the Tractarians are amply noticed, while the substantial differences between the two have been discussed as fully as appeared necessary to clarify the issue. Brooks' tantalizing suggestion:

> Wesley and his associates at Oxford emphasized so many of the tenets and practices which characterized the ritualistic movement a hundred years later in the same University, as to lead to the suggestion that there may have been definite points of connection between Methodism and Puseyism.[442]

offers much food for thought. Similarly Brillioth's remark that "It was in some measure his Wesley's spirit which was to fertilize the

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[442] Dearing, op. cit., p. 6.

organism of old High Churchmanship that it could once more bear offspring."[443] suggests possible, even probable discoveries of hidden relationships between Wesley's movement and Newman's. Walker's notice of this likeness perhaps was more cautious, but was more descriptive, in this writer's judgment, than the observations of other historians who have been considered. He wrote that "As matters then were, they the Holy Club more resembled the Anglo-Catholic movement of the nineteenth century than the Methodism of history."[444]

The direction in this thesis has been to investigate the influences on the two movements in order to discover to what degree they may have shared common influences, and to find any possible direct encounter by Newman of Wesley's ideas. Should such parallel influences have been found, the deduction would have been possible that a single germ proceeded through the development of the two men. Next, the manner of expression chosed by each man, along with the respective movements, was examined for similarities. This was a somewhat synthetic exercise in investigation, because Wesley's great expression was made after his momentous experience at Aldersgate in 1838, three years after the demise of the Holy Club. The third and last vantage point of comparison was between John Wesley and John Henry Newman as Churchmen. This aspect of evaluation was concerned with the two men as participants in Church politics and with them as thinkers engaging in the continuous development of doctrine in the Church of England. This last comparison was the most significant because it could be the most objective. One may evaluate

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[443] Brillioth, The Anglican Revival, p. 30.

[444] Walker, op. cit., p. 457.

subjective factors such as similarity of influences and apparent likenesses in manner of expression, and "discover" many compatibilities between individuals and movements. This exercise runs the risk of "creating" history rather than relating it. But in juxtaposing the actions and the stated beliefs of two men or two developments of groups of men, a more meaningful comparison is possible.

In summary, the salient points of similarity and dissimilarity between the Holy Club and the Oxford Movement will be clearly presented. First of all the extent to which John Wesley and John Henry Newman, the Oxford Methodists and the Oxford Movement, were like will be considered. Second, the clear differences will be noted. And finally, the usefulness of this comparison will be reviewed.

The prima facie parallel between the Oxford Methodists and the Oxford Movement is the fact that both were movements of spiritual reform begun at Oxford University by academicians. In both cases men low in the hierarchy of the Church instigated what they deemed to be needed reforms.[445] John Wesley and John Henry Newman were the primary notivating thrusts of their respective movements, and both were, to a great extent "experimental" Churchmen.[446] Their experimentation, though different in kind, worked against the principle of uniformity which has been a bulwark of the Church of England since its separation from the Church of Rome.[447] Though Wesley and Newman took different turns in

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[445] Cruttwell, op. cit., p. 25.

[446] "The Recent Schism," The Christian Remembrancer, LI (January, 1846), article vi. See also Frank Baker, John Wesley and the Church of England, p. 151.

[447] Simon, op. cit., p. 82.

their development, they shared like spiritual ambitions. Both men sought to rediscover "primitive Christianity."[448] And primitive Christianity could be experienced, they believed, within the framework of the Church of England.[449] Wesley said of the Holy Club: "They were all orthodox in every point; firmly believing, not only the Three Creeds, but whatsoever they judged to be the doctrine of the Church of England, as contained in her Articles and Homilies."[450] Newman argued in Tract Twenty-Nine, through the spokesmanship of Dr. Spencer who was the advocate of the Church of England in a dialogue with a skeptic: " . . . it is quite certain that . . . what our Lord meant, when He spoke of His Church He meant a Church such as the Church of England. . . . To be sure, the Church of England happens to have wealth and honour, . . . but this is but an accidental difference between them the Church of England and the Primitive Church."[451]

Certain of the influences on John Henry Newman were like those that were important in John Wesley's development. Newman attributed to his mother his early delight in reading the Bible, and his thorough acquaintance with the catechism.[452] Wesley stressed to an even greater extent the importance of his mother in his intellectual and spiritual

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[448]Wesley, Letters, I, 152. Tracts for the Times, I, 1, i-ii.

[449]Arminian Magazine, XIII (1790), 214-16. Tracts for the Times I, 29.

[450]Wesley, Works, VII, 402.

[451]Tracts for the Times, I, 29, v-vi.

[452]Newman, Apologia, p. 1.

development. A segment of one of his letters, written to his mother while he was at Oxford, amply illustrates the role of Wesley's mother in his life.

> If you, who are a less prejudiced judge, have perceived us faulty in this matter, too superstitious or enthusiastic, or whatever it is to be called, we earnestly desire to be speedily informed of our error, that we may no longer spend our strength in that which profiteth not.[453]

The Church of England shaped the theology of both Wesley and Newman. Thus they both conformed the expression of their piety to the forms, rituals, and liturgies of the Anglican Church. The members of the Holy Club were called, among other things, "Sacramentarians," for their practice of taking communion every week.[454] One of the Oxford Movement's most significant objectives was to preserve the practice of the liturgies in the Church.[455]

The books which Wesley and Newman read reflected a compatible sum of interests. Wesley found a great usefulness in the mystical writers Jeremy Taylor and Thomas a Kempis.[456] Newman devoted one of the longest Tracts to a defense of the Fathers of "Antiquity" who were largely rejected as "mystics."[457] He was persuaded that the "final cause" of all things (like the efficient cause of St. Thomas Aquinas' five-fold cosmology) could be known better by the heart than by the head.[458] Wesley later renounced the pessimism of Thomas a Kempis, and he rejected the Theologica

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[453]Wesley, Letters, I, 86.

[454]Telford, Life of John Wesley, p. 59. cf. Tyerman, Life of John Wesley, I, 81-82.

[455]Newman, Apologia, p. 164. [456]Wesley, Letters, I, 17.

[457]Tracts for the Times, V, 89, cxl-cxli.

[458]The final cause means the purpose for which things are made.

Germanica as "affected obscurity," but there can be no question that these writers and their ideas occupied much of Wesley's interest. He called Jacob Behmem's Mysterium Magnum "sublime nonsense" after he had resolved the problem of his own spiritual uncertainty; but until Aldersgate, the mystic writers were important to him.[459]

William Law was a personal acquaintance of John Wesley's, and he was an intimate confident of Wesley's until the latter ended their friendship. Law's Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life was a virtual call to arms for the Holy Club.[460] John Henry Newman attributed to William Law the "main Catholic doctrine of the warfare between the city of God and the powers of darkness."[461] Law taught to Wesley and Newman the numenous quality of religion, the infinite chasm lying between the supernatural and the natural.

William Law was a Nonjuror. But his influence was primarily that of a devotional writer on the Holy Club. To the Oxford Movement, Law was the champion who successfully crushed the liberal Bishop of Bangor with his weighty arguments.[462] Richard Hurrell Froude admired Law for his brilliant defense of Church principles. Thomas Ken drew similar admiration from the Tractarians because he laid his life on the line when the integrity of the Church was challenged by the Declaration of Indulgence was issued by King James II in 1687.[463] Froude yearned for a restoration of the kind of Churchmen the Nonjurors were.[464] He wrote in a

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[459] G. Jackson, op. cit., pp. 300-02.

[460] Rice, op. cit., p. 39. "William Law was the true begetter of Methodism."

[461] Newman, Apologia, p. 129. [462] Ibid., p. 91. Froude, op. cit., I, 308.

[463] Rice, op. cit., pp. 23-25. [464] May, op. cit., p. 41.

letter to one of his friends, "Would that the Nonjurors had kept up a succession! and then we might have been at peace, proselytes instead of agitators."[465]

Besides the mystical writings of the Church Fathers, Thomas a Kempis and Jeremy Taylor, the logical arguments of Bishop Butler were often mentioned by both Wesley and the Tractarians.[466] Theirs was a learned Christianity. The writers of Greek and Roman antiquity were often referred to by the early Methodists and the Tractarians.[467] A similarity such as this might be expected of Oxonians of any religious persuasion, of any era. But this was not always the case. Oxford University during the eighteenth century was not the vigorous academic community that it was in the seventeenth century, nor that it became in the nineteenth century.[468] Wesley's pursuit of the great classical authors was done at his own motivation. The Church Fathers were of great interest to John Wesley and to John Henry Newman. They both not only read them extensively, but they also either contributed to, or themselves prepared, libraries of the writings of the Fathers. John Wesley included in his fifty-volume Christian Library, begun in 1749, abridged versions of noteworthy works of practical divinity, beginning with the writings of the Church Fathers.[469] Newman also wrote extensively on the Fathers. In 1832, he published a

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[465] Froude, op. cit., I, 295. [466] T. Mozley, op. cit., I, 210-14.

[467] Bosheard, op. cit., pp. 48-56. Froude, op. cit., I, 249-51. A. Mozley, op. cit., I, 31.

[468] Green, Young Mr. Wesley, pp. 13, 18.

[469] Telford, Life of John Wesley, pp. 326-27.

study of The Arians of the Fourth Century,[470] and contributed to a Library of the Fathers, edited by Charles Marriott.[471] Included in the Tracts for the Times were numerous catena patrum, or summaries of the Fathers, which Newman hoped would have some influence in favor of the Tractarian point of view. The Fathers of the Church were clearly influential on Wesley and Newman.

Though John Henry Newman stated that he thought Wesley had a "bitterness of religious passion which is very unamiable,"[472] their intensity of concentration on their faith was directly comparable. Each one clearly sought for vital inward spiritual life. Though psychoanalysis ill suits the skills of the historian,[473] this writer conjectures that Wesley and Newman would not have found each other's company inhospitable. Given the particular needs of the eighteenth century, Newman may well have reacted as did Wesley. Wesley did not have the Romeward leanings that Newman had; thus, it would appear that Wesley would not have taken the same course of development Newman did, had the former lived in the nineteenth century. Wesley would not have looked to Rome for the cures for the Anglican Church ills. It is instructive to note that John Clayton, whom V.H.H. Green said was "the most important member of the Holy Club apart from the Wesley's" was a strong Tory and a High Churchman who left Wesley's fellowship after the leader of the early Methodists began

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[470] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 132. [471] Ibid., p. 86.

[472] Maser, op. cit., p. 29.

[473] See the interesting result of combining psychoanalysis and history in Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1962), and Sigmund Freud and William C. Bullitt, Thomas Woodrow Wilson; A Psychological Study (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966).

his unorthodox methods of ministry. Clayton resembled John Keble of the Tractarians in his unswerving Anglican orthodoxy and erudition in scholarship.[474]

The similarities between the early Methodists and the Tractarians are slight when they are seen in the light of their forms of expression. Indeed, as it has been shown, each development employed means of expression suited to its particular objectives, and the objectives of the two movements were radically different. The similarity discoverable in their goals is restricted to the general desire each movement proclaimed of adhering to the pattern of the primitive Church.[475] As it has been observed above, the estimation Newman had of the "primitive Church" corresponded more to the fourth century than to the first.[476]

Dean Church described the Oxford Movement as a "protest against the loose unreality of ordinary morality."[477] W.G. Ward characterized the Church of England since the schism of the sixteenth century as "swayed by a spirit of arrogance, self-contentment, and self-complacency, resembling rather an absolute infatuation than the imbecility of ordinary pride."[478] Against this continuing malady in the Church, the Holy Club and the Oxford Movement were "movements of the heart," involving, first of all, the individuals of the movements in a personal rejection of the eroded standards of Christianity of the Established Church.[479] The men of these movements

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[474] V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1964), p. 183.

[475] Wesley, Letters, I, 152. Tracts for the Times, I, 1.

[476] Wilson, op. cit., p. 434. [477] Church, The Oxford Movement, p. 67.

[478] W.G. Ward, "The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice," Fairweather, op. cit., p. 166.

[479] Chadwick, The Mind of the Oxford Movement, p. 11.

were true to their own convictions. And both groups of men acted in response to their inner convictions. Wesley's movement was a tacit protest, rather than an overt demonstration. The response of their peers at Oxford University showed that the protest of the Holy Club's members did not go unheeded. The protest of the Oxford Movement was an express declaration of the rage kindling in the breasts of its members. However much one might believe that in their Romeward tendencies they were other than a mere protest within the Anglican Church, the substance of their utterances to the Church were at least possibly within the interpretation of the Anglican theology. Indifference was the chief sin of the eighteenth century church. In the nineteenth century, Newman and his fellow Tractarians believed that indifference of the Church had blossomed into full-blocmed transgression against orthodoxy and against Church prerogatives. Keble's "Assize Sermon" of July, 1833, announced in no uncertain terms the errors of the Establishment against the Established Church.

> One of the most alarming . . . symptoms . . . is the growing indifference in which men indulge themselves, to other men's religious sentiments.
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> . . . . . .
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> There was once here a glorious Church, but it was betrayed into the hands of libertines for the real or affected love of a little temporary peace and good order.[480]

Keble's protest in this Assize Sermon is not to be measured in terms of the immediate response it called forth, but in the incisiveness of the actual words he spoke. The liberation of Roman Catholics in 1829, had made uncertain the dimensions of the Established Church. The

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[480] Keble, "National Apostasy," Fairweather, op. cit., pp. 41-49.

suppression of the Irish bishoprics in 1833, declared more fully the intentions of the government against Church prerogatives hitherto unchallenged.[481] It was these overt actions against the Church that drew the response of the Tractarians. The situation to which the eighteenth century reformers responded differed greatly from the situation of the Church in the nineteenth century.

Given this difference of situation, the variance in the methods of expression employed by the Holy Club and the Tractarians is understandable. When Wesley's movement gathered momentum after 1838, his reviving techniques drew reactions of hostility comparable to the responses solicited by the Tractarians.[482] Liddon has suggested that indeed the intent of the Tractarians was altogether constructive, not reactionary. He said that the "first object was to restore and strengthen faith in those portions of the Divine Will which relate to the nature and organization of the Body of Christ, and which had been denied or forgotten by the popular religionism of the day."[483] Seen from the perspectives of sympathizers, the Tractarians were as unassuming as the early Methodists, however much more loudly their protest was made. The Holy Club was not self-consciously a movement <u>against</u> anything; instead it was a movement <u>for</u> greater personal piety and constructiveness of implementation of the Gospel among its members.[484] Newman admitted to a similar objective in

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[481] The actions taken against Church properties during the time of Henry VIII, and during the Commonwealth were situations unique in the history of the Church of England.

[482] Wesley, <u>Works</u>, VII, 326.

[483] Liddon, <u>op. cit.</u>, I, 277.

[484] Wesley, <u>Letters</u>, I, 128-29.

in declaring that "Our business is with ourselves, -- to make ourselves more holy, more self-denying, more primitive, more worthy of our high calling. To be anxious for a composition of differences is to begin at the end."[485]

The Holy Club had as one of its principal concerns social action. On the 24th of August, 1730, William Morgan persuaded John and Charles Wesley to join him in visiting the Oxford city jail.[486] The Castle, as this jail was called, was largely neglected by legal and spiritual counselors. The Oxford Methodists responded to this need. John Clayton wrote a letter to John Wesley in which he described some of his activities:

> The Castle is, I thank God, in much better condition. All the felons were acquitted, except Salmon. . . . I got Mrs. Jopping a copy of her son's indictment at the assizes, which has made her easy ever since; and she is now endeavouring to bring her mind into a due frame for the devout participation of the holy communion on Sunday next. . . . Two of the felons . . . have paid their fees, and are gone out, both of them able to read mighty well. . . . I have obtained leave to go to St. Thomas' workhouse twice a week. . . . I am sure the people stand much in need of instruction.[487]

This interest in social action was exhibited to some extent among the the Tractarians also. In fact, the early activity of the men of the Oxford Movement compared favorably with the practices of the Holy Club. Thomas Mozley observed that in the Michaelmas term of 1829, Newman met with certain Fellows and Probationers for the regular study of the Scriptures.[488] As a pastor in St. Clement's parish, Oxford, Newman began a

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[485] Newman, Apologia, p. 251. [486] Wesley, Letters, I, 124-25.

[487] Tyerman, The Oxford Methodists, pp. 27-29.

[488] T. Mozley, op. cit., I, 175.

day school, and made a vigorous attempt to reform the erring ways of some undergraduates.[489] In 1824, Newman was apparently deeply involved in the parish ministry. He wrote to his father concerning his lively concern for his people:

> So far from this invasion of an Englishman's castle being galling to the feelings of the poor, I am convinced by facts that it is very acceptable. In all places I have been received with civility, . . . One person says, 'Aye, I was sure that one time or other we should have a proper minister.' . . . Singularly enough, I had written down as a memorandum a day or two before I received your letter 'I am more convinced than ever of the necessity of frequently visiting the poorer classes--they seem so gratified at it, and praise it.[490]

Newman was concerned about educating the children of the poor. During his curacy at St.
his curacy at St. Clement's he began a Sunday School.[491] He wrote in his journal, Monday, February 21, 1825: " . . . my Sunday School is, I trust, in a good train of success. I find I am called a Methodist."[492] At St. Clement's parish he did much visitation. Similar interests were reflected by others of the Tractarians. Pusey, whose Anglicanism was never seriously questioned, wished to establish a society of Sisters of Mercy to perform certain acts of social welfare.[493] Keble, as a parish minister developed a Sunday School and, it was said by one of his parishoners, effected "a very great change" in the village through his ministrations.[494] Though these practical activities were not the essence of the purpose of the Oxford Movement, their evidence in the lives of the participants reveals much concerning the depth of interest of the

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[489] P. Hughes, "Introduction," Newman, Apologia, p. 17.

[490] A. Mozley, op. cit., I, 77. [491] Ibid., I, 83.

[492] Newman, Autobiographical Writings, p. 204.

[493] Abbott, op. cit., pp. 113-14. [494] Coleridge, op. cit., p. 64.

Tractarians in individuals. That their principal drive was towards overarching reformation of doctrine and other theoretical matters reflected their evaluation of the scope of the Church's disorders.

The dissimilarities of the Oxford Movement to the Holy Club are much more easily seen than the similarities. The direction of the Methodists appeared to be dissenting from the Anglican polity, while the Tractarians were fundamentally ultra-orthodox in their Anglicanism. Though both movements began to be clearly High Church, the slant taken by Wesley's movement became, in practice, unorthodox. The quest Newman made for "primitive Christianity" became bogged down as far back as the Middle Ages.[495] Influenced as he was by tradition, and persistent as he was in looking for visible sources of authority, Newman became stranded in the segment of the Church's history most laden with particular teachings beyond, and extraneous to, the teachings of the first century Church and its Founder. By contrast, though Wesley believed in the Apostolical Succession, and though he respected the historical nature of the development of the Church, he gagged on the Canons and Decreetals of the Church. The former he called the "dregs of Popery," and the latter he said were "as grossly wicked as absurd."[496] Because of this basid difference in tolerance for the role of tradition in the formulation of doctrine, Wesley and Newman appear much more unlike than like.

Wesley's Christianity was distinctly Protestant. Newman's via

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[495] Pearson, op. cit., p. 242.

[496] Arminian Magazine, VII (1784), p. 370.

media, the path between Romanism and Protestantism, characterized more the Roman Catholic Church than the Protestant.[497] In fact, it was this likeness of Rome which ultimately led him to believe Rome was the "true Jerusalem," with the Church of England being a schism comparable to the Donatist schism of the fourth century.[498] Newman respected the opinions of the bishops because of their Apostolic descent. When Tract Ninety was hotly contested, in fact, when even the earlier tracts aroused controversy among the prelates, Newman considered stopping them. In 1838, Bishop Bagot made "some slight animadversions, . . . on the Tracts for the Times," which gave Newman pause.[499] He said he considered "a Bishop's lightest word ex cathedra to be heavy. His judgment on a book cannot be light."[500] The Bishop of Oxford's cautioning after Tract Ninety was enough for Newman to stop their production altogether.[501] By contrast, Wesley, though respectful towards the bishops, sublimated their opinions to a higher authority. Writing of his ordination, Wesley said: "We then promised to submit . . . to the godly admonitions and injunctions of our ordinary. But we did not, could not, promise to obey such injunctions as we know are contrary to the Word of God."[502] He said: "We will obey . . . the bishops as executors of those laws. But their bare will, distinct from these laws, we do not confess to obey at all."[503] The laws of which Wesley spoke were the ordinances of the Church based

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[497] A. Mozley, op. cit., II, 206.

[498] Newman, Apologia, p. 251.

[499] Ibid., p. 186.

[500] Ibid.

[501] Brillioth, The Anglican Revival, p. 158.

[502] Wesley, Works, XVI, 159.

[503] Ibid., XVIII, 350.

on tradition and Scripture.

The Holy Club was a small circle of persons bonded together in pursuit of personal piety. The Oxford Movement was an intimate association of men who wished their voices to be heard throughout England on ecclesiastical issues. The one was unselfconsciously introverted; the other was consciously extrovert. The former was concerned with restoring deep personal religion in its members; the other was determined to halt a general drift in the national Church. The thrust of their respective reforms had these unique qualities. Indeed, both movements were the result of deep personal concern for a certain quality of Christianity. In this sense the Oxford Movement was a continuation of the Holy Club's animus. But rather than to view them as related in any particular way, it appears to this writer more useful to consider them as substantially different developments with accidental similarities. Newman knowingly rejected his evangelical inheritance, whereas Wesley built on very rudimentary traces of evangelicalism in his background. He did not find evangelical piety incompatible with High Churchmanship.

This comparison has had usefulness chiefly in clarifying the interpretation of certain historians who have been mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis. Taking the broad over-view, which is one of the tasks of an historian, similarities are to be found in abundance because the long range description of events ignores many details that would otherwise reveal their intrinsic incompatibilities. In fact, the relationship between the Holy Club and the Oxford Movement was superficial. Had they not both taken place at Oxford University, within the fold of the Church of England, they would have been as any other two movements of religious

reform. Though there may be interest in putting side by side various reforming movements to discover possible similarities, there is little of great historical import in such exercises. Likewise, there may be some fascination in bolstering a particular germ-theory regarding the relationship between two time separated events, but little is achieved of significant historical import in forcing through such a scheme. Newman, like Wesley and Wycliff, developed much of his religious insight at Oxford. And the activities of these three reformers were important to the University of Oxford and to England. But there does not seem to have been a particularly strong functional relationship between the events and persons of the Holy Club and those of the Oxford Movement.

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