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THE DOCTRINE OF FORGIVENESS OF SINS IN TRACTARIAN THEOLOGY - 1838 to 1844

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INTRODUCTION

The Oxford Movement was "like its predecessor the Evangelical Movement ... more a movement of the heart than of the head ... it was primarily concerned with the law of prayer, and only secondarily with the law of belief. It was aware that creed and prayer are inseparable. It was not concerned for religious 'experience' while being unconcerned about religious language - on the contrary, it was earnestly dogmatic ... (but) it always saw dogma in relation to worship, to the numinous, to the movement of the heart, to the conscience and the moral need, to the immediate experience of the hidden hand of God - so that without this attention to worship of moral need, dogma could not be apprehended rightly. The Creed was creed - the truth; not a noise of words to evoke prayer. But it roused the mind to prayer, and only through prayer and life was it known to be truth ... in this modified sense, it is right to see the Oxford Movement as an impulse of the heart and conscience, not an inquiry of the head."[1]

The above statement needs stressing. It would be completely wrong to see in the Tractarians what Arnold saw, a mere foolery of a dress, a ritual, a name or a ceremony. And it was certainly not a reactionary insistence upon

dogma and tradition for the sake of dogma and tradition. The Tractarians were concerned not only with doctrines and rites, but Christian life, the life of prayer and worship, the sense of discipline and obedience, the sense of eternity. Newman described Tractarianism as "a spiritual awakening of spiritual wants".[2]

The Oxford Movement came into being because certain people reacted against certain crises at a certain time.

> "Oxford during the late 1820's and early 1830's boasted amongst its senior members a number of energetic and unusually talented young men who all had these three attributes in common: an ardent pietism, derived on the whole from an Evangelical upbringing, an incomparable training in logic acquired through leading the field in the most formidably competitive test which the English academic world could offer, and finally a growing veneration for the teaching and example of John Keble."[3]

These crises were partly political, partly ecclesiastical. The late 1820's saw the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, thus destroying the traditional view that Parliament was the Lay Synod of the Church of England by allowing Protestant Dissenters to sit in the House of Commons. By the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1829 this privilege was also extended to Roman Catholics.

And in 1832 the great Reform Act was passed. The fears of the Church at these events were, perhaps, exaggerated, but to the Churchmen they were genuine fears. Reform was in the air in 1833 and so, felt anxious churchmen, was anti-clericalism. William Palmer wrote:

> "We knew not what quarter to look for support. A Prelacy threatened, and apparently intimidated; a Government making its powers subservient to agitators who avowedly sought the destruction of the Church. The state so long the guardian of that Church now becoming its enemy and its tyrant. Enemies within the Church seeking the subversion of its essential characteristics and what was worst of all - no principle in the public mind to which we could appeal."[4]

On the 14th July, 1833 John Keble preached a sermon entitled "National Apostasy" in defence of the Church. Newman regarded this event as the start of the Oxford Movement, a start of a concerted attempt by a small group of Oxford clergymen to bring the Church to a realisation of her own nature as a divine institution and, as such, a body essentially independent of state control. So political events provided the impetus for the Oxford Movement, as the Movement was also helped by the reaction sweeping throughout Europe against the aridity of the so-called Age of Reason, the reaction usually termed Romanticism.

These crises and movements then, gave the Tractarians their initial push into the fray. But, as Professor Chadwick wisely remarks,

> "The power of the Movement's religious ideas sprang from somewhere deeper in men's souls and minds than their contemporary ideas of ecclesiastical expediency."[5]

The Oxford reformers wanted, above all else, to draw the attention of the Church to the truths which had been neglected or forgotten during the years when she had relied on the State for protection. They wanted to assert "the real ground on which our authority is built - OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT".[6] They traced the Apostolical commission of the bishops and clergy back to Christ through the Church of the Fathers and they asserted that the Protestant Church of England was really the Catholic Church of England. And, as Newman emphasised in the Tracts,

> "the glory of the English Church is that it has taken the via media ... It lies between the so-called Reformers and the Romanists."[7]

The Tractarians claimed that at the Reformation "There was no new Church founded among us, but the Rites and true doctrines of the Ancient existing Church were asserted and established."[8]

They insisted that the Bible could only be interpreted in the light of nearly 2,000 years of Christian tradition. The dogmatic creeds rather than the Thirty Articles

enshrined the beliefs of the Church. These, very broadly speaking, were the messages of the Tracts.

Put thus baldly the Tractarian beliefs sound dry and arid. Because of the personality of the Tractarians themselves, because of their enthusiasm - though they distrusted that epithet - because of their devotion and because of their painful sincerity, these dry tenets caught fire.

Keble was, as we shall see later in detail, the man venerated as the true and original founder of the Movement. And Keble was the heir of a tradition in the Church of England which is known as the High Church Tradition. Here is not the place for a lengthy review of that tradition, but its main characteristics must be mentioned. Originally the word "high" used in this way meant strict, a man who was "stiff for the Church of England"; rigid, careful and precise in observing the rules of the Church about prayer and fasting, a man who stood for the privileges of the Church against dissenters; a strong defender of the Establishment. By the 1800's the term had expanded: a high churchman would base his beliefs on the Scriptures and the Fathers, would have a high view of the nature of the church and the ministry and the sacraments. His "ethics were guided by The Whole Duty of Man, and his piety tended to be sober, earnest, dutiful, austere, or even prosaic in expression. Take such a parson, and place him in the atmosphere of a new age, where feeling is permissible, where poetry is a high road to truth, and you would no

longer find a 'high and dry' churchman. You would find a John Keble."[9]

The Evangelicals also influenced the Tractarians, both, as Dr. Chadwick points out, by influence and reaction. The Tractarians reacted against the tendency of the Evangelicals to expect a converted man, a <u>real</u> Christian, to wear his heart on his sleeve. To the Tractarian, the Evangelical laid too great a stress on the role of feeling as a test of growth in grace. This to the Tractarians was both naive and subjective, dangerously and perilously so. Equally dangerous, in Tractarian eyes, was the Evangelical familiarity, indeed over-familiarity, in speaking of things divine. The Tractarians felt, as we will later show in detail, that

> "it would both cheapen the mysterious truths themselves by vulgarising them in histrionic sermons addressed to the masses, and it would reduce their content into cant by converting the most solemn truths that could hardly be uttered without blasphemy into pious catch-phrases and slogans repeated ad nauseam supposedly for mutual edification."[10]

The Tractarians reacted, and they reacted by stressing that doctrine which, above all, explains the ethos of the Oxford Movement and Tractarian theology, the doctrine of Reserve. We shall be examining this doctrine in detail later as it was expounded by the Tractarian leaders, but

it must be explained here. The Church exists to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ. But though the full gospel is to be declared, it can only be declared rightly to those who fully apprehend it. The Tractarians were convinced that this doctrine lay behind the methods and practice of the primitive church in instructing its catachumens, the keeping back of the Creed until the convert had reached a specific stage in his Christian education, and also in excluding the unconverted from the holiest rites of the sacraments. As we shall see, they dwelt much upon the "disciplina arcani" of the Fathers and the Primitive Church. The Tractarians were horrified at the thought of the profoundest mysteries of the faith being exhibited indiscriminately before minds which had not been prepared and chastened by moral discipline.

The stress that the Tractarians laid on moral discipline is, to say the least, striking: their basic text could have been,

> "Be ye perfect, even as your father in heaven is perfect."[11]

It is the duty of every Christian, according to the Tractarian, to witness to God and to glorify Him, to be as a light on a hill, through evil report and good report. And these men practised what they preached so earnestly.

> "For the world they cared nothing. They despised its comforts and set little or no value on its honours. They did not aim at popularity, nor seek social advancement - which most of them never in any case obtained."[12]

The Tractarians were as intent upon moral commitment as any Evangelical.

> "To all of them the ground of religion, especially of a religion whose teaching authority was the Bible, lay in the moral consciousness. The heightening of religious sensibility, a deepened understanding of religious doctrine, depended in the first instance on the law of conscience. Not of course, that grace was only secondary, for without grace the soul could make no progress in the saving knowledge of God."[13]

The Evangelicals, of course, disparaged man's moral capacity. This attitude was strongly criticised by the Tractarians: as Newman said,

> "The grace promised us is given, not that we may know more, but that we may do better",

that is, advance further along the path of sanctification, in the more careful and scrupulous performing of our duty towards God and man.

The Tractarians emphasised the significance of the Incarnation: it was because the Son of God took human flesh that his death on Calvary was an atonement. In the famous words of John Henry Newman:

> "And that a higher gift than grace,
> Should flesh and blood refine:
> God's presence and His very self
> And essence all divine".

So the Tractarians stressed the sacraments, the means whereby the divine life is communicated to the believer and an insistence upon his gradual conformation to the moral pattern of Christ's own supreme example.

How did the Tractarians understand the doctrine of Justification? We shall be examining in detail Newman's lectures on the subject later, but it must be said here that for them justification meant an intrinsic newness of life, and not merely an attributing of the holiness and righteousness of Christ to one who is himself corrupt and wicked and depraved. Bound up with the Tractarian view of justification is, of course, their view of Baptismal regeneration: indeed, the two cannot be separated. At baptism the candidate, infant or adult, is regenerate, he is born again, and born again with the new life of the Risen Lord Jesus. The Christian has really become holy and righteous by his baptism: this fact provides the incentive as well as the means of a progressive sanctification. There is nothing imputed about the righteousness given at baptism: it is really imparted. The spirit of Christ indwells and the Christian is holy, his sins forgiven, wiped out, washed away. He is clean.

The Tractarians stressed this point, as they stressed the fact that the subsequent life of the Christian must be a struggle to preserve that Baptismal innocence and purity and holiness. Hence the narrowness and severity and rigour of the Tractarian view of the Christian life. The Tractarians were at pains to emphasise the duty of fasting,

of self-denial, of watchfulness, of prayer. Hence their anxiety to show men that they were responsible for their slightest sin, that they could turn to God and choose the right if they but would, that they were perpetually being confronted by the broad way which beckoned and the narrow way which appeared so steep. And hence their conviction of the awfulness of sin, the seriousness of sin which defiles the Holy Spirit indwelling in the Christian, and hence their stress on a true penitence before forgiveness and their stress on the awful consequences of sin: "work out your salvation with fear and trembling".

Here, then, in general terms, are the main tenets of the Tractarians, especially their beliefs about regeneration, sanctification and forgiveness. We will now examine the writings of each of the leaders of the Oxford Movement in order to discover in them both the exposition of the above doctrines and their application.

NOTES

1 Owen Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', pp. 11 and 12
2 Quoted by Dr. Bernard Reardon in his 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 93
3 David Newsome, 'Newman and the Oxford Movement' in 'The Victorian Crisis of Faith', Edited by Anthony Symondson, p.72
4 Ibid, p.73
5 Chadwick, 'Mind of the Oxford Movement', p.14
6 J. H. Newman, 'Tracts for the Times', I, p. 2
7 Ibid., No. 38, p. 6
8 Ibid., No. 15, p. 1
9 Chadwick, 'Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 26
10 Newsome, 'in' Victorian Crisis of Faith', p. 83
11 Matthew, Chapter 5, verse 48
12 Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 109
13 Ibid., p. 110

JOHN KEBLE

In his Apologia Newman expressed his belief that John Keble was "the true and primary author of the Movement", and Newman kept the day of Keble's famous assize sermon on National Apostasy - 14th July, 1833 - as the day when the Oxford Movement began. Yet Keble possessed few of the characteristics usually associated with the leadership of a party which was, in Henry Edward Manning's words to Edward Coleridge in 1845, to be responsible for the fact that "a body which fifteen years ago was elated at being an Establishment should now be conscious of being a church".[1] He was mild, he was modest, he was retiring. Even Dean Church, who admired him greatly, admitted that there was nothing in him to foreshadow the role he was to assume in the Oxford Movement. Keble had no ambition, "he had no care for the possession of influence; he had deliberately chosen the fallentis semita vitae, and to be what his father had been, a faithful and contented country parson."[2]

Ecclesiastically, Keble was rather narrow. Even the famous assize sermon "is untypical of the Oxford Movement as it later developed ... (it) is more akin to the sermons of high churchmen in Queen Anne's reign, than to the High

Churchmanship of Hurrell Froude or Newman. It is High Churchmanship with regard to the State and Dissent ... and less markedly the type of High Churchmanship which asserted the independent and divine status of the Church, whether the Church was established or disestablished".[3]

The truth is, as Dr. Reardon points out, that

> "Keble was a power in the movement more by what he himself was, as an embodiment of its moral idealism and sober piety, than by his writings, with the single exception of the 'Christian Year'."[4]

Even Thomas Arnold declared that this book was "without equal, the Bible excepted, in the English language". And in this book can be found the explanation of his own Christian creed and practice:

> We need not bid, for cloistered cell,
> Our neighbour and our work farewell,
> Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
> For sinful man beneath the sky:
>
> The trivial round, the common task,
> Would furnish all we ought to ask, -
> Room to deny ourselves, a road
> To bring us daily nearer God.

The above stanzas from "The Christian Year" give the clue to Keble's cherished beliefs about the Church and the Christian life.

In 1869 Keble's "Sermons Occasional and Parochial" were published. Sermon 29 was preached at Cirencester on

the text "And Jesus answering said, Were there not ten cleansed? but where are the nine?" (Luke 17, v.17). In his miracles, said Keble, Christ showed to the world his power to forgive sins. Many of those who were healed by him were ungrateful. So when he healed the lepers he was, in effect, putting them on trial. "'Go', said He 'Shew yourselves to the priests'. That is, Go ... seek this great blessing which you long for, not in proud separation from others, but as members of God's Church and family; seek it according to His own ordinance, use the outward means of grace and acknowledgements of mercy, and trust to the Father of all grace and mercy for the result ... 'Go, shew yourselves to the priests: and it came to pass that, as they went they were cleansed'. Are not these words truly emphatic ... when we set them against the disposition ... to undervalue the holy Sacraments and outwards ministry of the Church of God. Men say, they come in faith to be healed, why should not that be enough; why should so much stress be laid upon the doctrine of Baptism and of laying on of hands; if in their minds they embrace the Cross, why should they be required to come to God's holiest altar and nourish themselves, from time to time, with the flesh and Blood of the Son of Man?"[5]

So Keble carried on the running battle with the Evangelicals which the Tractarians and their successors have continued, the battle between the Protestant idea of faith and justification being the hall-marks of the Christian and the Tractarian emphasis on "the outward

means of grace and acknowledgements of mercy". The Evangelicals and the Tractarians were agreed in their opposition to Erastianism, in the sense of the claim by the State to dominate the Church, and latitudinarianism, chiefly the weak churchmanship and liberal principles of Thomas Arnold. But, as Dr. David Newsome points out,

> "... it was in the definition and elaboration of ... ecclesiology, and the theological implications which followed therefrom - the exalted nature of the Episcopate, the high sacramentalism, and especially the teaching on the nature of baptismal regeneration and the relationship of justification to sanctification - that the Evangelicals found themselves forced to part company from those who had seemed to be their allies."[6]

If the Evangelicals had known Keble's background and Keble's theology and Keble's influence over Froude and later over Newman, they might never have considered support for the Tractarians. Keble's latest biographer, Miss Georgina Battiscombe, describes his family tradition with the same words that Keble's disciple Charlotte Yonge, describes her own parents,

> "Of the old, reticent school, reverent, practical"

and refers to the fact that

> "In later years, when Newman and Froude were all enthusiasm for some item of Catholic faith and practice which had burst upon them with the force of a new revelation, Keble would nod approval and remark in tones of the highest commendation, 'Yes, that is exactly what my father taught me'."[7]

So Keble, the High Church man from the cradle, stressed the importance of the Sacraments, upon baptismal regeneration, upon Ordination, upon the Eucharist, against the stress on faith only. The Lepers, as all good Christians should, obeyed Jesus,

> " ... and presently they had their reward ... even as it will always come to pass that whoever with true faith received Jesus Christ in either of His Holy Sacraments, not standing by to argue or to object, will undoubtedly receive that measure of grace and cleansing which the Holy Ghost by that sacrament intended to convey."[8]

The lepers then obeyed, said Keble. But only one came back to thank the Lord for his cleansing by Him, as so many who receive the Sacraments forget to do, so many who are healed by God forget to do. Keble pointed out that there was no praise for this one grateful Samaritan: he had done only his duty, done what was expected of him. For

Keble this grateful Samaritan represented those few who had lived up to their Baptism, those few who had accepted the privileges of membership of the Church and also accepted the grave responsibilities of obedience.

Keble stressed that in Baptism the candidate was cleansed from sin

> " ... for are not all men born in sin, unclean and leprous in God's sight? Is not the Blood of Jesus Christ our Saviour the only fountain to wash away that sin, and make us such as God delights to look on? Is not Holy Baptism the one appointed means whereby, once for all, the souls and bodies of the children of wrath may be washed clean in the Blood of Christ, and they made children of grace?"[9]

There was the one difference between our case and the case of the lepers in the gospel, said Keble:

> " ... they were cleansed by their own faith, we upon the faith of the church of God, which brought us as infants to the pure fountain and offered us to be washed in the life-giving blood when we could do nothing for ourselves ... Baptism, then, is thorough spiritual cleansing ... in the blood of Jesus Christ ... It remains that each person consider for himself, whether his own conduct since his Baptism

do not answer but too exactly to the behaviour of the nine who returned not to give glory to their God and Saviour."[10]

Keble continues:

"Is not this the common course of those whom God has so highly favoured as He has favoured the greater part of us, calling them in their childhood out of their original misery, and causing them to be washed, sanctified and justified in the Name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God? ... that however carefully we may be watched and taught, we too commonly give way, by little and little, to the world, the flesh and the devil, so that even among Christian persons certain sins and evil inclinations are considered almost as the ordinary companions of the several seasons of life as they pass ...? All perhaps allow that they are wrong, but no-one is surprised, shocked or much alarmed at them, either in himself or in his neighbour. Each quiets himself by the other's example, and so by degrees the whole Christian world is cast into a half-slumber; the lowest and most unworthy ideas prevail, nearly among all parties, of the most sacred Sacrament of Baptism, of the

> holiness expected by God and His angels from those who have been once for all new-born; of the blessing forfeited by deadly sin, that is, evil habits indulged afterwards, and of the amount of danger incurred, which is so great, the Holy Ghost pronounces it in a certain sense impossible to renew those again to baptismal holiness who have once fallen away so shamefully."[11]

Keble here expresses forcefully and unmistakably the rigorous Tractarian view of the solemnity of Baptism and of the high standard expected of those who have been baptised. Keble is as rigorous almost as Tertullian in his assertion that it is in a certain sense impossible to renew those again to baptismal holiness who have once fallen away so shamefully.

What is the remedy? Is there a remedy? Is there a way to stir the church ex members out of the torpor into which they have sunk, this sickness unto death? Keble urges his hearers to retain their baptismal innocency and purity. He reminds them that they have become hardened to the demands of the New Testament writers for holiness and perfection, and think that these belong to the few saints and not to every baptised person.

> " ... we are gradually come down to such a low standard of evangelical holiness and perfection, that it is hard for us so

much as to conceive how the great things spoken by the prophets and Apostles of the condition of regenerate men should belong to every baptised person as such ... having low opinions of our privileges, and of the holiness they require, of course we acquiesce in poor inadequate remedies for the evil which we cannot but feel; our penitence is poor, shallow, superficial, unaccompanied with watching, fasting, self-denial, and too often followed by a proud self-satisfied reliance on what we imagine the distinguishing favour of God. Our fathers of the first four centuries, when they by any deadly sin had forfeited their first baptismal innocency, accounted the penitence and mortification of a whole life too little to renew them again, and place them where they were before; we are apt to encourage a dream, unknown to those our fathers and to Holy Scripture, that if we can but feel vividly a certain trust in the remission of our sins through our Blessed Saviour, they surely are remitted, and the rest will come right of itself. And thus we go on in a course of sinning and repenting, much like that which our brethren in the Church of Rome allow themselves in, which they think the priest has it in his power to bestow as often as a sinner comes to confession ..."[12]

What is then the answer? Keble is quite certain, quite clear and, in true Tractarian manner, quite uncompromising:

" ... for each particular Christian the remedy is, to go back to that which was his blessed beginning, that is, to his new birth by baptism. We cannot think too highly of the privileges there conferred, too meanly of ourselves, for having gone so far towards forfeiting those privileges, or too seriously of the labour, self-denial, watching, fasting, prayer, the wholesome but in many respects bitter and painful discipline by which alone, under the guidance of God's Church, we can, if ever, be restored to our baptismal health. And we cannot be too earnest in losing no time, for the day is fast waning in which we must take our portion with the one sort or with the other forever. We have been lepers, we have been healed, most of us, alas! have been unthankful; but we may if we will, as yet arise and go on our way in true humble penitency; and then, unworthy as we are, we may hope at our death to find our baptismal grace renewed to us, and Our Lord may welcome us in the other world with

those blessed words which we have forfeited
here, 'Thy faith - though imperfect and
late - hath made thee whole'."[13]

So Keble encourages his congregation to work out their salvation in fear and trembling. Here is the justification for Webb's verdict in his Religious Thought of the Oxford Movement, that the Tractarians were intent on "creating an atmosphere of piety, profoundly serious and dutiful, and at the same time cultured and reticent, restrained in the expression of emotion, but uncompromising in its acceptance of the Church's system as of divine authority; an atmosphere which reminds us ... of the personality of the senior of the three Tractarian leaders, the author of the Christian Year ..." (p.82 describing Gore's attitude).

Uncompromising Keble certainly is, placarding before his hearers the demands of the Church on those who, by sin, have forfeited their baptismal privilege. "Work, fast, pray, watch, and you may, you <u>may</u>, win salvation at the last." "Show forth fruits worthy of repentance" meant that and no less to Keble and his fellow Tractarians.

In another sermon preached at Hursley Keble took as his text "To Him be the glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end" (Ephesians, Chapter 3, Verse 21). He reminds his hearers that men naturally love to feel self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency is as dangerous in religion as it is in any other facet of life. The self-sufficient men especially undervalue the Church sacraments and the Church herself, and so fail to grow and progress as Christians. Yet St. Paul, in the

text, points to the Church as the home of God's glory on earth. It is through the Church that his purposes are to be fulfilled on earth. If it is to fulfil its function the Church must be united, it must have outward and visible union. There must be no solitary Christians, no Christians with the idea that they are each a church to themselves. To lack reverence for the Church, and to be careless about the Church is to scorn Christ and His saving power.

Keble admits that the Kingdom of God is spiritual and divine. Yet it must have a real, outward and visible nature, with rules and ordinances. He continues:

> "Since the Church is outward and visible ... you will not be too much startled ... at finding good and bad mingled in it ... (so) we must be very much on our guard, very full of fear and trembling in working out our own salvation; and very careful ... that we suffer not the corruptions of church men to weaken our faith in the Holy Catholic Church. Her privileges are just the same, though we or other men, entrusted with them for our trial, may abuse them to our own ruin."[14]

Keble, like Palmer, in his Treatise on the Church of England, is sensitive about the membership of the church consisting of both good and bad. But again, like Palmer, he realises that this is inevitable. But he is at pains to make clear that unworthiness of certain members of the church does not invalidate its claim to be the Body of Christ on earth:

> "The Church is one over the world, the very Body of Christ, to which all the promises are made, as those of the Old Testament were to the Jews."[15]

Those who fail to live up to their baptismal responsibilities condemn themselves to ultimate rejection by Christ.

Again Keble stresses the fear and the trembling of the pilgrim who undertakes the journey along the long, hard road of salvation. In Sermon 32, preached at Hursley on 4th November, 1838, he takes as his text "When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" (Luke, Chapter 18, Verse 8). Keble begins:

> "It is sometimes said, when people are speaking of the difference between the Gospel and the Law, that it lies chiefly in God's making Himself known by fear in the Law, and by love and mercy in the Gospel, as though there were no promises in the Law, no wonderful deliverances and examples of mercy ... as if ... there were no terrors in the Gospels, no judgement to come foretold, no mention of a worm undying and a fire unquenched, no wrath of the Lamb threatened, no declaration that our God also, as well the God of the Jews, is a consuming fire."[16]

Keble declares that the warnings in the Law are heightened in the Gospel. He repeats the text, showing how gloomy were Jesus's predictions of the end. Jesus foretells the

falling away from the church of a great many Christians, those who were regenerate becoming degenerate. Here is one of the signs of the coming of Anti-Christ, the falling away of these sinners. Keble thinks that the sins of the time are heralding the Anti-Christ:

> " ... it is the fault of this age to be wanting in the fear of God, and 'the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom'; where no fear is, there, depend on it, can be not true nor devout faith."[17]

The Tractarians were concerned that the Evangelical habit of talking on all possible occasions about all possible sacred subjects, especially the nature of the Atonement, would produce familiarity and in the end comfortable and careless familiarity with holy things. Hence Keble's stress here on the awe and fear which the Christian ought to feel when confronted with the majesty of the God who demands from them holiness and a striving after holiness.

Keble continues:

> "(The people of this age) do not believe that they themselves are members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven. They do not believe that by Holy Baptism they are really in a state of salvation, saved already, not only hoping to be saved, from the world and from their own lusts, if they would but use their

privileges. They do not believe that they themselves are what the Jews were of old, only in a much higher sense, 'a royal priesthood, a holy nation', the elect people of God. They do not believe that their bodies are the Temple of the Holy Ghost, that each one of them, both soul and body, is the temple of the living God, the spirit of God dwelling in them. Whenever they read or hear about a change of nature, a new creature, a new birth, a washing, sanctification, justification, 'in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God', they look upon them as something in which they are not yet concerned, though they hope (in their more thoughtful moments) they may be so one day; but in the meantime they think little of their daily sins and neglects of plain duty, as though, they being as yet only in a kind of heathen state, such things could not be avoided, and brought no such very great increase of guilt with them. Little indeed do they imagine, what yet Scripture plainly teaches, that their sins, as sins of Christians, require a far bitterer and more painful repentance, than they would if those who committed them were indeed heathens -

> little do they think of the seven other spirits, more wicked than the first, who returned to dwell in the house which the good spirit had left empty; or of the failure of all sacrifice for sin to those who go on sinning wilfully after they have received knowledge of the truth; or of the unspeakable loss which they sustain, even though forgiven at last on their deep repentance, who being once illuminated, by-and-by fall away."[18]

Keble ends the sermon with a list of the sins of the age and a powerful exhortation to repentance. Baptism is for the forgiveness of sins and as such must be venerated as the start of the Christian life. Keble's gospel is certainly not a comfortable one in the sense that the Christian, in Keble's eyes, is always fighting, always struggling, always pressing on towards the high mark of his calling, Holiness. And yet the comfort which he offers is a real one, the comfort of strength supplied by the Sacraments and the fellowship of the Church. But his warnings to those who are baptised and are backsliders are powerful and terrible ones. Greater will be their condemnation, because they started life with the advantage of forgiveness and regeneration at Baptism and yet have fallen away. In another place Keble writes:

> "To deny or doubt a man's baptism, is to help him to assuage his self-reproaching thoughts

> with the notion that after all he has not grieved or vexed the Holy Spirit: that his state has hitherto been that of a heathen; and his ill conduct comparatively excusable ... what will become of our contrition? It is the same snare in another form, which is found so attractive in the popular Lutheran perversion of the doctrine of Justification by Faith."[19]

On the Third Sunday after the Epiphany, 1844 Keble preached at Hursley a sermon based on the text from Revelation, Chapter 22, Verse 2: "The leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations". The gospel for this Sunday, appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, tells the story of the healing by Jesus of the leper and of the servant of the Centurion. Jesus healed the one by his word, the other by his touch. As in the previous sermon quoted, Keble equates leprosy with sin, citing several Old Testament references. And then he continues:

> "It is the image of sin, serious, polluting sin of any kind ... (that) if indulged, it spreads all over them (sinners) like leprosy, and of the way to cure it we may learn something from the rules concerning leprosy in the Law of Moses. That law seems on purpose so drawn up by the Holy Spirit as to represent and typify, to thoughtful persons, the order appointed

> by Our Lord and Saviour in His Church and Kingdom, for applying the pardoning and cleansing power of His Blood to those who have stained themselves with grievous sin after Baptism. The Prayer Book teaches us that such persons as feel their conscience troubled with any weighty matter, should open their grief to some one of God's priests, who shall absolve them, 'if they humbly and heartily desire it', that so they may come with quiet conscience to the Holy Communion ... This then is the appointed way, for a believing and penitent person to apply Christ's atoning blood, to a soul and body defiled with grievous sin after baptism."[20]

Keble, in his poem "The Gift of Ordination", (Lyra Innocentium, 26th January, 1843) imagines himself the witness of the ordination of "a mortal youth". He sees him draw near the Altar of God and humbly kneel:

> " ... while o'er him pastoral hands
> Were spread with many a prayer,
> And when he rose up there,
> He could undo or bind the dread celestial bands."

Ordination confers Christ's power to the Church to bind or to loose, and this gift of confession and absolution is seen by Keble as a great succour and relief to the Christian pilgrim. And it was a gift that had been

neglected by and large by the Church of England. Dr. Chadwick quotes, in his "Mind of the Oxford Movement", Keble asking -

> "Is there not a hope that by resolute self-denial and strict and calm fidelity to our ordination vows, we may not only aid in preserving that which remains - (i.e. the remnant of the teaching of the Church of antiquity) - but also may help to revive in some measure, in this or some other portion of the Christian world, more of the system and spirit of the apostolical age? New truths, in the proper sense of the word, we neither can nor wish to arrive at. But the monuments of antiquity may disclose to our devout perusal much that will be to this age new, because it has been mislaid or forgotten, and we may attain to a light and a clearness, which we now dream not of, in our comprehension of the faith and the discipline of Christ."[21]

Sacramental confession was one of the truths which Keble revived. It is typical of him - and of the Tractarians in general - that he should refer above to the "faith and the discipline of Christ" - the one is vain without the other.

Keble stressed then the old High Church tradition of appeal to the Fathers, of a "high" doctrine of the Church and its Sacraments, and the discipline and obedience of the Christian life of discipleship. He captured Hurrell Froude's mind, and Froude, in return, "brought Newman to reverence Keble, and Keble not to be afraid of Newman".[22] Keble's importance to the Oxford Movement is as a man not as a thinker. He was not a don but a country pastor, and the Oxford Movement was never, because of Keble, to be a movement of mere speculation but a movement of pastoral and moral care. Keble's stability at Hursley symbolised what was steady and enduring in the revival of clerical duty and church life which the Oxford Movement promoted. Keble "fasted and was humbly penitent, he happily saw God in the countryside and the villagers, he was constant at daily services in the church, he prayed for his people and 'waited on' them in their homes regardless of his personal convenience ..."[23] Here was the ideal of the Tractarian parson enfleshed in John Keble.

NOTES

1 David Newsome, 'The Parting of Friends', p. 316
2 R. W. Church, 'The Oxford Movement 1833 to 1845', p. 25
3 Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 33
4 Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 123
5 Keble, John, 'Sermons Occasional and Parochial', p. 344
6 Newsome, 'in'Victorian Crisis of Faith', p. 74
7 Georgina Battiscombe, 'John Keble, A Study in Limitations', p. 11
8 Keble, 'Sermons Occasional and Parochial', p. 344
9 Ibid, p. 349
10 Ibid, p. 350
11 Ibid, p. 352
12 Ibid, pp. 353 ff.
13 Ibid, p. 354
14 Ibid, p. 363
15 Ibid, p. 356
16 Ibid, p. 383
17 Ibid, pp. 384, 385
18 Ibid, p. 387
19 John Keble, 'Sermons Academical and Occasional', Preface, p. xxix
20 Keble, 'Sermons Occasional and Parochial', pp. 459, 460
21 Chadwick, Op. Cit., p. 39
22 Chadwick, Ibid, p. 35
23 David L. Edwards, 'Leaders of the Church of England, 1828 - 1944', p. 82

R. H. FROUDE

In his Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement, Frederick Oakeley attempts to assess the character of Richard Hurrell Froude. Froude, before his early death in 1836, was a fellow and tutor of Oriel, and he was far in advance of Keble and Newman in his High Church doctrine. Indeed, Froude himself regarded Newman as lax in his religious opinions, and regretted that he held advanced - i.e. lax - opinions about the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed.[1] Froude expressed admiration for Cardinal Pole[2] and admitted that he had scruples about attacking the Catholic system.[3]

Oakeley then analyses Froude's religious thought.

> "There is, however, one phase of Mr. Froude's mind with which it is far more difficult to reconcile the belief of his probable conversion than any other. This phase, indeed, seems to have been a characteristic of himself, as compared with nearly all of those who took a leading part in the movement, including even Mr. Keble, who, on the whole, was the nearest to Mr. Froude in general character. The peculiarity to which

> I refer is that of an extraordinary leaning to the side of religious dread, and a corresponding suppression of the sentiments of love and joy. Mr. Froude's religion, as far as it can be gathered from his published journal, seems to have been (if the expression be not too strong) more like that of a humble and pious Jew under the Old Dispensation, than of a Christian living in the full sunshine of Gospel privileges."[4]

Oakeley attributed this to the "ungraceful and often irreverent form in which the warmer side of the Christian temper was exhibited in the party called Evangelical whose language ... had a tendency to react in religious minds on the side of severity and reserve".[5]

Oakeley is, of course, referring to Froude's Journal which was published in March 1838, with the second volume published in 1839. The first volume of the Remains contained Froude's private journal, his private letters and sayings, the second volume contained Froude's articles printed in the British Magazine and the manuscripts of some sermons. The publication of Froude's Remains has been regarded as injudicious - to say the least. But as Dr. Piers Brendon has shown in his recent study of Hurrell Froude, Newman and Keble had a very shrewd idea of the impact that the book would make. Newman admired Froude's mind: "Froude was a bold rider", he wrote, "as on horseback

so in speculations". Newman was determined that the thoughts of this mind should be made public. He regarded Froude's Essays as being doctrinally strong and regarded the sermons as examples of Froude's serious-mindedness. Newman had especially been moved and impressed by the tone of sanctity evident in the Journal, which he first read in August 1837. He realised that the tone of the Journal would provoke disapproval if not violent criticism, "but he was intent on showing the key to Froude's linguistic code ... in his personality, which the Journal so nakedly revealed."[6]

It is easy to join the ranks of those who were scandalised when they read in the Journal of the scrupulous, indeed over-scrupulous self examination of a twenty-four year old penitent.

> "Froude, whom all his friends found charming and vivacious, appeared as nervous and over-scrupulous, introspective and morbid, battling against the flesh, sleeping on the floor, troubled with dreams and anxious mortifications ... It was like the moral register of an earnest schoolboy trying to be good."[7]

Dr. Chadwick's description is, in the main, a fair one. Yet the very depth of Froude's penitence points to a devotion which is more than that of an over-scrupulous adolescent. Perhaps the two prayers following might illustrate this point:

> July 25. O Lord, consider it not as a mockery in me, that day after day I present myself before thee, professing penitence for sins, which I still continue to commit, and asking Thy grace to assist me in subduing them, while my negligence renders it ineffectual.
>
> O Lord, if I must judge of the future from the past, and if the prayers which I am now about to offer up to Thee will prove equally ineffectual with those that have preceded them, then indeed it is a fearful thing to come before Thee with professions, whose fruitlessness seems a proof of their insincerity. But Thine eye trieth my inward parts, and knoweth my thoughts independently of the actions which proceed from them. O that my ways were made so direct that I might keep thy statutes. I will walk in Thy commandments when Thou hast set my heart at liberty.

These prayers were written when Froude was still a very young man. They betray none of the slightly ridiculous or rather pathetic traits of many of the entries in the Journal. During September 1826 Froude went to stay with Isaac Williams at Cwmcynfelin near Aberystwyth. Also there was George Prevost, about to be engaged to Isaac Williams' sister, Jane. All through this visit Froude's

nerves were on edge. He blamed himself for eating and drinking too much, for looking with greediness to see if there were a goose on the table, for being jealous of the intimacy between Isaac and Prevost, for not being sociable, for failing to read the psalms and second lesson before breakfast, for wanting to show off his abstinence at table, for pretending to be a better shot than he was, and so on and so on. Froude was recording trivialities, perhaps, the sort of trivialities which caused the wise and witty Staupitz to chide the tormented Luther with the observation that his fears and scruples were becoming his meat and drink. But the recording of trivialities showed that poor Froude was profoundly discontented with himself.

When Froude returned to Oxford in October, 1826, he was determined to begin a life of monastic austerity and asceticism. He wanted to chastise himself before the Lord. And again his diary was filled with the trivia of his trivial backslidings: "Felt an impulse of pleasure on finding that Wilberforce was not at chapel this morning"; "Slept on the floor, and a nice uncomfortable time I had of it" and so on.

And yet Froude was anticipating, in his own enthusiastic and perhaps unbalanced way, his ideas on discipline in the church and his uncompromising views on the necessity of obedience and self-denial in the life of the Christian. The prayers quoted above are sober petitions for grace to live a godly life, realistic and truthful confessions of failure, and determined resolutions to try to do better

in future. If these prayers are hysterical, then so was Lancelot Andrewes: if the prayers are morbid, then so was the Psalmist.

Several Essays are included in the Remains, beginning with "On Mr. Knox's views of Church Discipline", written originally in January 1834.[8] Alexander Knox was an Irish layman, of whom Newman said in 1835 that he was "a remarkable instance of a man searching for and striking out the truth for himself. Could we see the scheme of things as angels see it, I fancy we should find he has his place in the growth and restoration ... of Church principles".[9] Nevertheless Froude claimed, in his essay, that "Mr. Knox's view is built on a denial of the Apostolical priesthood", and this, to Froude, meant a lessening on the emphasis on discipline in the church, which was the automatic and necessary outcome of Christ's having originally authorised the hierarchy of the church. Froude went on to deplore the fact that unworthy communicants were allowed to partake of the sacraments - this was sacrilege. Froude was, of course, advocating the strict application of the second rubric prefacing the Prayer Book Communion Service: "And if any of those by an open and notorious evil liver ... the curate shall call him and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former naughty life ...". Froude's rigorist stand is not surprising when one reads the attempts at discipline, mortification and self-denial chronicled in

the Remains. "His ultimate hope was the reasonable one that the efficacious message of a 'real' church could be made to ring out with uncompromising clarity".[10] Froude stated bluntly:

> "If a national church means a Church without discipline, every argument for discipline is an argument against a national church; and the best thing we can do is to un-nationalise ours as soon as possible."[11]

Froude's rigorism was expressed again in another essay, written in late January or early February 1834, and entitled "On Excommunication". The arguments owed very much to William Law's "Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor". Like Law, Froude argued that excommunication could have some real effect on the condition of the sinner without interfering with God's ultimate prerogative to save or to damn. The practice of excommunicating notorious and evil livers was an integral part of God's plan of salvation, and it must be used "without exception or partiality".[12] Again, as uncompromisingly as he had, a few years before, embraced a life of asceticism, Froude stated that the Church merely debased herself by compromise.

In the July 1834 number of the 'British Magazine' Froude's essay "On shunning heretics and evil-livers" was included. As the title suggests, Froude advocated social ostracism of "notorious ill livers and professed heretics".[13] Even his enthusiasm could not conceive of the Church of England re-introducing ecclesiastical excommunication.

Froude had no patience with the view that it was wrong to make downright judgements over moral issues.

Of the sermons printed in the 'Remains', the one entitled "Repentance not equivalent in this life to innocence" illustrates the practical expression of Froude's rigorist views on church discipline and on the personal life of the Christian, views which he tried to express in his own life of penance and mortification.

The text of the sermon is Jeremiah, Chapter 13, Verse 23: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil".

Froude began the sermon by stating that

> "the doctrine that no wickedness which we have committed during our past lives, great or grievous as they may have been, have as yet rendered our condition hopeless, but that if we will now repent, and from this day forward attempt to live as God commands us, we shall save our souls alive, is of all doctrines of revelation the most consolatory."[14]

Froude warned that this doctrine could be grievously misunderstood and could contribute to moral and spiritual laxity. The doctrine could tempt the evil liver to think that he has time enough to mend his ways. Even the man who did strive seriously to follow the demands of the Gospel might be tempted to leave unabandoned some

indulgence. Others thought that they had already repented and repented enough, because they have stopped swearing and are attending church. These remembered vividly the time of their conversion, "that at the moment when they felt it, they passed from a state of reprobation into a state of grace, and have ever since been numbered amongst God's elect".[15]

Froude admitted that great sinners could and did become great saints - he used the word "vehement". But most people remained very much the same, changing their way of life, their behaviour very slowly. So it was imperative that repentance be not delayed: it was foolishness to delay this slow, painful way of penitence, because men could only become better by slow degrees. He reminded his hearers that if a man were to commit a sin openly once, the world would never forget. Could one offence against the laws of God be scarcely less fatal in its consequences?

> "And thus it becomes more than possible that every wilful sin which we commit, may do us an injury which a whole life of repentance cannot undo. We know indeed that through God's mercy we may yet escape the worst consequences of sin, everlasting fire; and that even now some share of heavenly happiness if within our reach. But who shall say what we have already lost for ever, or

> what we may not still lose by a repetition of our sins."[16]

Here indeed Froude is saying that strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leads to salvation. And here he is indeed reacting against the Evangelicals with their calling for conversion, and their conviction of assurance of salvation and their distrust of language about good works. Salvation is not that simple, if simple be the correct word to describe Evangelical assurances of salvation, though Froude implied that it was. He continued:

> "We have indeed God's sacred work as a pledge, that, if we apply the remedies which he prescribes, the sicknesses of our souls shall not be unto death; that no sin is beyond their reach, and no time too late to apply them. We are taught that God's Holy Spirit will assist us in the hard task of retracing our steps and healing the diseases of our souls. We are assured ... that if we do sincerely strive to repent, God will accept our endeavours to lead a new life of innocence."[17]

Here was the assurance that Froude preached, the acceptance that he longed for himself, with all his queer mortifications and his scrupulous self-examination. Not the assurance preached by the Evangelicals, but rather the promise that he that endured to the end should be saved.

Newman, in his Apologia, said:

"You cannot of course do anything in the way of an account of the Oxford Movement without going to Froude's Remains."

His influence on Keble - he probably persuaded him to preach the Assize Sermon - his influence on Newman, his influence on Isaac Williams were all profound. Newman himself testified to the fact, and, as we shall see, Isaac Williams went so far as to acknowledge Froude's Journal as a "very affecting instance" of reserve in communicating Christians knowledge.

Is Oakeley's judgement on Froude fair? Is his religion "more like that of a humble and pious Jew under the Old Dispensation"? Certainly the Journal made no mention of the name or the works of Jesus, no mention of the Atonement, and certainly Froude seemed to lay more emphasis on his own efforts at self-sanctification than on the merits of Jesus Christ and Him Crucified. But the reader of the Remains must do what Newman and Keble wished, and that is to read the whole - Journal, Essays and Sermons - in order to try and construct a picture of Froude and an idea of Froude's beliefs. As Dr. Brendon says:

"Froude continues to attract or to repel, to fascinate or disgust, partly because his ambiguities are legion. He eludes definition, he conforms to no formula ..."[18]

Certainly his attitude seemed to lean to the side of religious dread, but is that to be deplored? He stressed what needed to be stressed, that for the Christian "life was real and life was earnest", and in stressing this thought influenced his fellow Tractarians. Froude sought holiness, he longed for it, and struggled for it.

> "Hurrell Froude's lifelong quest for it (holiness) revealed in such self-denying detail in the Remains, was his most inspiring gift to the Oxford Movement."[19]

NOTES

1 J. H. Newman and J. Keble (Editors), R. H. Froude, 'Remains', Volume I, p. 245
2 Ibid, p. 245
3 Ibid, pp. 336, 395
4 Frederick Oakeley, 'Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement', p. 32
5 Ibid, p. 32
6 Piers Brendon, 'Hurrell Froude and the Oxford Movement', p. 181
7 Owen Chadwick, 'The Victorian Church', Volume I, p. 173
8 'Remains', Volume III, p. 298
9 'Letters', II, p. 93
10 Brendon, 'Hurrell Froude', p. 157
11 'Remains', Volume III, p. 302
12 Ibid, III, p. 289
13 Ibid, III, p. 291
14 Ibid, II, p. 144
15 Ibid, II, p. 147
16 Ibid, II, p. 158
17 Ibid, II, p. 159
18 Brendon, 'Hurrell Froude', p. 195
19 Ibid, p. 197

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

The Oxford Movement was not dependent on one single mind for its creation - each of its leading figures brought to it a distinctive personality, a particular talent and aptitude and a personal point of view.

> "But the dynamism of the Oxford Movement came, beyond all question, from the man who after twelve years of untiring work on its behalf found it necessary in conscience to abandon it and to leave the Church of which by now he was the most brilliant and controversial member."[1]

Yet, as Professor Chadwick warns us, "It is easy to exaggerate Newman's part in the movement and indeed to think of him as the whole".[2] And Newman himself acknowledged that to the Movement he supplied little that was his own. He spoke of Keble as being the "true and primary author" of the Movement, and acknowledged his debt to Keble's creative mind. But Newman was for years the leader, he provided the dynamism which Keble and even Froude lacked.

In order to understand Newman's views on the forgiveness of sins it is necessary, first, to understand the

background of his religious convictions. As Dr. David Newsome remarks,

> "No one could accuse John Henry Newman of being unduly reticent about the details of his spiritual development or the state of his religious opinions at various stages of life. Yet the fact remains that he vouchsafed least information about the event which would appear to require the fullest elucidation - the circumstances of his first conversion when, at the age of fifteen, he passed from nominal Christianity to the consciousness of being in a state of grace. Newman himself acknowledged the experience to have been decisive. Nearly fifty years later he testified to its authenticity, declaring himself to be more certain that he had received a genuine call 'than that I have hands and feet'."[3]

This conversion occurred when he was low in spirits - alone at school during holidays with no friends remaining - and conscious of being smitten by God, because he knew that the family bank had been forced to suspend payments and disaster seemed imminent. Dr. Newsome suggests a similarity with Henry Edward Manning's conversion which coincided with the collapse of the firm of Manning and Anderdon in 1831. Manning was cast out alone without prospects in the City at the age of twenty three "in just

that state of mind to fall easy victim to the Calvinist blandishments of the saintly Miss Bevan".[4]

Newman's counterpart to Miss Bevan was his saintly and Calvinistic schoolmaster, the pious Walter Mayers. He it was who brought about the great change in Newman's religious life - thanks to the force of his character and with the aid of several books. Newman tells us what he read: a book of William Romaine's - though he had forgotten the title. From Romaine he acquired conviction in the doctrine of final perseverance - a doctrine which he subsequently abandoned at the age of twenty-one. (This doctrine, which was affirmed vigorously by Calvin, states that the gift of perseverance is granted to the elect. From the moment that God chooses and calls them and accords them the grace to begin their new life, He will assure them of the possibility of pursuing their struggle throughout their earthly career. Indeed, "the Spirit of God, being consistent with Himself, nourishes and confirms in us the love of obedience that He instilled into us from the beginning".)[5]

This doctrine gradually faded away from Newman's religious mind at about the age of twenty-one, but he thought that it had had some influence on his opinions, "notably in the direction of certain childish imaginations such as the sense of isolation from surrounding objects ..."[6] From Romaine Newman tells us that he passed to Thomas Scott, a convert to Calvinism - "of rather milder disposition than the craggy Romaine"[7] - whose unworldliness allied to a minutely practical character, so affected Newman that he described Scott in the Apologia as the

writer "who made a deeper impression on my mind than any other, and to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul".[8] He goes on:

> "I so admired and delighted in his writings, that, when I was an undergraduate, I thought of making a visit to his Parsonage, in order to see a man whom I so deeply revered ... What, I suppose, will strike any reader of Scott's history and writings, is his bold unworldliness and vigorous independence of mind. He followed truth wherever it led him, beginning with Unitarianism, and ending up in a zealous faith in the Holy Trinity. It was he who first planted deep in my mind that fundamental Truth of religion. With the assistance of Scott's Essays, and the admirable work of Jones of Nayland, I made a collection of Scripture texts in proof of the doctrine, with remarks (I think) of my own upon them, before I was sixteen ... Besides his unworldliness, what I also admired in Scott was his resolute opposition to Antinomianism, and the minutely practical character of his writings. They show him to be a true Englishman, and I deeply felt his influence; and for years I used almost as proverbs what I considered to be the scope and issue of

his doctrine, 'Holiness before peace'
and 'Growth is the only evidence of life'."[9]

The parallel between Scott's conversion and that of Newman is remarkably close. In "The Force of Truth", first published in 1779, Scott confesses that he was in his sixteenth year - the same age as Newman - when the first conviction of his innate sinfulness came upon him. Like Newman's, the process of conversion was very gradual, with the steadily growing Socinianism and Arminianism into Calvinism, that Christ's words to Nicodemus were instructions to every individual soul. He must be born again - "born of the Spirit".[10] Again, as with Newman after him, the final act came as a personal confrontation between the individual soul and its Creator.

"A certain person once said of me, that I was like a stone rolling down a hill, which could neither be stopped nor turned: this witness was true; but these things, which are impossible with man, are easy with God. I am evidently both stopped and turned; man, I am persuaded, could not have done it; but this hath God wrought, and I am not more a wonder to others than to myself ... So that the Lord having made me willing in the day of his power, I was forced to confess: 'O Lord, thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed'."[11]

> "He would have been at peace, content to live a quiet life with his books, but God pressed upon him the burden of holiness. He would have stayed where he was, content with his own superficial justification of his professed position, but God called him to the realisation that life is growth, and that one is moved by the Spirit to fulfil what has been ordained for the Elect."[12]

Scott's influence upon Newman was strong and lasting, though Newman later doubted much of Scott's practical advice. But how much of his early Evangelicalism remained in Newman's religious make-up? Newman came to distrust "enthusiasm", the dangerous reliance on feelings, the tendency to antinomianism and the playing down of the role of Baptism. He dropped the effusive piety and spontaneous ejaculations of wonder and joy. Not that Newman's religion ceased to be emotional but, as Dr. Newsome points out,

> "whereas the Evangelicals wore their hearts on their sleeves (it mattered to be recognised as serious) Keble and his friends concealed their emotions, lest by advertising them they should seem to cheapen the objects of their love."[13]

In a letter to James Stephen, dated 15th March, 1835,

Newman revealed how far he had travelled in his understanding of the proper expression of religious devotion. He deplored the coarse technique of the Evangelicals:

> "Yet what I shrink from, even in their greatest fidelity, is their rudeness, irreverence, and almost profaneness ... I conjecture you will consider this in me fastidiousness in education. I cannot think it so - i.e., it ought not to be so, it need not be so. The poorest and the humblest ought to shrink from the irreverence necessarily involved in pulpit addresses, which speak of the adorable works and sufferings of Christ, with the familiarity and absence of awe with which we speak about our friends. Zachaeus did not intrude himself upon our Lord - the woman that was a sinner silently bedewed his feet. Which of us is less refined than a tax-gatherer or a harlot?"[14]

Newman also jettisoned the Evangelical tendency to make feeling a test of growth in grace - though, in a sermon preached in 1835, he quoted St. John: "Hereby do we know that we know Him, if we keep His commandments", and commented on this text: "Obedience is the test of Faith".[15]

What of the quest for holiness?

> "Whence came the pietistic element in Newman, the austere severity, the terrifying demands which he imposed upon his congregations to fit themselves for heaven? Once he discarded the doctrine of final perseverance, he posed the question - how then does weak and irreligious man acquire the habits of mind and spiritual disposition which would both render him qualified for heaven and, indeed, make heaven endurable for Him? There followed the great series of sermons on the subject of sanctification ... When Samuel Wilberforce protested at their harshness, he received the grim rejoinder: 'We require the Law's stern fires. We need a continual Ash Wednesday'. Here again, the compulsive urge to attain holiness is of Evangelical origin, derived ... from Thomas Scott, but the medium and the theological content have completely changed."[16]

Because these Evangelical attributes were not alien to Tractarianism, they survived in Newman's religious make-up, but were transformed. Newman confessed that he acquired from his conversion conviction of the truth of four doctrines - the Trinity, the Incarnation, Predestination, and the Lutheran "apprehension of Christ". The first three, being Catholic doctrines, never left him.

But he later abandoned the Lutheran doctrine of Justification as he became better acquainted with true Catholic doctrine. In the Apologia he confessed that Calvinist theology had no permanent influence upon him except for his acute consciousness of "the fact of heaven and hell, divine favour and divine wrath, of the justified and the unjustified".[17]

That great man and sensitive man Dr. Hort, after reading the Apologia, wrote to his friend John Ellerton thus:

> "Two things especially struck me; the unquestioning assumption that there is one absolutely and exclusively Divine system in all things; especially one Church so entirely right that all other bodies must be entirely wrong, and the complete permanence of his Calvinistic religion, changed in nothing but its form when it passed most naturally into Romanism, and placing him throughout in a position where the vision of pure truth as distinguished from edification, i.e., religious expediency, was a simple impossibility."[18]

Newman certainly never lost his Evangelical apprehension of the gulf between real and nominal Christians. In 1838 he preached a sermon on "Sincerity and Hypocrisy" in which he very clearly enunciated the old Evangelical distinction:

> "Great, then, is the difference between sincere and insincere Christians, however like their words may be to each other ... Thus the two parties look like each other. But the word of God discriminates one from the other by this test - that Christ dwells in the conscience of one, not of the other; that the one opens his heart to God, the other does not; the one views Almighty God only as an accidental guest, the other as head and owner of all that he is."[19]

In his "The Anglican Revival", especially chapter 13, Brilioth stressed that both Newman's sermons and those of Manning revealed a high content of Calvinism, especially the distinction betweenthe Church Invisible, the body of the Elect, and the visible Church, which exists - as Newman expounded in a sermon of 1838 - for the sake of the Elect: "To spend and be spent upon the many called for the sake of the chosen few, is the office of Christian teachers and witnesses".[20] Newman certainly felt strongly that "Deliverance is wrought, not by the many but by the few, not by bodies but by persons".[21]

> "In sum, then, it comes to this. Evangelicalism was a powerful force in the making of John Henry Newman; but every attempt to illustrate this by pointing to particular attributes brings to mind a host of

> qualifications, the most important of all being the fact that so much of what lay on the surface of Evangelicalism, Newman was later to find hidden in the deepest recesses of other traditions."[22]

As we have said above, Newman acknowledged Keble as the "true and primary author" of the Oxford Movement. What ideas or lessons, then, did Newman derive from Keble? Dr. David Newsome lists three:

> "An enduring respect, amounting to reverence, for the authority of the early Fathers; the consciousness of the true Catholic ethos, best conveyed by the medium of the doctrine of Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge; and finally, an understanding of the role of the Church and the Sacraments, utterly different from what he had encountered in the teaching of either the Evangelicals or of Richard Whately."[23]

To understand Newman's thought fully we must recognise these influences, the Evangelical, the influence of Keble, and the influence of Richard Whately, who made Newman, in the words of D. L. Edwards, a thinker.

Dr. Bernard Reardon considers that Newman's Lectures on Justification, published in 1838, "may well be considered the most important contribution to dogmatic theology to have come from the Tractarian school".[24] In

these Lectures Newman hoped to demonstrate that the teaching laid down in the Thirty-nine Articles was by no means irreconcilable with the Catholic doctrine on the Priesthood and the Sacraments. Dr. Reardon continues:

> "The lectures are not indeed among their author's most arresting works, but they make up a treatise of unquestionable learning and penetration."[25]

The first Lecture of the series is entitled: Faith considered as the instrument of Justification, and he quotes "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?" (Job, Chapter 38, Verse 2). Newman begins by stating that there are two great and main views of the nature of Justification: either Justification is a great gift vouchsafed to those who are moved by the grace of God to claim it, or it is given to those who are moved by grace to do their duty. The latter Newman calls the "high Roman view", the first the "high Protestant".

Both Protestants and Catholics agree that Justification is the application of Christ's merits to the individual, that it is a means appointed by God for salvation and thus used by man. The disagreement comes when the question "How?" is asked. The Protestant answers, "By faith". The Protestant asserts that the soul needs to be changed utterly, it needs to be justified in God's eyes, it needs to be regenerated within, and the means of this justification and regeneration is faith. Faith is awakened in us by the secret influences of the

Holy Spirit bringing the soul to rest on Christ as its own Saviour. Thereby peace is given and the conscience quietened, thereby the justified man has a comfortable hope as he looks forward to heaven. The justified man is grateful to God for this gift, and, being grateful, abounds in the fruits of good works.

What is the nature of this faith? It is trust in God and a reliance, through the atonement of Christ, on His mercy to the worst of sinners. The Lutherans believe that Christ not only died for the sins of the world: He died specially for the individual. Hence their trust in His death and the benefits flowing from it.

Newman states that this is not enough. He quotes, in support, the Parable of the Unforgiving Servant: that man trusted in his Lord's mercy and he received forgiveness and professed undying gratitude. But then he went out and sinned again.

The Lutherans, says Newman, hold that "The gospel mercy is proclaimed openly and universally to all who will accept it. No special state of mind is necessary for appropriating it; a person has not to ask himself if he is fit; his warrant for making it his, is the freeness of the proclamation".[26] For the Lutherans i.e. High Protestants, a lively faith is the reaching of the heart towards Christ, and it is the means by which the sinner appropriates the gift of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. Faith depends on Christ, therefore He is spiritually present in that faith. Christ is "Forma fidei", or that which makes faith what it is, justifying faith.

The opponents of this view say rather that love is the true form by which belief is converted into faith. The Lutherans disagree, affirming that faith justifies before and without love. Therefore the moral law is not binding upon the conscience of the Christian: Christ Himself fulfilled the moral law for us by His own obedience and death on the Cross. Faith, say the Lutherans, not Baptism, is the principal instrument of justification.

Newman begins his second lecture by quoting "Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God who hath raised him from the dead" (Colossians, Chapter 2, Verse 12), thus introducing his exposition of the Roman view of Justification. Man is by his nature born in sin and therefore he needs a new birth, a new birth from disobedience to obedience. Man needs to be made righteous and also needs the means to enable him to fulfil the law. In justification the past is pardoned and an inward righteousness is imparted. By our obedience after justification we should please God, and indeed God is glorified by our obedience. When we are justified, the past is pardoned and our present life is renewed by the Holy Spirit: "justification consists in renewal of the Holy Ghost".

On page 63 Newman contrasts the views of Luther with those of St. Augustine thus:

Augustine	Luther
1. The Spirit enables us to keep the Law.	Christ Himself kept it for our justification.
2. Righteousness is active.	Righteousness is passive.
3. Righteousness is inherent.	Righteousness is imputed only.
4. Righteousness consists in a change of heart.	Righteousness consists in a change of state.

He then goes on:

Luther	Augustine
1. God's commandments are impossible for man to keep.	adds, without grace.
2. Even the best deeds of man are sins.	The best deeds are pleasing to God.
3. Faith is the substitute for the Law.	Faith is the commencement of the Law.

Newman then passes on to his third Lecture, entitled "Primary sense of the word Justification, with the text from Psalm 29, Verse 4. Are Christians justified by their observance of the moral law? The Catholic answers that the righteousness in which God accepts us is inherent. On the other hand the Protestant affirms that the righteousness is Christ's alone, but that it is imputed to us. The big question is, does justification just count us

righteous or does it make us righteous? Newman answers by citing two of the Thirty-nine articles: justification counts us righteous in the abstract, as in Article XI, and makes us righteous as article XII.

Justification then is the glorious voice of the Lord declaring us to be righteous. God treats us as if the sinful past did not exist. Newman quotes from Romans, Chapter 4, Verse 8: "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin". God both forgives and forgets, God counts the justified man righteous: "And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgement was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification. For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ. There as by the offences of one judgement came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life". (Romans, Chapter 5, Verses 16 to 18).

Justification not only declares, but it precedes the gift which it declares; it is the voice of the Lord calling righteous what is not righteous. We are guilty, and when we are accused we are silent: there is nothing we can say. But God pardons and justifies us: "He justifies us; He not only makes, He declares, acknowledges, accepts us as holy. He recognises us as His own, and publicly repeals the sentence of wrath and penal statutes

which lie against us. He sanctifies us gradually, but justification is a perfect act, realising at once what sanctification does but tend toward."[27]

Then justification is the means, the instrument or the cause of renewal. This Luther vigorously denies, with his assertion that we never were and never shall be righteous. This, says Newman, is to insult God. God's word effects what it announces. Justification declares the soul righteous, so, on the one hand, pardoning past sins, and, on the other hand, making it, the soul, righteous:

> "The declaration of our righteousness, while it contains pardon for the past, ensures holiness for the future."[28]

What are the derived senses of the word justification? This Newman attempts to answer in Lecture 4. Again he starts with a text: "The Kingdom of God is not in word but in power" (I Corinthians, Chapter 4, Verse 20). Newman affirms that if justification results in actual righteousness in the justified, it is therefore natural that righteousness or renewal should be called our justification.

Justification renews us, therefore justification can be called renewal. It implies a change of heart. Then, justification makes us just. By nature, declares Newman, we are not absolutely and completely devilish, but we are evil, in spite of the remains of our heavenly nature still adhering to our nature. In justification grace triumphs through righteousness in spite of the remains of sin in us.

Then with God's grace we are gifted with the power of co-operating with God:

> "God's grace unfetters the will which by nature is in bondage, and brings into existence the faculty of accepting or rejecting that grace itself."[29]

Newman continues his argument by pointing out that justification has an active and a passive sense: either justifying or being justified. In the active sense God gives, in the second sense man receives. The Romans stress the first, the Lutherans the second. In reality, both senses are necessary for a true understanding of justification: God says, Let him be righteous, and he is! The Lord spake and it was done. "Serious men", says Newman " ... when they speak of justification, it is of a wonderful grace of God, not in the heavens but night to them, even in their mouth and in their heart, which does not really exist at all unless brought into effect and manifested in renewal".[30] According to Newman, then, there can be no justification without an accompanying renewal. Justification means acceptance by God first, and then renewal by God:

> "It takes us then at Baptism out of original sin, and leads us all through life towards the purity of angels."[31]

In Lecture 5 Newman discusses what he calls "The discordant senses given to the word righteousness, prefacing his discussion with the text: "As by one man's

disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (Romans, Chapter 5, Verse 19). The text, says Newman, is plain, it says "made righteous". Christians are righteous, made righteous by Christ, made righteous by Christ with His righteousness. The Lutherans say that this is not so, and they distinguish between two kinds of righteousness, the righteousness of Christ, which is intrinsic and is the righteousness imparted through justification, and our righteousness, which is the righteousness of sanctification and, although it is the work of the spirit, has no intrinsic excellence. Newman denies this division: to him the word righteousness means just that, righteousness.

Lecture 6 is again on the gift of Righteousness, with the text: "Ye are the Temple of the Living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them and walk in them" (2 Corinthians, Chapter 6, Verse 16). Newman asks, What is the state of the justified man? Of what does justification consist? There must be a difference between the soul justified on the one hand, and the soul unjustified on the other. First, what is the original source of Justification? The original source of justification is the mercy of God. Its meritorious cause is the life and death of Jesus Christ. Its instrument is Baptism. Its entrance into the soul by regeneration. Its first privilege is pardon. And its ultimate fruit is everlasting life.

In Scripture justification is ascribed to the agency of the Holy Spirit, with Faith and Renewal as its fruits. Righteousness, too, is a definite inward gift: it is not a mere quality of mind. It is a possession, it is something definite which is implanted in us. It is not a mere change of God's attitude towards us. The Divine presence works in us, making us Temples of the Holy Ghost. Christ dwells in us. We are set apart from sin, declared and treated as righteous. We are justified.

In Scripture the gifts of Justification are ascribed to the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. There is <u>remission</u> of sins when the Holy Ghost indwells in us at Baptism. There is <u>adoption</u> into the family of Christ by the indwelling spirit of adoption. There is <u>reconciliation</u> with God by the indwelling of Christ. Christ dwells in the heart by <u>faith</u>, and so there is <u>life</u>, and there is the gift of <u>obedience</u> given by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

> "Christ then is our righteousness by dwelling in us by the Spirit; He justifies us by entering into us, He continues to justify us by remaining in us. This is really and truly our justification, not faith, not holiness, not (much less) a mere imputation; but, through God's mercy, the very presence of Christ."[32]

This indwelling, as Newman stresses, is a further communication of the glory of God - Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. All those who are justified are acceptable to God, but some are more so. As faith and obedience grow, so does justification grow.

> "If ... justification is conveyed peculiarly through the Sacraments, as Holy Communion conveys a more awful presence of God than Holy Baptism, so must it be the instrument of a higher justification. On the other hand, those who are declining in their obedience, as they are quenching the light between them, so they are diminishing their justification."[33]

Because of Baptism, God is present - secretly - in infants, always hallowing them, making them holy. Newman stresses again that the two great Sacraments are justifying sacraments:

> "They are the only justifying rites ... ordination gives power, yet without making the soul acceptable to God; Confirmation gives light and strength, yet it is the mere completion of Baptism; Absolution is a negative ordinance removing the barriers which sin has raised between us and grace, which by inheritance is ours."[34]

He points out that for the Roman Catholics renewal precedes justification. On the other hand, for the Lutherans renewal is a collateral result with justification.

Lecture 7 is entitled: "The Characteristics of the Gift of Righteousness", and the text prefacing the lecture reads: "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels" (Isaiah, Chapter 61, Verse 10). The gift of righteousness, says Newman, is the gift of Christ of His inward presence, by the action of the Holy Ghost. The Christian must not defile this presence of Christ, and he must not injure it. The Christian has gained under the Gospel what he lost through the sin of Adam, the presence of God, something distinct from his human nature. Because of this the Christian, the justified man, is separated from the other children of Adam, and he must cherish this presence of God, abstaining from sin. Newman says:

> "The Almighty Father, looking on us, sees not us, but this sacred presence, even His dearly beloved son spiritually manifested in us; with His blood upon our doorposts, in earnest of that final abolition of sin which is at length to be accomplished in us."[35]

Newman then considers the words "glory" and "power". He points out that glory equals the presence of God, His moral attributes. And the presence is ascribed to us: "And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them" (John, Chapter 17, Verse 22). Glory is a power which is given to us distinct from any moral gift or external title or imputation. The glory that is given to us is nothing else than our righteousness.

Power means God's perfection shown in the Incarnation and the Resurrection, and again given to the disciples. The power of the disciples is similar to that of Christ, a virtue going out of them, not just an act of God's power which is external to them. Again it is not a moral gift, but a divine and a supernatural virtue, the same power that wrought the Resurrection.

This gift must force its way in, so, says Newman, it cannot be separated from renewal. The Cross of Christ is set up within us by the invisible grace of God:

> " ... it is that sacrifice coming in power to him who has faith in it, and converting body and soul into a sacrifice. It is the Cross, realised, present, living in him, sealing him, separating him from the world, sanctifying him, afflicting him."[36]

Lecture 8 is entitled :Righteousness viewed as a gift and as a quality, and has the usual text, this time from Galatians, Chapter 2, Verse 8: "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I but Christ liveth in me". Newman states first of all his refusal to consider

further the belief of the Lutherans that the righteousness of Christ is imputed only. Neither does he subscribe to the Roman belief that the righteousness of Christ is imparted only. He himself believes that the righteousness of Christ is both imputed and imparted by His real indwelling.

Many members of the Church of England believe in justifying obedience, that God will save us if we do our part as He has done His part for us in our Baptism. For Newman this again will not do. It sets man's salvation on himself. It implies that man has something in himself on which he can rely for his justification. Again, according to Newman, it disparages the doctrines of Predestination and Election, tending to fix man's mind on himself and his own powers and his own strength and not where it should be - on the presence of God indwelling in him. Newman says of justification:

> "Is it not more constraining than that which considers that the Gospel came to us in name, not in power - (the Lutheran doctrine) - deeper and more sacred than a second, which makes its heavenly grace a matter of purchase or trade - (The Roman Catholic doctrine) - more glowing than a third, which depresses it almost to the chill temperature of a natural religion - (The doctrine considered last above)."[37]

What is the source of justification? The title of the next chapter or lecture - number 9 - makes that clear: "Christ's resurrection the Source of Justification". The text is "Who was delivered for our offences and was raised again for our justification" (Romans, Chapter 4, Verse 25). He repeats that whatever is done to us by the Holy Spirit is done within us. Whatever is done in the Church since Christ's ascension, is done by the Spirit. Our justification, which is an inward work, is done for us and is the work of the Spirit.

Our Lord's atonement has two parts: first, what Christ did for all men, and, second, what he did for each. Christ atones for us all by His offering on the Cross, and then justifies each one of us by the sending of His Spirit. After His Ascension Jesus came again - but by His Spirit. When Jesus was present in the flesh He could be seen by the eye, but His more perfect and more powerful presence can be discerned and used by faith only.

It is only by His Resurrection that the Atonement of Our Lord is applied to each of us. Jesus was an atonement on the Cross, but He became a Saviour at His resurrection, because He was then exalted to be a prince and a Saviour, to come to us in the power of the Spirit as God, as Man and as Atoning Sacrifice. Newman quotes his text - Romans Chapter 4, Verse 25 - again, and then continues:

> "If the Resurrection be the means by which the Atonement is applied to each of us, if it be our justification, if in it we are conveyed all the gifts of grace and glory

> which Christ has purchased for us, if it be the commencement of His giving Himself to us for a spiritual sustenance of His feeding us with that bread which has already been perfected on the Cross and is now a medicine of immortality, it is the very doctrine which is most immediate to us, from which we gain life and out of which issue our hopes and our duties."[38]

Lecture 10 is entitled "Justification by Faith Only", with the text "For by faith ye stand" (2 Corinthians Chapter 1, Verse 24). Again comes his definition of Justification: it is the presence of Christ in us showing itself in newness of heart and conduct. So where is faith found, what is its position? Article XI says:

> "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: wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a very wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort,as more largely expressed in the Homily of Justification."

By faith only, that is, a trusting and a steadfast faith. Newman says:

> "Here I draw an important conclusion; that the instrumental power of faith cannot interfere with the instrumental power of

> Baptism; because Faith is the sole justifier, not in contrast to all means and agencies whatever (for it is not surely in contrast to Our Lord's merits, or God's mercy) but to all other graces. When then faith is called the sole instrument, this means the sole internal instrument, not the sole instrument of any kind."[39]

He continues:

> "Baptism occurs but once, whereas justification is a state, and faith 'abides'. Justification, then, needs a perpetual instrument, such as faith can, and Baptism cannot be ... faith secures to the soul continually those gifts which Baptism primarily conveys."[40]

For Newman, Baptism is initiation into the grace of God, and the Holy Communion is the immediate and proper instrument of receiving this grace. He emphasises that a lively faith comes after regeneration at Baptism, not before it. All of God's gifts are appropriated to the individual by faith: faith brings the Sacraments into effect and through them united the soul to God.

Lecture 11 considers the nature of Justifying Faith, with the text: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen". What is faith, what does it do, asks Newman? Faith makes present what is future -

the substance of things hoped for - it is the minds perception of heavenly things. Justifying is not just trust, it is the faith of minds that are trusting, adhering, devoted. Faith can never exist by itself: it exists in this or that person, and it is much more than an assent of the mind to the word of God.

Lecture 12 is entitled: "Faith viewed relatively to Rites and Works", with the text: "We conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the Law" (Romans Chapter 3, Verse 28). We are indeed justified by faith only, says Newman, but we are also justified by our works. To the Jews it could have been said: "Stop struggling to keep the law: have faith and you will keep the law". Justification comes <u>through</u> the sacraments; it is received <u>by</u> faith; <u>consists</u> of God's inward presence and <u>lives</u> in obedience.

How do the gospel ordinances and the gospel works relate to faith? It could be objected that to insist on ordinances is to bind the Church. If the Sacraments are the means of gospel grace, then we are not, as St. Paul says we are, justified by faith without the deeds of the law. Newman replies by pointing out that faith is established through the sacraments. The Jews of old came to God with their rites: but God comes to us with his sacraments. We accept them and we are thereby saved.

What about works, how do they justify? Works show forth faith, says Newman. Sacraments are but God's acts

of grace. Good works are but our acts of faith. We are justified by grace given through the Sacraments, impetrated by faith. "Such is faith", says Newman, "springing up out of the immortal seed of love, and ever budding forth in new blossoms and maturing new fruit, existing in feelings, but passing on into acts".[41]

Lecture 13 is entitled: "On Preaching the Gospel", and the text "For they, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God" (Romans, Chapter 10, Verse 3).

The Jews did not accept Christ because they viewed the Law as perfect. They rejected Christ, and so they did not submit to God's righteousness. In this Jewish sense the Catholics are accused of legalism: the creeds are said to lead to bigotry, the ceremonies and rites to formality, and good works to self-righteousness. The Creeds were framed and are venerated for the glory of God. If this glory of God is forgotten, then they can lead to bigotry. The rites and ceremonies, the sacraments are God's gifts: it is only when this is forgotten, and the human is substituted for the divine, that superstition creeps in.

People who accuse Catholics of legalism are themselves relying on legalism. For them, faith has become an end in itself. They stress the fact of believing, rather than belief in Christ, on the comfort of the doctrine of Justification by faith rather than the doctrine itself and its implications on Christian life and behaviour and

devotion. In the end these people find that they are contemplating themselves and not Christ.

> "Luther found Christians in bondage to their works and observances; he released them by his doctrine of faith; and he left them in bondage to their feelings."[42]

So we can summarize Newman's thesis in his lectures. The true doctrine of Justification steers a middle course between the "high Protestant" and the "high Roman":

> "Whether we say we are justified by faith or by works or by Sacraments, all these mean but this one doctrine, that we are justified by grace, given through the Sacraments, impetrated by faith, manifested in works."[43]

Newman has tried to oppose both the Romish doctrine - as he understands it - which, although maintaining that the atonement wrought on man's behalf by Christ is the only ground of good works, nevertheless denies the need of a continual imputation of Christ's merits to make good the defects of man's actual obedience, and also the Protestant or Lutheran doctrine - again as he understands it - which, in putting all the weight on the imputation of Christ's merits as the substitute for man's failure in obedience, seems to deny the need for any subsequent effort after the maximum holiness on his part, and even to suspect such the wish for such holiness as in some way casting doubt on the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice.

> "As between these poles more stress or less may be placed on the respective roles of faith and works, so long as we regard works as effective only because springing from a faith made possible by the grace of Christ."[44]

It is obvious, from the above summary of the whole lectures, that Newman was basically concerned to establish that to be "justified"means for the believer an intrinsic "newness of life", and not merely as the Evangelicals taught, a forensic attributing of Christ's own holiness to one who is himself "vile".

> "Sacramental incorporation into the mystical Body of Christ involves 'gratia infusa', an actual <u>impartation</u> (author's italics) of the righteousness of Christ. A mere imputing and not an imparting of that righteousness is but a 'joyless shadow' of the glorious reality."[45]

Obviously Newman's views have changed a great deal since his adolescent conversion. Conversion experiences of the evangelical type now appeared to him to rely far too much on feelings of confidence, or, as the term was, an 'assurance' of salvation. By contrast the Tractarians (as we have seen and will see) were too conscious of their unworthiness and of the need for perpetual moral vigilance. As Pusey expressed it in his own book on Justification, published in 1853:

> "It is easy to deceive ourselves as to our deeds, if we will but look into our consciences by the light of the law of God. It is easy to say 'Lord, Lord'; it is <u>not</u> easy, but of the power of the grace of God, to 'deny ourselves and take up our Cross and follow Him ...' It is <u>not</u> easy, amid the fire of passion within, the manifold force of temptation without, the delusive pleasure dancing before our eyes, the treachery of our own hearts, to be 'dead to the world, that we may live to God'."[46]

As we have seen in our summary of the Lectures, Newman was concerned to stress that in Christ a man at once found a new quality of life. The justified man has become one with the Risen Christ and no longer is he a mere suppliant at the Cross of the Crucified.

> "If the Resurrection be the means by which the Atonement is applied to each of us, if it be our justification, if in it are conveyed all the gifts of grace and glory which Christ has purchased for us, if it be the commencement of His giving Himself to us for a spiritual sustenance, of His feeding us with the Bread which has already been perfected on the Cross and is now a medicine of immortality, it is

> that very doctrine which is most immediate to us, in which Christ most clearly approaches us, from which we gain life and out of which issue our hopes and duties."[47]

Here, in his Lectures on Justification, are the theological foundations and sources for the practical and devotional teaching which he gave in his sermons. Therein lies their importance: for posterity their influence, as Dr. Newsome has pointed out, is more questionable.

> " ... much of the ecclesiology (in the lectures) was by its nature dated, since it was concerned with the construction of a via media between Romanism and popular Protestantism, which the author himself came within ten years to discard as unsatisfactory."[48]

We turn now to his sermons. Dr. Owen Chadwick, in 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', speaks of the Parochial Sermons of Newman as embodying "the typical doctrine of the movement at its highest", and adds, "It is of the essence of the Movement that its best writing should be enshrined in parochial sermons".[49] Newman was first and foremost a pastor. For this we have to thank Provost Hawkins who persuaded Newman to gain some parish experience as a curate among the poor around St. Clement's, Oxford. His pastoral work at St. Clement's, and at St. Mary's and Littlemore, begun long before the movement, continued during it. And the parochial sermons were always what their title stated them to be, plain and pastoral.

In his article "Justification and Sanctification: Newman and the Evangelicals", Dr. Newsome quotes a correspondence between Newman and Samuel Wilberforce. Wilberforce had received from Newman a presentation copy of the first volume of the Parochial Sermons. He was still very much an Evangelical and felt that in the sermons Newman, by putting on one side the possibility of the Holy Ghost effecting sudden conversions, was limiting in an unscriptural way the power of God's Spirit. Newman's defence, in a letter of 4th February, 1835 was that

> "My Sermons are on subjects connected with sanctification. My reason for dwelling on the latter subject was my conviction <u>that we required the Law</u> not the Gospel in this age (Newman's italics) - we want rousing - we want the claims of duty and the details of obedience set before us strongly. And this is what has led me to enlarge on our part of the work not on the Spirit's."[50]

And he concludes:

> "In truth men <u>do</u> (Newman's italics) think that a saving state is one, where the mind merely looks to Christ - virtual antinomianism."[51]

A few lines further on Newman added that it was necessary to bring out the details of the Christian life as matters of fact. The Evangelicals were ready to confess that they were sinful in the abstract, but there was nothing definite or tangible in their teaching.

In a letter written a few days earlier than the above, Newman stated that not only could the Holy Spirit influence men, but much more, the Holy Spirit was present, indwelling, in their souls. He defined this indwelling as "the great gift of grace, marvellous beyond words, exceeding in bounty, and freely given to those whom God has chosen in Christ and brings to baptism. It is the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the soul as in a Temple - the Spirit of adoption. In the first place it has (so to say) a physical, or (as we term it) a mystical influence on the soul, uniting it to Christ - it distinguishes the Christian from all unregenerate men".[52] It is significant that the above letter is so clearly anticipative in its definition of the Indwelling Spirit of God of the Lectures on Justification.

How do the sermons, conscious as Newman was of this doctrine of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, apply the doctrine to the lives and works and prayers of their listeners and readers? The first three volumes were published as the Oxford Movement was beginning, in 1834-1835 and the beginning of 1836 respectively. There was an interval of three years before the appearance of the second series, which series falls within the limits set for this study.

The first sermon in Volume 4 is based on the text, "Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness" (Romans, Chapter 6, Verse 18). After reminding his listeners that Christians have been bought with a price and are therefore slaves of righteousness and

not of sin, as their nature is, he says that all true Christians try to reach that state where the service of God is a pleasure, a state where there is "an utter captivity of their will to His will ... Upon our regeneration indeed, we have a seed of truth and holiness planted within us, a new law introduced into our nature; but still we have that old nature to subdue, 'the old man, which is corrupt according to deceitful lusts'. That is, we have a work, a conflict all through life. We have to master and bring under all we are, all we do, expelling all disorder and insubordination, and teaching and impressing on every part of us, of soul and body, its due place and duty, till we are wholly Christ's in will, affections and reason, as we are by profession; in St. Paul's words, 'casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ'."[53]

Newman bases his sermons on the "Moral Consequence of single sins" on the text, "Be sure your sin will find you out". Newman assures his congregation that the blood of Christ does indeed cleanse us from all sin. But however truly penitent we are of our past sins, we are not always saved from their consequences. He goes on:

> "And we know that there are cases in which Christians fall away and do not repent again. Nay, we have reason for saying that those who sin after grace given, are,

> as such, in a worse state than if they had not received it." [54]

Newman asks his congregation to think of the influence which single sins, past or present, may have on their present moral characters. There are, first, the sins committed in their childhood, because children are the most impressionable. Then in later life, small trials, small victories, small defeats, all have a great result. There are so many good men whose goodness is marred by one great fault which has grown over the years. Few men are great saints. Most of us are deformed in some way in our characters: we do not walk perfectly with our God. Single sins indulged and neglected are often the cause of other defects of character. Men may be excellent Christians but for one small fault:

> "Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour: so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and honour." (Eccl. 10, Verse 1)

How awful is the text, concludes Newman,

> "Your sin will find you out. Who can understand to say for himself what and when have been his wilful sins, how frequently they recur, and how continually he is in consequence falling from grace. What need have we of a cleansing and a restoration day by day! What need have we of drawing

> near to God in faith and penitence, to seek from Him such pardon, such assurance, such strength, as He will vouchsafe to bestow! What need have we to continue in his presence, to remain under the shadow of His throne, to make use of all the expedients he allows us, to be steadfast in His Ordinances, and zealous in His precepts, lest we be found shelterless and helpless when He visits the earth! ... Let us pray Him, by the merits of His cross and passion ... to pardon us, to reveal to us our sins, to give us repentance and amendment of life, to give us present grace, and to bestow on us, according to the riches of His love, future blessedness in His eternal kingdom."[55]

In his sermon on "Chastisement and Mercy" Newman is scornful of those who, having been great sinners and now become good and religious men, yet "never look back at their past lives with fear; but rather, when they speak of the past, there is in their tone sometimes even something of tenderness and affection for their former selves; or at best they speak of themselves ... as they might of sinners they read of, ... or as if the contrast between what they were and what they are did but set off to advantage their present spiritual stage."[56] Newman stresses that Jesus forgives sins to those who repent. Such men as those he

speaks of do not really take the trouble to repent; they think that an "apparent change or improvement itself stands instead of repentance, as a sort of means, a sacramental means, imparting forgiveness by itself, by its own virtue, as a work done ... they consider faith as superseding repentance".[57] Newman admits that we cannot reverse what is past: but the penitent, the true penitent wishes he could! He cites from the Old and New Testaments examples of true penitence for past sins. And then he sums up:

> "When Christians have gone wrong in any way ... it seems that pardon is not explicitly and definitely promised them in Scripture as a matter of course; and the mere fact that they afterwards become better men, and are restored to God's favour, does not decide the question whether they are in every sense pardoned ... It is still a question whether a debt is not standing against them for their past sins, and is not now operating or to operate to their disadvantage. What its payment consists in, and how it will be exacted, is quite another question, and a hidden one. It may be such, if they die under it, as to diminish their blessedness in heaven; or it may be a sort of obstacle here to rising to certain high points of Christian character; or it may be a hindrance to their ever attaining one or

> other particular Christian grace in perfection, - faith, humility, or purity; ... or it may forfeit for them the full assurance of hope; ,,, such things are 'secrets of the Lord our God', not to be pried into but acted upon ... let us beg of Him not to forsake us in our miserable state ... to work all repentance and all righteousness in us, for we can do nothing of ourselves, and to enable us to hate sin truly, and confess it honestly, and deprecate His wrath continually, and to undo its effects diligently, and to bear His judgements cheerfully and manfully ... (that we do not) faint on the rough way nor toss upon our couch of thorns ..."[58]

Newman preached a sermon entitled "Righteousness not of us, but in us", on a text from 1 Corinthians, Chapter 1, Verses 30, 31: "Of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; that, according as it is written, he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord". He condemns the tendency of Christians to be proud rather than thankful:

> "Ever have they been tempted to forget their own responsibilities ... and the duty of fear and trembling ... St. Paul ... says to

> the Philippians, 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure'. God is in you for righteousness, for sanctification, for redemption, through the Spirit of His Son, and you must use His influences, His operations ... as His presence in you. All your knowledge is from Him; all good thoughts are from Him; all power to pray is from Him; your Baptism is from Him; the consecrated elements are from Him; your growth in holiness is from Him. You are not your own, you have been bought with a price, and a mysterious power is working in you."[59]

After elaborating on this, and stressing that truth and righteousness, though not of us, are in us if we are Christ's, he stresses the indwelling of the Spirit of God, who "applies to us severally all that Christ had done for us".[60]

In another sermon, entitled "The New Works of the Gospel", Newman concludes his discussion of justification where obedience is the road and faith the gate with these words:

> "Let us think much, and make much, of the grace of God; let us beware of receiving it in vain; let us pray God to prosper it in our hearts, that we may bring forth much fruit ... May

> God's grace be efficacious in us ... Let us aim at doing nothing in a dead way; let us beware of dead works, dead forms, dead professions. Let us pray to be filled with the spirit of love. Let us come to Church joyfully; let us partake the Holy Communion adoringly; let us pray sincerely; let us work cheerfully; let us suffer thankfully; let us throw our heart into all that we think, say, and do; and may it be a spiritual heart! This is to be a new creature in Christ; this is to walk by faith."[61]

In his sermon "The State of Salvation", Newman again condemns the attitude of the Evangelicals, whose teaching on justification gives rise to "not uncommon notion at this time, that a man may be an habitual sinner, and yet be in a state of salvation, and in the kingdom of Grace. ... they think that faith is all in all; that faith, if they have it, blots out their sins as fast as they commit them. They sin in distinct acts in the morning, - their faith wipes all out; at noon, - their faith still avails; and in the evening, - still the same. Or they remain contentedly in sinful habits and practices, under the dominion of sin, not warring against it, in ignorance what is sin and what is not; and they think that the whole business of a Christian is, not to be holy, but to have faith and to think and speak of Christ ... some men in the world have

laid it down as a great and high principle, that there is no mortal sin but one, and that is want of faith ... (they consider) that in a state of salvation, when we sin, our sins are forgiven us because we are in that state. On the other hand, I would maintain from Scripture, that a state of salvation is so far from being a state in which sins of every kind are forgiven, that it is a state in which there are not sins of every kind to forgive and that, if a man commit them, so far from being forgiven by his state, he falls at once from his state by committing them; so far from being justified by faith, he, for that very reason, has not faith whereby to justify him. I say, our state of grace is a state of holiness; not one in which we may be pardoned, but in which we are obedient. He who acts unworthily of it, is not sheltered by it, but forfeits it. It is a state in which power is given us to act rightly, and therefore punishment falls on us if we act wrongly".[62]

In the same sermon Newman states:

> "This then is the Christian's great aim, viz., not to come short after grace given him. This forms his peculiar danger, and his special dread. Of course he is not secure from peril of gross sin; of course he is continually defiled with sins of infirmity; but whereas, how to be forgiven is the main inquiry of the natural man, so, how to fulfil his calling, how to answer to grace given, ... how to attain, this is the great

> problem of the man regenerate, Faith gained him pardon, but works gain him a reward."[63]

Newman concludes this sermon with this warning:

> "... what a dreadful thing it is, that there may be numbers outwardly in the Christian church ... who have no principle of <u>growth</u> in them, because they have sinned, and have never repented. They may be under a disability for past sins, which they have never been at pains to remove, or to attempt to remove. Alas! to think that they do not know their state at all and esteem themselves in the unreserved enjoyment of God's favour, when, after all, their religion is for the most part but the reflection from without upon their surface, not a light within them ... O dreadful thought, if we are in the number! O most dreadful thought, if an account lies against us in God's books, which we have never manfully encountered, never inquired into, never even prayed against, only and simply <u>forgotten</u> ..."[64]

In his sermon "Life the Season of Repentance" Newman takes Esau as the type of the Christians who despised the blessings of God whilst young and think that, when they are old or ill, they may ehjoy the privileges of the Gospel without repenting. Such a thought horrifies Newman, that these people, who have sold their birthright of a new life

by water and the Spirit, have sold it as Esau did his. Esau lost his blessing because he had sold his birthright, and he repented when it was too late. Newman goes on:

> "So I say of persons who have in any way sinned. It is good for them not to forget that they have sinned. It is good that they should lament and deplore their past sins. Depend upon it, they will wail over them in the next world, if they wail not here ... Let us be wise enough to have our agony in this world, not in the next. If we humble ourselves now, God will pardon us then. We cannot escape punishment, here or hereafter; we must take our choice, whether to suffer and mourn a little now, or much then."[65]

Newman pleads with his hearers to use Lent as a season of true penitence, he pleads with them not to seek for ease and comfort. For if they neglect to repent their sins, God will visit them with sickness or other signs of His displeasure. He says:

> "Sinners as ye are ... fast, watch, or abound in alms, or be instant in prayer, or deny yourselves society, or pleasant books, or easy clothing, or take on you some irksome task or employment ... And for those who have in any grievous way sinner or neglected God, I recommend such persons never to forget they <u>have</u> sinned; if they forget

> it not, God in mercy <u>will</u> forget it. I recommend them every day, morning and evening, to fall on their knees, and say, 'Lord, forgive me my past sins' ... Let them not cease to pray, under all circumstances, that God will pardon them and give them back what they have lost."[66]

Newman praises mortification and self-denial in his sermon entitled "The Yoke of Christ". He points out that Jesus's yoke is light and easy, so His religion is not one of gloom totally. But it is a yoke, which implies severity, it is a yoke and a cross, "and though rest be promised as our reward, yet the way to rest must lie through discomfort". (PPS, vii, p. 106) He goes on to say that "a man who is poor in spirit, meek, pure in heart, merciful, peace-making, penitent, and eager after righteousness, is truly ... a mortified man".[67] Newman points out that a mortified man is set against the men of this world, the natural men. He goes on:

> " ... one and the same character is described acceptable to God, unacceptable to man ... because it involves a change, and that a painful one, in one shape or another. Nothing short of suffering ... makes us what we should be ... This is the especial object which is set before us, to become holy as He who has called us is holy, and to discipline and chasten ourselves in

order that we may become so; and we may be sure, that unless we chasten ourselves, God will chasten us ..."[68]

Newman is convinced that "if the easy religion is right, the strict religion is wrong; if strict religion is right, easy religion is wrong ... there are not two ways of salvation - a broad and a narrow ..."[69]

The religion expressed and expounded in these sermons is certainly a hard and a strict and a rigorous one, Newman is always at pains to condemn those who try to denigrate the way of mortification, those who, "instead of labouring, under God's grace, to change their wills, to purify their hearts, and so prepare themselves for the kingdom of God ... imagine that in that kingdom they may be saved by something short of this, by their baptism, or by their ceremonial observances ... or by their correct knowledge of the truth, or by their knowledge of their own sinfulness, or by some past act of faith which is to last them during their lives, or by some strong habitual persuasion that they are safe."[70] Newman bewails the error " ... of believing that Christ came to gain for us easier terms of admittance into heaven than we had before (whereas, instead of making obedience more strict, He has enabled us to obey God more strictly; and instead of gaining <u>easier</u> terms of <u>admittance</u>, He has gained us <u>altogether</u> our admittance into heaven, which before was closed against us); ... obedience to God is the way to know and believe Christ".[71]

Newman stresses, in this same sermon, that Jesus, and also His Apostles, "Chiefly sought and found their first followers, not among open sinners, but among those who were endeavouring, however imperfectly, to obey God." [72] He goes on:

> "Did Christ hold out no hope for those who had lived in sin? Doubtless He did, if they determined to forsake their sin ... all who come to Him will be received; none will be cast out. But the question is ... whether they will ... prove as consistent and deeply-taught Christians as those who, compared with them, have never departed from God at all ..." [73]

The only way is the way of penitence and obedience: to obey God is to be near Christ, to disobey God is to be far from Christ.

Newman considers the case of the apostle Paul in a sermon in the series "Sermons bearing on the subjects of the day", which was published in 1843. (The quotations are from the second edition, published in 1844.) His text is "In nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I be nothing" (2 Corinthians, Chapter 12, Verse 11). Paul, he says, the greatest enemy of the church has becomes its greatest servant.

> "Nor is St. Paul's instance solitary: stranger cases still have occurred in the times after him. Not unregenerate sinners only like him, but those who have sinned after their

> regeneration; not sinners in ignorance only like him, but those who knew what was right and did it not; not merely the blinded by a false zeal and an unhumbled heart, like him, but sensual, carnal, abandoned persons ... these too, by the wonder-working grace of God, have from time to time become all that they were not; as high in the kingdom of heaven as they were before low plunged in darkness and in the shadow of death ... so much so that ... it has sometimes been laid down as a sort of maxim 'the greater the sinner, the greater the saint', as if to have a full measure of Christ's cup, a man must first have drunken deeply of the cup of the devil."[74]

Newman condemns this attitude, though he admits that it does prove that "no degree of sin, however extreme ... which can be repented of, precludes the acquisition of holiness, however high. No sinner so great, but he may, through God's grace, become a saint ever so great".[75] Newman points out that not all great saints were first great sinners! Indeed, it is less likely that a great sinner should turn to God and become a great saint "even if he follows the call so far as to repent, yet it is less likely still that the habits of sin which he has formed round his soul will so relax their hold of him as to allow him to lay aside every weight. The probability

is that he has made his will so torpid, and his heart so carnal, and his views so worldly, that even when his repentance is sincere, he will settle down in an inferior second-rate sort of religion; he will have no fervour, no keenness, no elevation, no splendour of the soul, he will not be able to pray ... corruption will mingle with all that he does ... the more a man sins, the stronger become his soul's enemies, and the weaker himself."[76]

Newman is convinced that not so many people attain holiness after a life of sinning as after a life of innocence:

> " ... it must not be supposed, because sinners have sincerely repented, that therefore they have no punishment for their past sins; and this puts a vast difference between the state of the innocent and the penitent. In this sense they can never be on a level; the one, if God so wills, is open to punishment, and the other is not; for God does not so pardon, that he does not also punish. When his children go wrong, they are, in St. Paul's words, judged. He does not abandon them, but he makes their sin 'find them out' (1 Cor. 11, Verse 32) ... it may be God's will to make that punishment the means of their sanctification, as He did in St. Paul's case. Pain, distress, heaviness, may overwhelm them, may be their portion,

> may be necessary for their attaining that holiness to which they aspire."[77]

Repentant sinners should, of course, be accepted and loved as though they had not sinned, although "it is often a duty - at least for a time - to put an outward and ceremonial distinction between them and others. First, we cannot be certain, till after a while, that they are really repentant ... and next, it may be necessary for their good (particularly when a church does not enforce the discipline of penance) ... to put them under disadvantage, and for example's sake."[78]

The trouble is, bewails Newman, that many Christians are just safe and mediocre. If it is true that a sinner may become a saint, it is at least true that an innocent person, who has never fallen into gross sin, notwithstanding, need not be a saint. And so he exhorts his congregation, if they be fairly innocent, to preserve that state.

> "No true penitent forgets or forgives himself: an unforgiving spirit is the very price of God's forgiving him ... yet, as towards the love of God and of their brethren, in this respect, they are, on their repentance, in the condition of just persons who need no repentance ... they may be the highest in the kingdom of heaven ... Keen indeed must be the discipline which brings them to that lofty seat. Not by languid efforts, not without great and solemn trials is it

> reached; not without pain and humiliation, and much toil, will they make progress towards it; but it can be gained ... it is in their grasp ... let them turn to God with a perfect heart; let them beg of Him that grace which wrought so powerfully in the blessed apostle ... let them be sure that, if they have but the will for great things, they have the power ... whatever be our necessary trial, He will bring us through it ... till we in turn, whatever be our past sins, shall be able to say, like him, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them that love His appearing'."[79]

So, in these sermons, as in the Lectures on Justification, Newman is stressing that regeneration takes place at baptism, when the Holy Spirit is implanted in the justified. The way to life is narrow; the most important part of the Christian life is that it does not depent on emotions or awareness of forgiveness, it is severe. Dr. Nesome points out that "the narrowness of the way to life as worked out in the theology of the 1830's was such that he came to plot a via media between Rome and Continental Protestantism

which was impossible for all but the saints to travel, because he enjoined Christians to attain sanctification while rejecting the means and the comforts which the rival systems had devised. He would not count good works meritorious, and he could not accept final perseverance".[80]

NOTES

1 Bernard Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 126
2 Owen Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p.42
3 David Newsome, 'The Evangelical Sourcesof Newman's Power', in'The Rediscovery of Newman; Edited by J. Coulson and A. M. Allchin, p.11
4 Newsome, Ibid, p.11
5 John Calvin,'Institutes', II, pp. 3, 11, quoted by Francois Wendel,'Calvin,' p. 245
6 Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 130
7 Newsome, 'Evangelical Sources of Newman's Power', p.12
8 John Henry Newman, 'Apologia Pro Vita Sua', Fontana Edition, p. 98
9 Ibid, pp. 98, 99
10 Thomas Scott, 'The Force of Truth', quoted by David Newsome,'Evangelical Sources of Newman's Power; p.18
11 Ibid, p. 18
12 Ibid, p. 19, where Newsome compares this with Newman's statement, quoted above, from Apologia
13 Ibid, p. 24
14 David Newsome, 'Justification and Sanctification: Newman and the Evangelicals', Journal of Theological Studies, Vol. xv, 1964, pp.49-50
15 John Henry Newman, 'Parochial and Plain Sermons', Volume II, p. 153
16 Newsome, 'Evangelical Sources of Newman's Power', p. 25
17 John Henry Newman, 'Apologia Pro Vita Sua', Fontana, p. 99
18 A. F. Hort, 'Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort', Vol. II, pp. 35-36
19 John Henry Newman, 'Parochial and Plain Sermons', Volume V, p. 234
20 Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 154
21 John Henry Newman, 'Apologia Pro Vita Sua', p. 121
22 Newsome,'Evangelical Sourcesof Newman's Power', p. 30
23 Newsome, 'Newman and the Oxford Movement', p. 179
24 Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 116
25 Ibid, p. 116
26 John Henry Newman, 'Lectures on Justification', p. 13
27 Ibid, p. 79
28 Ibid, p. 80
29 Ibid, p. 103
30 Ibid, p. 109
31 Ibid, p. 113
32 Ibid, p. 167
33 Ibid, p. 169

34 Ibid, p. 170
35 Ibid, p. 184
36 Ibid, p. 206
37 Ibid, p. 221
38 Ibid, p. 254
39 Ibid, p. 259
40 Ibid, p. 260
41 Ibid, p. 347
42 Ibid, p. 389
43 Ibid, p. 348
44 Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 117
45 Ibid, p. 117
46 Ibid, p. 117
47 Newman, 'Lectures on Justification', p. 245 f.
48 Newsome, 'Newman and the Oxford Movement', p. 85
49 Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 42
50 Newsome, 'Justification and Sanctification: Newman and the Evangelicals', p. 43
51 Ibid, p. 43
52 Ibid, p. 41
53 John Henry Newman, 'Parochial and Plain Sermons', Vol. IV, pp. 4, 5
54 Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 38
55 Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 51
56 Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 95
57 Ibid, p. 99
58 Ibid, p. 115
59 Ibid, Vol. V, p. 132
60 Ibid, Vol. V, p. 138
61 Ibid, p. 177
62 Ibid, p. 184
63 Ibid, p. 186
64 Ibid, p. 194
65 Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 21
66 Ibid, p. 25
67 Ibid, p. 108
68 Ibid, pp. 109, 110
69 Ibid, p. 115
70 Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 204
71 Ibid, p. 204
72 Ibid, p. 208
73 Ibid, p. 215
74 John Henry Newman, 'Sermons Bearing on the Subjects of the Day', p. 18
75 Ibid, p. 19
76 Ibid, p. 20
77 Ibid, p. 23
78 Ibid, p. 24
79 Ibid, p. 28
80 Newsome,'Newman and the Oxford Movement', p. 87

E. B. PUSEY

By about 1840 Puseyism was beginning to be the word commonly used to describe the Oxford Movement. And in 1840 Pusey gave a simple summary of Tractarian teaching, part of which read as follows:

"What is Puseyism?"

"It is difficult to say what people mean when they designate a class of views by my name; for since they are no peculiar doctrines, but it is rather a temper of mind that is so designated it will vary according to the individual who uses it. Generally speaking, what is so designated may be reduced under the following heads: and what people mean to blame is <u>what to them appears an excess of them</u>. (Italics where words are underlined)

1. High thoughts of the two Sacraments.
2. High estimate of Episcopacy as God's ordinance.
3. High estimate of the visible Church as the Body wherein we are made and continue to be members of Christ.

4. Regard for ordinances, as directing our devotions and disciplining us, such as daily public prayers, fasts and feasts, etc.
5. Regard for the visible part of devotion, such as the decoration of the house of God, which acts insensibly on the mind.
6. Reverence for and deference to the ancient Church, of which our own Church is looked upon as the representative to us, and by whose views and doctrines we interpret our own Church when her meaning is questioned or doubtful; in a word, reference to the ancient Church, instead of the Reformers, as the ultimate expounder of the meaning of our Church."[1]

As Professor Chadwick points out, this could almost be a statement of the old High Church tradition, and Pusey half admits when he says:

" ... they are no peculiar doctrines".

But the divines of the sixteenth century would probably have felt unhappy about Pusey's implication that there was an antithesis between the Fathers and the Reformers.

Pusey, then, stresses the Sacraments, Episcopacy, the visible Church and "ordinances, as directing our devotions and disciplining us, such as daily public prayers, fasts

and feats etc." Here is the implied difference between the Tractarians and the Reformers and their heirs the Evangelicals.

In 1835 Pusey published his Treatise on Baptism as one of the Tracts for the Times series.

> "In place of the short and incomplete papers such as the earlier tracts had been, Nos. 67, 68 and 69 formed the three parts of a closely written pamphlet of more than 300 pages."[2]

The advertisement to the second volume of the Tracts states:

> "It is to be regarded not as an inquiry into a single or isolated doctrine, but as a delineation and serious examination of a modern system of theology, of extensive popularity and great speciousness, in its elementary and characteristic principles."[3]

As Professor Chadwick comments on the Treatise on Baptism: "He (Pusey) was not subtle, had no intention of being subtle".[4] And there is certainly nothing subtle about the Tract, with its massed information, its authorities, its ponderous drumming home that the early Church taught Baptismal Regeneration. The second chapter of the Tract is entitled: "Of the meaning of Baptismal Regeneration, and the passages of Holy Scripture which speak of or imply the greatness of Baptism". Yet Pusey does not give a satisfactory definition of the word

"regeneration" itself, neither does he really define with any precision the sense in which he was using it. He does confess that it is not easy to give such a definition, commenting that we can only define accurately when we can understand both cause and effect, and anyway things divine cannot be contained in the shallowness of human words. He cites as an example of this difficulty in definition the word "justification". One man may mean when he uses the word "counted righteous", and he will understand this to be the meaning so rigidly that he will forget the other meaning of "being made righteous". The man who emphasises "justification by faith" is in danger of forgetting justification imputed to us through Baptism. On the other hand, warns Pusey, a man may stress God's gift in Baptism and not perceive that that gift is only retained by abiding faith.

Pusey may have had difficulty in defining regeneration - thereby, in Professor Chadwick's words, "clouding the issue for his successors" - but he found no difficulty in stating when that regeneration took place: it was in Baptism.

> "The view here held of Baptism, following the ancient church and our own, is, that we be engrafted into Christ, and thereby receive a principle of life, afterwards to be developed and enlarged by the fuller influence of His grace; so that neither is baptism looked upon as an infusion of

> grace distinct from incorporation into Christ, nor is that incorporation conceived of as separate from its attendant blessings."[5]

There is in Scripture no hint that regeneration can be obtained in any way but by Baptism:

> "But now ... to shut out all human co-operation and boasting, as though we had in any way contributed to our own birth ... our birth is attributed to the Baptism of Water and the Spirit, and to that only."[6]

If Pusey had no doubt about the when of regeneration, neither had he any doubt about the quality of life expected from those so regeneratedby Baptism. In his Tract he warns his readers, with a wealth of Scriptural quotation, that after Baptism they must live the new life. He stresses again the regeneration wrought by Baptism, and denies that any Christian after Baptism has not been regenerated, or could afterwards be regenerated:

> "The very errors of the Novatians, that none who fall away after Baptism could be renewed to repentance, will approach nearer to the truth of the Gospel, than the supposition that persons could be admitted as dead members into Christ, and then afterwards for the first time quickened. Our life in Christ is throughout represented as

> commencing, when we are by baptism made members of Christ and children of God. That life may through our negligence afterwards decay, or be choked, or smothered or well-nigh extinguished, and by God's mercy again be renewed and refreshed, but a <u>commencement</u> of life in Christ after Baptism, a death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness at any other period than at that one first introduction into God's covenant ... is not in Scripture."[7]

Dr. Pusey asserted the fact - as he saw it - of Baptismal regeneration. What about the consequences? In 1843 he preached in Christ Church his sermon entitled: "The Holy Eucharist a comfort of the Penitent". He took as his text Matthew, Chapter 26, Verse 28": "For this my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins".

Pusey started with the statement:

> "Baptism containeth not only remission of sin, actual or original, but maketh members of Christ, children of God, heirs of heaven, hath the zeal and earnest of the spirit, the germ of spiritual life; the Holy Eucharist imparteth not life only, spiritual strength, and oneness with Christ, and His indwelling, and participation of Him, but, in its degree,

> remission of sins also ... He, the Heavenly Manna, becometh to every man what he needeth, and what he can receive; to the penitent perhaps chiefly remission of sins and continued life, to those who have loved Him and kept His word, His own transporting, irradiating presence, full of His own grace and life and love ..."[8]

Pusey here repeats the thesis of his Tract on Baptism. But he also adds to this insistence on Baptismal regeneration the insistence that not only does the Eucharist strengthen the sinner and unite him with Christ: it also imparts remission of sins.

Pusey continues by reminding his listeners that he has spoken previously of Our Lord as the Penitent's stay in guilt. So now he speaks of the Holy Mysteries "from which, as from Paradise, he (the Penitent) feels that he deserves to be shut out, from which, perhaps, in the holier discipline of the Ancient Church, he would have been for a time removed, but which to his soul must be the more exceeding precious, because they are the Body and Blood of the Redeemer ... while as a penitent he approaches as to the Redeemer's side, he may hope that having been so brought, he with the penitent, shall not be parted from it, but be with Him and near Him in Paradise ... to whom much is forgiven, he loveth much".[9] Pusey speaks almost wistfully here when he mentions "the holier discipline of the ancient church" and that

discipline's removal of an offender from the ranks of the communicants for a period. Pusey begs his listeners, on this Easter festival, not to probe and to quarrel about the mechanics, the hows and whys of the sacrament, but rather to adore the love of Christ for them as shown in His mysteries, the Christ who said, "Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you". He continues:

> "The penitent's joy ... in the Holy Eucharist is not the less deep, because the pardon of sins is not, as in Baptism, its direct provision".[10]

The two Sacraments have not the same purpose and end, according to Pusey. Baptism gives life, engrafts the Christian to the true Vine, buries him in Christ's tomb and raises him into the new life of Christ. The Eucharist preserves and enlarges that new life, it spread Christ's new life into engrafted limbs, therefore "the Holy Eucharist is given not to the dead but to the living. It augments life ... gives immortality to the living, to the dead it gives not life, but death ... is received to salvation or damnation, whence the ancient church so anxiously withheld from it such as sinned grievously, not as an example only to others, but in tenderness to themselves".[11]

In his summary of the aims of the Tractarians given on page 50 Pusey put first "High thoughts of the two sacraments". Here the attitude to the Holy Eucharist is certainly of the very highest. Pusey quotes from the Old

Testament - on which he was such a great authority - types of the Eucharist, mentioning the Tree of Life, the Manna in the Wilderness, the Shewbread. And Christ Himself speaks of giving life through bread and wine. Christ does not explain how the bread and the wine become His Body and Blood; He states that they give us life, and we become flesh of His flesh, and He who is wholly life is imparted to us wholly, and we rest in Him: "I in the Father, and ye in Me, and I in you", said Our Lord.

Pusey then asks the question, "But what about the sinner? Is he banished from the life-giving and life-enfolding presence of the Lord?" That presence where all breathes of holy life, life in God, the indwelling of the All Holy and Incarnate Word ... where seems there room for one, the mansion of whose soul has been broken down, and he to have no place where Christ may lay His head; the vessel has been broken, if not defiled, and now seems unfit to contain God's Holy Presence; the tenement has been narrowed by self-love, and seems incapable of expanding to receive the love of God, or God who is love; or choked and thronged with evil or foul imaginations; or luxury and self-indulgence have dissolved it, or evil thoughts and desires have made room for evil spirits in that which was the dwelling place of the Trinity?"[12]

The gift of God, says Pusey, is indeed for the holy, and he quotes from Chrysostom, Augustine, and Cyril of Jerusalem to support this. Yet there is hope for the sinner:

> "What wraps the saint already in third heaven, may yet uphold us sinners ... the same reality of the Divine Gift makes it angel's food to the saint, the ransom to the sinner. And both because it is the Body and Blood of Christ ... To him - (the sinner) - its special joy is that it is His Redeemer's very broken Body, it is His Blood, which was shed for the remission of sins ... so of the true penitent it may be said, whatever may have been his sins, so he could repent ... may he drink, and therein drink his salvation. St. Ambrose says, 'Approach to Him and be absolved, because He is remission of sins'."[13]

So, for the penitent sinner, the Eucharist gives pardon for his sins. Were the Eucharist but a memorial or but a thanksgiving it would have no benefit for the sinner.

> "(The Blood) cleanses us because it is the Blood shed for the remission of our sins ... if we be indeed partakers of His atoning Blood, how should we not be partakers of its fruits? ... How should we approach His sacred side, and remain leprous still? Fouling with our very lips that cleansing Blood, how may we not ... confess 'Lo, this

hath touched my lips, and shall take away mine iniquities and cleanse my sins?'"[14]

Pusey then quotes from St. Ambrose to illustrate the Absolution contained in the Eucharist. And in Scripture where the doctrine of the Eucharist is taught there is some indication too of the accompanying remission of sins: "The Bread I shall give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world". He quotes from the ancient liturgies to show the forgiveness of sins in the Eucharist. Pusey then urges his listeners to frequent and penitent attendance at the Eucharist and to frequent communion.

"Yet can we say ... that the Absolution, which admits to that cleansing Blood, is everything, that cleansing Blood itself ... addeth nothing? Rather, the penitent's comfort is, that, as in St. Basil's words on frequent communion, 'continual participation of life is nothing else than manifold life', so, often communion of that Body which was broken and that Blood which was shed for the remission of sins, is manifold remission of those sins over which he mourns, that as the loving kindness of God admits him again and again to that Body and that Blood, the stains are more and more effaced, the guilt more and more purged, the wounds more and more healed, that atoning Blood more and more

> interposed between him and his sins, himself more united with his Lord, Who alone is Righteousness and Sanctification and Redemption."[15]

Pusey disagrees with those who say that more frequent, weekly communions would decrease reverence. He urges his congregation to restore this custom, though not rashly, not just multiplying celebrations, but making sure that when they make more frequent communions they also change their lives, and approach the Sacrament in recollection and in penitence.

> "For where He is, how should there not be forgiveness and life and peace and joy? What other hope need we, if we may indeed hope that we thereby dwell in Him and He in us, if not by the fullness of His graces, yet with such at least as are fitted to our state, cleansing our iniquities and healing our infirmities, Himself the forgiveness that we long for; we in Him, in Whom if we be found in that Day, our pardon is for ever sealed, ourselves for ever cleansed, our iniquity forgiven, and our sin covered."[16]

Dean Church comments thus on the above sermon:

> "On 24th May, 1843 Dr. Pusey, intending to balance and complement the severer, and, to many, the disquieting aspects of

> doctrine in his work on Baptism, preached on the Holy Eucharist as a comfort to the penitent. He spoke of it as a disciple of Andrewes and Bramhall would speak of it; it was a high Anglican sermon, full, after the example of the Homilies, Jeremy Taylor, and devotional writers like George Herbert and Bishop Ken, of the fervid language of the Fathers; and that was all. Beyond this it did not go; its phraseology was strictly within Anglican limits. In the course of the week that followed, the University was surprised by the announcement that Dr. Faussett, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, had "delated" the sermon to the Vice-Chancellor as teaching heresy; and even more surprised at the news that the Vice-Chancellor had commenced proceedings."
>
> (Church, 'The Oxford Movement', p. 328)

The result is history: in Dean Church's words, "it came out, in informal ways, and through Dr. Pusey himself, that on the 2nd June Dr. Pusey had been accused and condemned for having taught doctrine contrary to that of the Church of England, and that by the authority of the Vice-Chancellor he was suspended from preaching within the University for two years".[17]

On the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, 1846, Pusey preached a sermon entitled, "The Entire Absolution of

the Penitent" in Christ Church. The date of the sermon places it strictly outside the limits of this discussion, but a brief summary will be useful. After referring to his suspension and recapitulating the chief ideas of the condemned sermon, Pusey then discusses the teaching of Anglican formularies on the power of the Church to bind and to loose sins, and the witness of the Biblical and early Christian writers to the forgiveness of post-Baptismal sin. He then turns to the Church's commission to absolve:

> "There are two distinct commissions conveyed to the Apostles, and through them to the Church:- authority to Baptize, and authority to remit sins to the baptised; the first not only remitting all sin but changing the whole man, making him another self; before out of Christ, now in Christ, new-born, new-created, a member of Christ, a Son of God, new formed 'after the image of Him who created him' (Col. 3; 10). Such a recreation there cannot again be. In Baptism a man becomes a new self, and being another man, has no more to do with his former sins than if they had been committed by another, except to love and thank God who had freed him from them; by absolution, pardon is given, life is renewed, but the penitent is the same as

> the sinner. In Baptism, sins are suddenly and painlessly blotted out through grace; deep sins after baptism are forgiven, but upon deep contrition which God giveth ... so continued sorrow is not only the condition of continued pardon, but the very channel of new graces, and of the renewed life of the soul ..."[18]

Pusey again emphasises Baptismal regeneration: after Baptism the Christian is a new man, with his old sins left behind. When the Christian sins after Baptism, forgiveness and absolution are conditional on the penitence and the sorrow of the sinner, who is full of self-displeasure and misery because he has injured the God whom he professes and tries to love. Pusey continues:

> " ... sins before Baptism come not into judgement at all ... grievous sins after Baptism are remitted by absolution, and the judgement, if the penitent be sincere, is an earnest of the judgement of Christ, and is confirmed by Him. Yet the same penitent has yet to appear before the judgement seat of Christ, that, according to his sincerity, the Lord may ratify or annul the judgement of His servants. Yet with these limitations, the pardon upon penitence is as absolute as is Baptism itself. Indeed, the commission to set

> free from sins, has by Ancient Fathers been thought in a secondary way, to include the power of Baptism; it is one power, and one pardon, and one Blood ... applied."[19]

The absolution of the penitent then is entire, but conditional on his penitence. Pusey carries on the discussion of the power of the keys as related to, yet distinct from the baptismal remission of sins, and considers the scope of absolution. The Church's power to forgive is the same as Christ's:

> " ... and now in the same words He leaves it to these whom He left in His Name to carry on His work on earth."[20]

This apostolic power has been committed to the Church till the end of the world, the power "by baptism to remit all sin, actual and original; by absolution, to remit all which, by the frailty of our nature, any may afterwards contract; by baptism to bring into His fold, by absolution to restore those who had wandered from it".[21]

Pusey stresses that no sin, however bad, is excepted:

> "Let the sinner lay down his sin at our dear Lord's feet, hating them for his love's sake who has so loved him ... What sins may there ... be remitted? All which are not excepted; and there are none. 'He saith', says St. Pacian, 'Whatsoever ye shall loose'. He excepted nothing whatever ... All may be forgiven

> for which God puts into the heart the desire to be forgiven. The unpardonable sin is therefore alone not forgiven (St. Augustine says), because the sinner asks not for forgiveness."[22]

Pusey encourages his hearers to accept this gift and promise: Our Lord has not left us comfortless.

> "Nor again doth He put us off for that forgiveness to a distant day. The effects of sin upon the soul may often be to be worked out by sorrow and toil; the forfeited crown and larger favour of Almighty God to be gained by subsequent self-denial or suffering for Him or devoted service ... our sins, when we are fit to receive the blessed words, are forgiven at once ... so now, as soon as His priest has, in His Name, pronounced his forgiveness on earth, the sins of the true penitent are forgiven in heaven."[23]

So, says, Pusey, our sins are at once forgiven absolutely, the burden is released.

> "The word ἀφίεσθαι contains in one a whole gospel of forgiveness - a whole volume, filled within and without, and traced by the finger of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, all that the penitent's heart craves for, full, present, absolute, universal forgiveness and release."

J. B. Mozley comments thus on Pusey's sermon on the Holy Eucharist, which resulted in his suspension:

> "The first observation then, that will naturally suggest itself to persons on comparing some of Dr. Pusey's present with his past works, is the greater severity of the former, which the latter have softened ... The sermon on the Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent was cast in a mould of thought, softer, if we may say so, and more lenient, than that in which his first Tracts were cast ... (This confirms Dean Church's view) ... there was something of what appeared to many, over-austere in his first religious works; his last show anything but this ... Dr. Pusey has devoted himself to one main line of thought in his religious teaching. He has devoted himself to the consideration of sin; its awful nature; its antagonism to God; its deep seat in our nature; the remedy provided for it by Our Lord's meritorious sufferings and death, and the application of that remedy in the ordinance of Baptism."

Mosley points out that the sinner first thinks of himself and his guilt only. But then comes the thought of mercy

and hope and pardon: but this sense of pardon cannot come without a sense of sin in the first place: "... a deep and real sense of guilt make an infinite mercy".[24] But one comes from the other, "they do not arise simultaneously but successively. It is the fault of a popular religion that it makes them simultaneous. The sense of pardon ... comes in before it ought, and an original amalgamation of the two feelings destroys from the first the depth, refinement and solidity of both ... there are two stages in this business which, if we were true to ourselves, we must go through".[25]

Mozley praises Pusey for preaching humiliation first and pardon afterwards, a message which the Church needs:

> "The idea of Baptismal privileges appeared to be getting more and more faint. One large party in the Church totally denied them; another made them very nominal and external. There was wanted a restoration of the doctrine of Baptism ... Dr. Pusey did this work ... the deep view of Baptism received a remarkable impulse ... The immediate consequence of the idea of Baptism being deepened was that sin after Baptism deepened too. The greater the privileges of the new birth the greater the fall from them ... to fall away from new life, to undo a new nature, to defile the temple of the Holy Ghost,

> was a serious and an awful thing. Thus in close connection with the explanation of Baptismal privileges went the intensifying of post-Baptismal sin."[26]

A serious and an awful thing: here, in the words of an admirer of his, is a true and just description of Tractarian views and Dr. Pusey's views in particular and the strong language he used to express the responsibility of the human will for its choice between good and evil. It is no wonder that Maurice was horrified by the harsh rigour and severity of the Treatise on Baptism. Pusey may, in his two sermons quoted above, have softened the impression overwhelmingly conveyed by his Tracts, but the attitude is still harsh and rigorous enough. Pusey was reacting to the contemporary teaching of the Evangelicals which "by attributing so much to faith alone and assurance, was underestimating the need to exhort men to obey, the need to show them that they were responsible for their lightest sin, that they could turn to God and could choose the right if they but would, that they were perpetually being confronted by the broad way which beckoned and the narrow way which appeared so steep. This moral earnestness is almost to be described as passionate."[27] Pusey's expression of the above is passionate.

This moral earnestness, this passionate moral earnestness runs through all his sermons, indeed all his letters of direction and is visible in his own heroic though very gloomy life as portrayed by Liddon. Here is

one example:

> "True conversion to God is not a passing feeling, not exulting gladness in the boundless love of God, not swelling thankfulness for His redeeming mercies; it lives not in ardent emotions, impulses nor even in burning desires to live more to God, and to be more faithful to Him. It includes all these, but it goes beyond them. It is to hate what God hates, and love what God loves; it is to hate one's self for having loved what God hated, and hated what God loved; and to grieve that too late we loved Him. It is to love Him who died for us, and bore with us, and forgave us, and loving Him, to cleave to Him. Its seal is perseverance through His grace unto the end."[28]

Perseverance and obedience, the love of God shown forth not in emotion but in doing His will.

In another sermon Pusey warns his hearers against the dangers of delaying repentance: God's grace is indeed free, but it must be accepted now. Again, he warns his hearers against lukewarmness. He calls the lukewarm person a man who is not bold enough to choose between good and evil, between the service of God and the service of Mammon. Pusey admits that the man might be outwardly decent and churchgoing, but his heart is relaxed, his soul will do as

little for God as it can. The lukewarm person is self-centred. Yet Jesus calls us to be perfect. Pusey pleads with his hearers to try to conform to the image of Christ, to mortify themselves, to press on the struggle of Christian living.

Pusey was immensely and intensely conscious that the whole life of the Christian man is a life of struggle against the world, the flesh and the devil.

> "Pray morning by morning to be enabled to pray; strive against covetousness or sensuality, or the cares of this life, which prevent thy thinking upon God; make efforts to win thy soul from the business of this life, if but now and then, for a thought on God; use all the stated means in thy power and make what thou canst ..."[29]

Pusey's faith, as Dr. Chadwick emphasises, was a simple one. He was never the leader of the Tractarian movement as Newman had been, though he proved to be its mainstay and guide after the latter's defection to Rome. He was in all things a conservative.

> "His distinctive contribution to the Movement was in the extent to which he created its spiritual tone ... he gave to the traditional teaching itself a new quality of spiritual fervour. That this at times is somewhat forced and the demand for personal effort overpressed has to be recognised. Pusey's

> nature was scrupulous to excess and he in practice attached too little weight to the joy and peace in believing."[30]

Brilioth, in his study of the theology and thought of the Oxford Movement, named Pusey the "doctor mysticus" of the Movement. His sermons were often ecstatic - never, as Professor Chadwick remarks, a word one could use about the published works of Keble or Newman. And there is urgency too as he tried to remind the soul of its awful responsibility as it stands under the judgement of God.

> "It was not that he failed to recognise the workings of grace, or man's incapacity, or justification by faith ... (his insistence on the responsibility of the soul) could perhaps create a sense of strain."[31]

NOTES

1 H. P. Liddon, 'Life of E. B. Pusey', Vol. II, p. 140
2 R. W. Church, 'The Oxford Movement, 1833-1845', p. 136
3 Ibid, p. 136
4 Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 47
5 E. B. Pusey, 'Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism', p. 24
6 Ibid, p. 26
7 Ibid, p. 27
8 E. B. Pusey, 'Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent', p. 2
9 Ibid, p. 2
10 Ibid, p. 3
11 Ibid, p. 4
12 Ibid, p. 15
13 Ibid, p. 18
14 Ibid, p. 22
15 Ibid, p. 27
16 Ibid, p. 32
17 Church, 'The Oxford Movement', p. 330
18 E. B. Pusey, 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent', p. 1
19 Ibid, p. 2
20 Ibid, p. 3
21 Ibid, p. 3
22 Ibid, p. 5
23 Ibid, p. 9
24 J. B. Mozley, 'Essays Historical and Theological', Vol. II, p. 161
25 Ibid, p. 161
26 Ibid, p. 162
27 Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 50
28 E. B. Pusey, 'Parochial and Cathedral Sermons', p. 68
29 Ibid, p. 229
30 Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 126
31 Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 50

ISAAC WILLIAMS

Isaac Williams is named by Professor Owen Chadwick as being "in some ways the most typical figure of the whole movement ... (he was) a pupil of Keble; a poet; a quiet and obscure country parson; avoiding noise and publicity and controversy (though he found it without intending to find it)".[1] As Owain Jones remarks:

> "... it has ever been Williams' lot to be damned with faint praise for the part he played in the Tractarian movement at Oxford. Overshadowed by Newman, he deferred to his brilliance but retained his independence ... A self-confessed disciple of Keble ... he is the representative of the conservative wing of the movement, one of those who refused to move in the slightest degree from their traditional anchorage. He was the popularizer rather than the innovator, and by his poems, sermons and devotional commentaries, the principles of the Oxford Movement found their way into many homes and the sermons themselves into many pulpits."[2]

Williams, whilst an undergraduate at Oxford, competed for the Chancellor's Prize for Latin verse, the subject being Ars Geologica. When Williams won the prize, his success brought him to the notice of John Keble, who helped him to revise the poem for the press. Keble had just - in 1823 - resigned his fellowship of Oriel and had taken a curacy at Southrop. In the long vacation Keble invited Robert Wilberforce, Hurrell Froude and Isaac Williams for a reading party at Southrop. Williams regarded this as the turning point of his life, and he looked back with something akin to awe to the day when Keble came, almost accidentally, to his rooms and gave the unexpected invitation:

> "It was this trivial accident, the short walk of a few yards and a few words spoken, which was the turning point of my life. If a merciful God had miraculously interposed to arrest my course, I could not have had a stronger assurance of His presence than I always had in looking back to that day."[3]

Williams might have been a disciple of Keble, but nowhere does he suggest that he was first taught church principles by John Keble, rather that he caught from him a new depth of religious experience. The statement by Dean Church that Williams, the undergraduate at Trinity was "an ambitious and careless youth, who had never heard a word about Christianity, and to whom religion, its aims

and its restraints, were a mere name"[4] called forth a protest from Sir George Prevost and moved him to publish a manuscript of Williams' Autobiography. Williams, as O. W. Jones points out, had been brought up in a staunch Church family and was nurtured on the Bible and the Catechism. The influence of both John and Thomas Keble was certainly strong upon Williams, but it developed ideas that were already latent in the Williams family. (O. W. Jones discusses the High Church traditions in the Welsh Church of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and their influence on the Williams family at length in 'Isaac Williams and his Circle', pp. 93 ff.)

According to Dean Church "the Kebles were all of them men of the old-fashioned High Church orthodoxy of the Prayer Book and Catechism - the Orthodoxy which was professed at Oxford, which was represented in London by Norris of Hackney and Joshua Watson; which valued in religion sobriety, reverence and deference to authority, and in teaching sound learning and the wisdom of the great English divines, which vehemently disliked the Evangelicals and Methodists for their poor and loose theology, their love of excitement and display, their hunting after popularity".[5]

He goes on:

"Isaac Williams threw himself heartily into the early stages of the movement; in his poetry into its imaginative and poetical side, and also into its practical and self-

> denying side ... he would have been quite content with its silent working ... with preaching simple, homely sermons on the obvious but hard duties of daily life, and not seeing much come of them; with finding a slow abatement of the self-indulgent habits of university life, with keeping Fridays, with less wine in the common room. The Bisley maxims bade men to be very stiff and uncompromising in their witness and in their duties, but to make no show and expect no recognition or immediate fruit, and to be silent under misconstruction ... More reality, more severity and consistency, deeper habits of self-discipline on the accepted lines of English Church orthodoxy, would have satisfied him as the aim of the movement, as it undoubtedly was a large part of its aim."[6]

Isaac Williams described himself as belonging to the Bisley-Fairford School. Scott Holland described the members of this school as being strict and rigid:

> "They were a little doubtful about John Keble himself, who was liable to be touched by the influence of the brilliant and perilous Newman. They were fierce against Romanisers and cut dead all who went over. They were tough Tories. But they had the deep serious sincerity which belongs to the whole movement."[7]

The members of the Bisley School were all united in their regard for Thomas Keble, the incumbent of the parish of Bisley in Gloucestershire.

Thomas Keble, a stern, tough, uncompromising man, exemplified to Isaac Williams the virtues of simplicity, a calm sense of duty, and humble resignation. Prevost described him as "a man sui generis, not merely John Keble's brother, and not altogether like him." When he became Vicar of Bisley in 1827 he started the reading of the Prayer Book offices in church, Mattins being said at ten and Evensong at four. This public reading of the daily services became a party badge.

In 1838 Williams, then a Fellow of Trinity, published his first contribution to the Tracts for the Times with the title, suggested by Newman, "Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge". It was not written, in the first place, for the series but as a lecture for the new theological society which met at Pusey's house. Perhaps the choice of a title was unfortunate - "some people were more alarmed by the title than by the contents".[8]

Williams begins by stating that "the object of this present inquiry is to ascertain, whether there is not in God's dealings with mankind, a very remarkable holding back of sacred and important truths, as if the knowledge of them were injurious to persons unworthy of them. And if this be the case, it will lead to some important practical reflections".[9]

He goes on:

" ... there appears in God's manifestations of Himself to mankind, in conjunction with an exceeding desire to communicate that knowledge, a tendency to conceal, and throw a veil over it ... unless we were of a certain disposition to receive it."[10]

Williams then illustrates his meaning by alluding to the hidden years of Jesus's earthly life. Even the Resurrection was hidden from the multitude. Jesus's allusions to Himself were difficult to understand, and the Parables were a veil of the truth. He quotes St. Cyril as saying:

"Hath not Jesus Himself said, 'therefore I speak unto them in Parables, that seeing they might not perceive'. Was it from hating them that he wished them not to see? Or, was it not that they were unworthy to do so,since they had closed their eyes."[11]

By His miracles Jesus taught men and disclosed His Divinity to them, but His power was bound by men's unfitness to receive Him:

"For He is revealed to us as more than willing to forgive, but as it were unable to do so unless we repent; in like manner is He also as desirous to manifest Himself to us, but as it were unable to do so, unless we are fitly disposed for it."

(Ibid, p.12)

Here is the Tractarian insistence on no forgiveness without there first being penitence. He goes on:

> "I think it may be considered without doubt as a general rule, that the benefits conferred in the Gospel are in a sort of measured proportion according to the faith of the recipient or person engaged, as shown by the words of St. Mark, 'Jesus said to them that word of His, If Thou canst believe' ..."[12]

Williams emphasises "... that this faith required was the result of a certain state of the heart, and not a mere effort of feeling or imagination, would be evident from the place where the means of acquiring it are spoken of, viz. by prayer and fasting".[13]

He ends his consideration of Jesus's miracles to support the above ideas, and then says:

> "May we not also, from the expressions of others respecting our Saviour, see allusions to this awful and mysterious wisdom, and which indicate that He was in the habit of concealing ... His divine power and majesty, excepting so far as a person might be found capable of receiving it? Such is the expostulation of His brethren: 'No man doeth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly; if thou do

these things, shew thyself to the world'."[14]

He continues:

> "From all which it may be gathered, that it was indeed of infinite importance, that they should see and believe that He was the Christ; but that it was of no less infinite importance, that He should not Himself declare it to them ... the only mode ... of arriving at the truth was by means of that moral inference, under the influence of God's good spirit, which arises from that probable evidence which He has given us as the guide of life: in the same way that we gain natural truths ... as if in the same manner, as in natural events or worldly matters, we gather this fullness of assurance from the recurrence or repetition of many single circumstances, so also a divinely illuminated mind, in the course of practical obedience, necessarily must accumulate numerous facts which necessarily lead to certain conclusions, or convictions of divine truth, so as to be open to the hearty, and full reception of higher knowledge, when presented to it ..."[15]

The more faithful, obedient and godly a man is, the more will he apprehend the truths of God and the mercies

of God. Williams brings more evidence:

> "... do not our Lord's instructions to His disciples, when they were sent forth to preach, convey throughout something of the same impression, that they were not to press the truth beyond what men were willing to receive, and imply the awful state of those, to whom it had been spoken, as may be seen at length in the 10th Chapter of St. Luke?"[16]

Williams then quotes Athanasius to support the view of reserve about our Lord's divinity in the preaching of the apostles, and quotes Origen in support of his view that there are hard and obscure things in the epistles of Paul, which are "wrested to their own destruction by the unwary".[17] Note the emphasis here on God's judgement on those who, by their unworthiness, cannot receive His revelation.

Then, in the section entitled "Confirmed by the analogy of God's present dealings with mankind" Williams makes much of the peculiar insight of the just and good man into events which confirm his faith, as the good and humble were convinced by the miracles of Jesus. To the infidel and the thoughtless these events would have no meaning:

> "It is the path of the just, brightening in the clearness of his faith to the perfect day."[18]

Williams warns his readers against speaking "as if we

considered that a sensible manifestation of the Divine Presence, or Power, appeared to be the highest reward, or crown and end of a good and obedient faith; but rather, perhaps it may be a help vouchsafed to those, who are desirous of being led on to something better, and require such assistance".[19] He contrasts St. Peter, who needed this manifestation, and St. John, who did not. He concludes the first part of the Tract by asserting that a sound and healthy church will have a sound and balanced view of the Sacrament, neither idolatrous nor a merely commemorative one.

The second part of the Tract begins with a summary of what has gone before, stressing again that a good life is one of increasing moral light, advancement in knowledge, whilst an evil life is a progressively dark and ignorant one. He quotes Aristotle, who distinguishes two degrees in ignorance - the ignorance of a general principle, like the disciples being unable to comprehend the teaching of Jesus, and vicious ignorance, like the Jews, who were completely blind and would not see. In Scripture sin is darkness, "but progressive holiness is continually alluded to as progress in knowledge, and to know God as the end of all Christian obedience".[20]

Williams admits that the true knowledge of God is His gift. On the other hand, blindness is God's punishment -

> "... this blindness of heart and darkness which is superinduced, as the natural consequence of an evil life, is variously,

> yet consistently, throughout the whole of Scripture, attributed to the agency of God."[21]

This knowledge which God gives is very great and infinite, and is also moral in nature, not intellectual:

> "It might also be considered that holiness in man is ... nothing else but a sense of the Divine presence; to improve in holiness, therefore, is to grow in the consciousness of God's presence. And would again bring us to the same point, i.e. our blessed Saviour revealing himself according to the state of each man's heart."[22]

Self-discipline and self-denial dispose the heart to prayer, "prayer to the love of God, and the love of God to knowledge of Him".[23]

Williams gives examples of this light which lightens the path of the just, using especially the Ten Commandments. He then states:

> "Our Blessed Saviour appears to be disclosing Himself to those who are earnestly desirous to obtain the knowledge of Him in order to obey Him, in a manner no less remarkable does He appear to be hiding Himself from those who venture to approach Him with another mind."

- he is referring here to those who are speculative not devotional in their approach to Sacred Mysteries. He goes on:

> "For, in perfect harmony or analogy to all that has been before observed, we find that we are in a striking way hedged in by ignorance respecting great truths, which we endeavour to gain the knowledge of by any way but that of practical obedience ... that knowledge is withheld and we are punished for the attempt: in the same manner that it was of the highest importance that they should know the Lord; but unless they were sincerely and humbly seeking Him, He was hid from them."[24]

Williams then applies his thesis that Jesus admitted a chosen few to witness His secret, but shut out others, to the question of sins "being admitted to pardon and remission after baptism: however lightly and inconsiderately such a subject may be dealt with, still, in the humiliations and mortifications which mark the devotions of such as Bp. Andrewes, and Wilson, and Pascal, it may be seen that they practically felt this difficulty of obtaining forgiveness. The temper evinced seems a hearty apprehension and sense of unworthiness corresponding to such a fear".[25]

For Williams, as for the other Tractarians, "fervent piety is the key to all these hidden stores of God, in a natural and almost necessary manner, as it might be".[26]

He then considers how doctrines such as faith and works, the free grace of God, and obedience on the part

of man have divided Christians. The doctrine of salvation by the free grace of God is a great secret, only to be discovered after obedience and revealed to the faithful: it remains a secret to those who are interested only in disputation about Jesus.

As further evidence of the desirability of reserve in all religious matters Williams then cites examples of men, who, the nearer they grow to God and the more they grow like Jesus, so the more retiring they grow, because they become more and more humble. He quotes from Froude's Journal, introducing the quotation with these words:

> "Since writing the above, a very affecting instance of the kind has come to the writer's knowledge, in the private journal of one whose memory is very dear to him, and is now in publication; ... 'Felt as if I was getting enthusiastic. I must be careful to check high feelings; they are certain to become offences in a day or two, and must regulate my practice by faith, and a steady imitation of great examples. In hopes that by degrees what I now have only faint and occasional glimpses of, may be settled objects on which my imagination reposes, and <u>that I may be literally hid in the presence of the Lord</u>'."[27]

Williams is convinced that without a holy reserve about communicating feelings about God there is a lack

of true religious feeling. This reserve is not, however, found in religious "enthusiasm". He then defines the word:

> "I would mean by enthusiasm, a state of mind when the feelings are strongly moved by religion, but the heart is not adequately purified or humbled."[28]

In such enthusiasm God is misapprehended, His commandments are ignored, and past sins unrepented and there is no fear of God. There is no humility, there is no reserve, but a desire to persuade oneself of one's own religious feelings. An enthusiast does not consistently perform his religious duties in secret, says Williams: rather does he flit from action to action, looking here and there for miracles. These emotions should disappear as one advances in the religious life: they are mere consolations that have done their part, and should be replaced by calmness.

Part III of the Tract begins with the statement that this holy reserve in speaking about sacred things "pervades the whole religious system of the ancient church".[28] He goes on:

> "This principle of Reserve was developed into a regular system, known under the name of the Disciplina Arcani. In another form it may be observed among the Ancients in their almost universal mode of interpreting Scripture, every part of which they consider replete with mysterious knowledge, revealed only to the faithful Christian."[30]

Williams quotes Justin Martyr who says that "Knowledge is not safe without a true life". Williams regrets that the present aspect of the world is diametrically opposed to this Disciplina Arcani, and he blames printing for bringing knowledge to all indiscriminately. Preachers do the same: and we find "Churches and altars thrown open to all, from the loss of Church discipline".[31] Indeed, in the Church today there is "a new principle, unknown to former ages ... as the one and only Article of faith, indeed as one so important, and requiring to be received with such authority, as to supersede the very fabric of the Church: dispensing with her Sacraments, her Creeds, her Liturgies, her Discipline; and this principle is, that the highest and most sacred of all Christian doctrines, is to be brought before and pressed home to, all persons indiscriminately, and most especially to those who lead unchristian lives ... And so far from it being considered necessary to keep persons from church on account of irreligious lives, it is usually thought that everything is done, if they can be brought to it".[32] Williams fears that such a disregard for discipline and obedience and love of popular views do herald the day when "knowledge may indeed cover the earth" but the love of the many shall have waxed cold, and no faith be found".[33] The spirit of the age has pervaded the popular modes of extending Christianity, and he mentions the building of many churches, the printing of cheap publications and the provision of National Schools. Allied to these Williams

names the extolling of "eloquence and pleasing delivery, a powerful worldly engine, unlike that weak instrument which St. Paul calls the foolishness of preaching; and liturgies made suitable to the taste of the generality, and canonical hours relinquished for those which are more popular, and sacred things brought out of their chaste reserve and put forth to attract".[34] For the Tractarians these attitudes were anathema: and Williams here stresses the virtue of discipline and self denial in worship, "which is the spontaneous action of the individual, and the more inconvenience or self-denial such an act is accompanied with, the more does it partake of the nature of such spontaneous action".[35] He believes that our Lord's dealings with men will draw out this spirit of self-denial in them. If they do not respond to Him, then He will not force them, of course, but, in the words of Chrysostom, "when cast out He resisted not, but retired". Williams mentions the value of the daily service in forming such a devotional habit. And he goes on:

> "... the tendency of the Church has ever been to prefer earlier hours of the day, the present system of the world the later hours, for religious services. The same may be applied to the morning of life, to which the Church looks more than to a late repentance. This arises from the former requiring an effort on the part of the individual, the latter meeting him in his

> indolence ... it will always be true of human nature, that it cannot approach God without a sacrifice."[36]

He condemns the indiscriminate distribution of Bibles and tracts: conversion can never be that easy, which caused Jesus and the disciples such pains! As for national schools and the religious knowledge therein, Williams is at pains to stress that such knowledge is a great treasure which must be handled with care. The teaching of Jesus was gradual, drawing out His listeners' self-denial, showing them His works: the Church, in obedience to His command to preach the Gospel, must use the system of "parental and pastoral training, and building up by practical instruction, such as catechising and the use of a constant devotional form".[37] If these methods are ignored, then preaching is exalted unduly "in order to supply the want, as if it were able powerfully to bring to the heart that knowledge which has not been received into the character by gradual inculcation and discipline."[38] According to George Herbert, preaching is an instrument of good, but it must be founded on holiness: "the only way to promote good in others is to begin by self-discipline".[39]

After regretting the loss of the seven Canonical hours of prayer and, now, even of Mattins and Evensong, Williams proceeds to consider the Evangelical insistence that the doctrine of the Cross must always be preached. This, for him, is against the teaching of the Bible. It is true

that Paul speaks of himself at all times preaching the doctrine of Christ crucified: but "the whole of St. Paul's life and actions, after his conversion, and the whole of his teaching ... may be said to have been nothing else but a setting forth of Christ crucified, as the one great principle which absorbed all his heart, and actuated all his conduct".[40] Paul is not advocating a bare preaching of the Atonement, rather is he stressing "the necessity of our being crucified to the world ... our humiliation together with Him, mortification of the flesh, being made conformable to His sufferings and His death". The modern Protestant notion of preaching the Cross explicitly and prominently on all occasions diminishes rather than increases "a sense of responsibility and consequent humiliation".[41]

Williams stresses that the doctrine of the Atonement is implied throughout Scripture, and the Gospels are meaningless without it. As it pervades Scripture, so it ought to pervade the teaching of the Church, as it does the services, especially the Baptismal Service. Williams blames the loss of Church principle in the Church of England on the rebellion of 1688 "when she threw as it were out of the pale the doctrine of Christ crucified".[42] He goes on:

> "The apparent paradox which we witness, of Christianity having become publicly acceptable to the world, contrary to Our Lord's express declarations, can only be accounted

> for by its having been put forward without its distinguishing characteristic, the humiliation of the natural man: the doctrine of the Cross having been in some manner hidden: or those truths connected with it which are most agreeable to mankind being brought forward alone."[43]

Williams then quotes Pascal:

> "Had the design of our Lord's coming ... been the work of Justification only, it had been then the easiest task in the world to convince the unbeliever. But since He came, as Isaiah prophetically speaks, 'in sanctificationem et in scandalum', perverse Infidelity is above our strength to conquer, and our art to cure."[44]

Williams states that it is wrong to stress "nakedly" one truth of Christianity, without stressing also everything else that accompanies it in Scripture. He cites the neglect of the doctrine of Eternal Punishment, which natural man cannot believe, but the devout man humbly accepts, as he does, for instance, the cursing passages in the Psalms. He condemns the Evangelical desire to require from children and adults "an explicit declaration of a belief in the Atonement, and then full assurance of its power".[45] Faith does not require explicit knowledge. Williams is convinced that this modern, unhallowed approach to Jesus will lead, in the end, to a denial of His Divinity, because it encourages familiarity and irreverence in our attitude to

our Lord. He goes on:

> "It may also be seen to deny His Divine Presence and Power in His Sacraments, - the regenerating grace of one, and the spiritual presence in the other."[46]

As in the Old Testament no-one could approach God without sacrifice, so none can follow Jesus without taking up the Cross daily "... and the fuller manifestation at the last is seen through the extreme humiliation of human nature in Christ crucified ... By St. John, our Lord's Divinity is put forth with the repeated and unceasing exhortations of keeping the commandments".[47] This is in marked contrast to the Evangelical practice, which "is accompanied with a great impatience, not only of any holding back of this Divine truth, but of the inculcation of it being accompanied with that of the necessity of mortification and obedience on the part of man".[48]

Williams mentions with disapproval too the modern Roman Catholic worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He admits that the Church of Rome is above all churches orthodox in its doctrine of the Trinity: but the human tendency to worship without an accompanying holiness of life produces the substitute of the Virgin as an object of worship.

The practical conclusion to be drawn from this study of reserve in communicating religious knowledge is "one which is full of awe, indeed, but also full of consolation, as tending to keep the mind quiet in times of universal

movement and excitement. That Jesus Christ is now, and has been at all times, hiding Himself from us, but at the same time exceedingly desirous to communicate Himself, and that exactly in proportion as we show ourselves worthy He will disclose Himself to us ... (that) the study of Divinity (is) to consist in a Divine life ... That all means of grace will lead us, as it were, step by step, into all these treasures, inexhaustible in their nature, limitless in their duration ... the blessing of the pure in heart, that they shall see God."[49]

It is, I hope, obvious from the above summary why Williams' Tract should have offended the Evangelicals. He has objected, strongly and at length to any exploitation of the mystery of the Atonement. The only fitting approach to religion is through holiness of life; otherwise superstition is the outcome and idolatry.

> "The risk of idolatry in the case of the atonement was in suggesting that acceptance by 'faith' of the merits of Christ's death is alone sufficient and that moral obedience may be dispensed with, whereas conscience is our first and always necessary guide: 'There is no one living but to whom Wisdom speaks, a voice that tells him of something better which he ought to do than what he does ... Until he follows this voice, the higher and better wisdom is hid from him'."[50]

Williams' opinion, expressed in the Tract, that the holiest mysteries of Christianity should not be exposed to the gaze of the profane was, as Professor Chadwick remarks, hardly an exceptional one.

> "But it was assailed by Bishop Sumner of Chester and by a few less discriminating critics who leapt to the idea that reserve was a weapon of the stealthiness popularly attributed to the Puseyites."[51]

Dean Church remarked:

> "Written in the most devout and reverent spirit by one of the gentlest and most refined of scholars, and full of deep Scriptual knowledge, it furnished for some years the material for the most savage attacks and bitterest sneers to the opponents of the movement... The word Reserve was enough ... It meant that the Tract writers avowed the principle of keeping back part of the counsel of God. It meant further, that the real spirit of the party was disclosed; its love of secret and crooked methods, its indifference to knowledge ... its deliberate concealments ... its disciplina arcani, its conspiracies, its Jesuitical spirit."[52]

This violent opposition which the Tract aroused made Williams publish a sequel, this time considering the principle of reserve in relation to the practice of the early church. This Tract was published in 1840 as number 87 in the series.

It is interesting that, in his introduction, Williams makes the point that his opinions on reserve were not formed by any study of church history but from his own experience as a parish priest, concerned with the cure of souls, and his own "observation of the conduct of others who, he thought, had the most experience and good sense and singleness of heart in winning men to the truth".[53] He admits that there are no proofs of the Disciplina arcani before the middle or the end of the second century, but "this would only prove that it might not have appeared as the definite system".[54] The Fathers speak of it not as a system founded on expediency, but as a great and fundamental principle. Even if the testimony of the very early fathers is varied and desultory, it is more than enough to show "a state of thought and feeling perfectly at variance with these modern systems, whether that (improperly) called Evangelical, or the cold and barren (equally miscalled) orthodoxy of the last age".[55]

Williams concludes, after a survey of the writings of many of the fathers, including the rigorous Tertullian, that "all that has been adduced from the Fathers goes to establish this point, (independently of others) that all Divine and saving knowledge is derived by pains on the

part of man, and requires a preparation of the heart; this is implied by both the two subjects which have been discussed, the systematic discipline of the reserve, and also that of the secret senses of Scripture revealed only to good men".[56] Williams then repeats what he has stressed in Tract 80,

> "that the study of the Cross of Christ, implying the humiliation of the natural man, leads to the living and practical sense of the atonement; that through the humanity and sufferings of our Lord, men are brought to an union with the Godhead; that we cannot come to Christ but by bearing the Cross after Him, by which, as St. Bernard says, we are made to partake of that anointing which goeth forth from Him."[57]

Part IV ends with Williams stating that as Jesus concealed His Divinity and His miracles during His earthly life, so, in the early church, did the practice of disciplina arcani conceal "high doctrine and the nature of those sacraments which are as it were a continued miracle in His church."[58] The object of this Disciplina arcani was to secure first a proper preparation of the heart before the secrets of Christianity were fully disclosed. And he warns "that, as our Lord implied that there was great and increasing danger to those who knew His will, so in a manner quite different to our modern

notions, do the Ancients imply, that great danger is to be apprehended from hearing the gospels, and not acting suitably to that knowledge."[59]

In Part V, which Williams entitles: "The Principle opposed to certain modern religious opinions", he repeats again his condemnation of Evangelical presentation of the atonement exclusively and indiscriminately, and contrasts "a more adequate sense of the Atonement, broader, and higher, and deeper views of the mystery which is 'hid in Christ', is indeed the perfection of the Christian character, that which grows with its growth, and is strengthened together with it more and more, so that advancement in holiness is a continual progress in self-abasement and self-renunciation towards that repose which is in God 'manifested in Jesus Christ'."[60] Williams deplores, too, the modern tendency to "name always the ever-blessed Spirit of God", and he contrasts the doctrine "that the same gradual perfection of a Christian will consist in a deeper and continually increasing sense of his utter inability to support himself in spiritual life, and a confidence that he can do all things through Christ strengthening him ..."[61] He repeats his claim that there is no authority in Scripture, moral law, religious philosophy or the Catholic church for the Evangelical view of commending Scripture doctrines by declaring them aloud to everyone. Williams is convinced that "Scripture and reason both would imply that it is by insisting first of all, if need be, on natural piety, on the necessity of common honesty, on repentance, on judgement to come, and

without any mode of expression that excepts ourselves from that judgement; by urging those assistances to poverty of spirit, which Scripture recommends and the church prescribes, such as fasting and almsgiving, and the necessity of reverent and habitual prayer."[62] Thus, says Williams, we may bring people to the truth of the Lord with care and with reverence.

He denies that he ever advocated that no mention should ever be publicly made of the Atonement; rather has he advocated acting naturally in this matter, with church and scripture and conscience and common-sense as a guide. And he points out that, whilst "we are saved by faith in Christ alone ... to come to know this in all its power is the very perfection of the Christian; not to be instilled as obtained by lifting up the voice in the street, but by obedience and penitence, so that, as each man advances in holiness of life, and comes the more to know what God is, the more does he feel himself, with the saints of all ages, to be the chief of sinners".[63] He compares the confidence of those Protestants who feel themselves to be assured of salvation with the feelings of those described above, who have no confidence but only penitence.

Williams is sure that the Evangelicals who put knowledge of God first before obedience to God are wrong. The only way to prepare the soul and the mind for the truth of the cross of Christ is by practising humility, by keeping the commandments, by being charitable and

prayerful. The practice of these virtues for the sake of Christ cannot be, as the Evangelicals say, "a seeking for expiation beyond the one great atonement".[64] It is sin which turns men away from the Cross of Christ not the practice of good works and virtues. All those who wish to repent and to progress in the Christian life must practise self-denial and self-discipline.

> "The minister who, most of all, induces men to practise good works, under the awful sense of their contrition as baptized Christians, brings them most of all to the Cross of Christ; and he who ... leads men to think that such works are of minor importance, and speaks slightingly of them, i.e. works of charity, humiliation and prayer, teaches men false and dangerous doctrine, flattering to human indolence, but opposed to Scripture, opposed to the Church, opposed to the first principles of our moral nature."[65]

Williams is convinced that good works must ever make good men, and surely a good man will most of all love God, as shown in Jesus Christ. He is horrified at the notion "that a doctrine so unspeakable and mysterious as that of the Atonement, is to be held out to the impenitent sinner, to be embraced in some manner to move the affections, (it) is so unlike our Lord's conduct, that it makes one fear for the ultimate consequences of such

a system".[66] He goes on to condemn those who attempt to systematise redemption with such terms as imputed righteousness, justification and sanctification: this is that we need to know, "that a childlike obedience which accepts the commands and doctrines of Scripture, will be brought to the full knowledge of God".[67]

The Evangelicals condemn those saints who practised mortification and penance. Williams cites Hammond and Andrewes as penitents who "loved much, because they felt that they had much forgiven; and they felt that they had much forgiven, because they loved much".[68] For his part, Williams condemns those eloquent preachers who "exclude with jealous eagerness all things that may alarm the consciences of those who heartily adopt the system, obedience to church authority, practices of mortification, the fear of God, and the doctrine of the judgement to come ... (they present) religion in colours attractive to the world, by stimulating the affections, and by stifling the conscience, rather than by purifying and mortifying the heart."[69]

Part IV has the title "The System of the Church one of Reserve". The Church exists to give to men the saving knowledge of their Lord, unlike systems and societies of the world, which exist to give worldly knowledge. The Church communicates truth to men as they are prepared to receive it:

> "the progressive stages of proficiency in the school of Christ have been termed the

> via purgativa, the way of repentance; the via illuminativa, or the way of Christian knowledge; and the via unitiva, or the way of charity and union with God."[70]

This is the long and painful way to the full knowledge of God which the Church provides. But the Church also provides the Sacraments wherein she has held the doctrine of the Atonement, "held it in its substance, in its fulness, in its life giving power and reality".[71] In the sacrament of Baptism it is stressed that the candidate is crucified and buried with Christ,with the consequent necessity of the candidate practising mortification and self-discipline. Williams states that the Sacraments realise the Doctrine of the Atonement in a way no human system can do. The Communion Service throughout "implies penitence, faith and charity as indispensable on the part of man, and the Body and Blood of Christ, verily and indeed taken and received as the highests gifts on the part of God."[72]

The blessings of priestly Absolution, which the world could never understand, are received in secret too, according to the faith of the recipient.

> "... a faithful Christian may look through the actions and offices of the Church, to that which is beyond human senses, to Christ absolving, Christ baptising, Christ interceding, Christ pronouncing benediction, and may thus by an habitual sense of absolution declared, come to the state of that penitent, who 'loved much, because she had much forgiven'."[73]

Williams defends himself and his fellow Tractarians who have been accused themselves of want of decent reserve in communicating religious knowledge by their expounding publicly the regenerating power of Baptism and the sacrifice of the Eucharist. They have indeed brought them forward to the people, but they have not attempted to make them popular:

> "Those especially ... who have brought forward these two great doctrines (Baptism and the Eucharist) might have met with a more favourable reception from the world, had they not associated with them other subjects equally forgotten, and naturally unpopular and unwelcome, such as the danger of sin after baptism, the necessity of mortification, the doctrine of Judgement to come."[74]

The rest of the Tract surveys fasting and other mortification and ends with a plea for the recognition of the principle of reserve.

There is then nothing new expressed in Tract 87, simply an underlining of the points made in Tract 80 with more examples and authorities cited. The thesis is plain: the only fitting approach to religion is holiness of life, and it is only the holy who can understand holy things. Holy means holy, too, with no idea of imputation. The soul is regenerated at Baptism and strengthened to live the life demanded by Jesus, the life of following the narrow way, taking up the Cross, denying oneself, perpetual penitence.

Williams' other tract, No. 86, was written in criticism of Keble and Newman for publishing Froude's Remains. It was entitled "Indications of a Superintending Providence in the preservation of the Prayer Book and in the changes which it has undergone". The Tract declares that recent liturgical study "has drawn a melancholy contrast between the Church of earlier and better times and the late Church which is in comparison of it as nothing". Williams' attitude to the Reformation was not really all that far removed from that of Froude, for he thought it a matter of doubt whether the Reformation was in all respects what its name implied, but he did admit that it was a call to repentance both to the individual and to the Church. Therefore the Prayer Book spoke in the language of servants rather than of sons:

> "We cannot look into Breviaries and Missals without observing their high choral tone in distinction from our own. To advert to particulars, we have the ancient kyrie eleison but not the hallelujahs ... The hosannas at the end of the Trisagion, the Gloria Deo at the Gospel (except as observed by traditionary use) are omitted. Add to this we are even to this day without canonical hymns, notwithstanding all attempts to obtain them ... from the Prayer for the Church Militant we have excluded the more solemn commendation to God and prayer for

> the dead ... and in the Prayer of Oblation, the beautiful mention of angelic ministries, as bearing our supplications into the presence of the Divine Majesty, is lost."[75]

Williams recites a long list of lost treasures, but he stresses that the Prayer Book taught the lessons of penitence and obedience, and these, as he says in his other tracts, were the lessons most needed in the present situation.

He has no difficulty in quoting parts of the Prayer Book which, in spite of the Reformation, still teach the truths for which the Tractarians are now fighting. For instance, he is considering the Collect for Christmas Day, which he admits has been used by the Tractarians in their assertion of the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration:

> "But it is not known that these words which imply Baptismal Regeneration are not found in either of the Latin forms to which Mr. Palmer has traced that prayer ..."[76]

He then says,

> "But in no case is the alteration more worthy of notice, than that which has taken place on Easter Eve. Were one to be asked, what was the great cardinal doctrine which the popular tide has been most set against, both under the name of religion, and from the prevailing spirit of the world ... we must say, I think,

> that it is the true doctrine of the Cross, of our being baptised into Christ's death, being dead and buried and crucified with Him."[77]

And yet this thought is clearly contained in the Collect in the English translation, even though the Latin version does not contain the allusion at all.

Williams points out that in the Services for Passion week the Prayer Book "tone" is one of admonition, whilst that of other churches is one of sympathy.

> "Others have the language of Lamentations, such as might become the blessed Virgin at the Cross ... ours is as if the Lord turned and said, 'Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children:' or 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, ... but he that doeth the will of my father'."[78]

Another introduction into the public worship of the Church is the Decalogue. This he approves, for the law "is the external fence, the last bulwark, the last line of defence, against the spirit of the lawless one ... it is (in the Communion service) the constant rehearsal of the same Baptismal promise of obedience; for it so happens that this is actually explained in the Catechism by the Ten Commandments".[79] This stress on penitence and obedience is to be praised, says Williams, for it is fitting for a church where the ordinances commanded by

that church, daily services, Baptism before the congregation, and the keeping of fasts and festivals were not observed.

Williams deplores, as in the Tracts on Reserve, the Protestant substitution of "a kind of luxury of feeling, and a new doctrine respecting the Atonement for the ancient and scriptural doctrine of the Cross; and has shown a marked repugnance to all those principles of mortification of life and self-denying obedience, which have been considered as connected with it, and which have formed the emphatic teaching of our own Church. So much has this prevailed, that it has induced persons to believe that holy men of old, who spent their lives in frequent watchings and fastings and prayer, had entirely mistaken the whole nature of religion; had not only proceeded on a circuitous path, but had entirely missed the true one; and had quite mistaken the only mode of access to Christ." (Pp. 84-85) He thanks God that the Church, in her Prayer Book teaching, "has been, throughout the dangerous influences of the times, to those who would be guided by her, 'a lantern unto the feet, and a light unto our paths'."[80]

Williams ends his tract with this warning:

> "Now that we are called upon ... to prepare ourselves for something coming on ... it appears highly desirable that, under the excitement of the day, we should not mistake the matter, but consider in what our true strength lies, namely in repentance and obedience; and from thence, having made

> our peace with God, in possessing our souls in patience."[81]

The last words in the Tract are those stern words from Revelation, Chapter 3, Verses 14 to 22.

Williams' poetry, especially his two major works, The Cathedral and The Baptistery, were also written to stress the necessity in religion of humility, self-restraint, self-abasement and obedience, and to elevate the doctrine of the church and the sacraments and the ministry.

The Cathedral was published in 1838, and in the Preface the author states that

> "the idea upon which this publication has been composed is ... perfectly in accordance with the spirit and principles of the Ancient Church: nor is it entirely new to our own. Hints of the kind may be obtained from Herbert's 'Temple', where he attaches moral and sacred lessons to the 'Church windows' and 'Church floor'. And it has been suggested by the Author of 'The Excursion' - (Wordsworth) - ... that his poems might be considered as capable of being arranged as the parts of a Gothic church, of which the minor Pieces might be 'likened to the little cells, oratories, and sepulchral recesses'. The present design has been to execute such a plan by a selection of subjects, more or less

appropriate to the parts which they are made
to represent, from the Liturgy, and the
Doctrine and Discipline of the Church ..."[82]

The author approaches the Cathedral in the stillness of the evening and makes his pilgrimage in verses which deal with the subjects suggested by the various parts of the building.

The three doors of the west front represent the Baptismal Promises. The Left hand door is Repentance, which "leads to yon baptismal well ..." But Williams warns all those who use the door:

"But this no home of fancy deem,
Still Morn and Evening, o'er and o'er,
Thou must stoop through the lowly door,
Still wilt thou at the threshold seem,
Still but awakening from the dream;
For what though Jordan's stream be past,
The Canaanite is gathering fast;
Still as thou travellest in the beam
Of that new morning, more and more
Thou shalt thy sinful self deplore:
Thy worldly wisdom still unlearning,
Still to a Father's house returning,
In lights of that celestial store,
Thine image lost the more discerning."[83]

It is significant that the central door signifies obedience, with its opening verse carrying a warning against liberalism. Williams stresses that the road to the Infinite is that road:

"To Calvary's awful mount Thy cross to bear,
After Thee and with Thee, and share Thy load;"[84]

The right-hand door signifies faith:

"To them who will her secret prove
A hidden cross she doth disclose ...
Without her - Life a cheerless noon,
And Death a night without a moon."[85]

He then enters the Cloisters, which are marked by a group of ecclesiastical sonnets on such subjects as the Daily Office, Prayer, the Church in Wales, in which country has "Discipline become a word of blame" because of the Revival of Daniel Rowlands, Howell Harris and William Williams, Pantycelyn which produced the Calvinistic Methodist sect. Another sonnet is entitled Consolations of Baptism, and affirms Williams' belief in Baptismal regeneration:

"Brightly the morning of our new birth arose
From the Baptismal Fount ..."

After a life of forgetfulness and carelessness

"We doubt the title soil'd by sinful stain,
And of our birthright ask some sign again,
Such is distrust, of sin the penalty! ...

He ends:

"Doubt no more the arm that set thee free."[86]

Another sonnet, entitled the Crucifix, is Williams' prayer that he might "Know Him, and the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable unto His death". He prays that he might be bound to the Cross, as he is

"Thine by the spear that pierced Thy tender side ...
Thine by the nails, which made Thy pure hands bleed, -
Nails of stern discipline, rough arts that breed
Keen penitential yearnings, or the pride
Of the rude scoffing world; by whate'er chain
May quell rebellion or of soul or eye,
Whatever penance schools of shame, or pain, ...
So bind me to Thy Cross, that I may die
Daily, the fleeting years that I remain"[87]

From the Cloisters the author enters the Chapter House, which signifies episcopacy, the keystone of the Visible Church, divinely commissioned and descended from the Apostles. The North Porch is the Church in Hope, where

"... in the gleams which thro' the darkness pour
Of Calvary, Poverty is our best wealth,
Sorrow our Comforter, and Sickness health,
And death of endless life the door.

Yea sin herself, as by a charmed touch,
Hath unlearn'd her black nature, and brought down
High thoughts, a better righteousness to own,
And much forgiven, loveth much."[88]

The Nave represents the Scriptures, the flanking aisles represent the Creed and the Lord's prayer. The section entitled the Oratories, speaks of consolations and strongholds. The author imagines that he hears the music of the Cathedral in the distance, and this suggests the music

of heaven. The way to that heaven is by repentance: but the truly penitent has this hope:

"Ye waiting at th'eternal gate, with robes
Of penitential sorrow, wash'd in blood ...

Lift up your eyes!"[89]

The Athanasian Creed is a "warning voice", warning of Judgement to come, warming against succumbing to the blandishments of the world.

"Then let me ever hear thy awful voice,
Deep warning, deep adoring: while we sing
We tremble, but in trembling we rejoice."[90]

The poem entitled Fast Days breathes the true Tractarian spirit of sorrow for sins, of penitence for a life of ease, of the need for discipline and obedience and perseverance:

"Nor deem such penance hard, nor fondly dream
of Herod's ease in the imperial hall,
But seek the Baptist by the desert stream,
And thou shalt see the light on Jesus fall: ...

Nor deem such penance hard - thence from the soul
The cords of flesh are loosed, and earthly woes
Lose half their power to harm, while self-control
Learns that blest freedom which she only knows.

Thence is our hope to manlier aims subdued,
And perg'd from earthly mists the mental eye,
To gird herself with growing fortitude,
To see the gates of immortality, ...

Many the gates of hell, and every gate
Is but each vice which man's dark temper sways,
And Christ alone can raise our fallen state,
In fasting found, and prayer, and watchful ways."[91]

Here explicitly is the true voice of Bisley Catholicism, the earnest striving, the hard discipline, the ever-watchful vigil of the Christian manning the ramparts of his soul against the assaults of the world, the flesh and the Devil.

When he deals with the Lord's Prayer, signified by the North aisle, it seems "that here the words flow more freely as he speaks with the voice of devotion rather than of stern doctrine, as when he makes a series of paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer which are suggested by the different settings in which the prayer is found in the Prayer Book".[92]

On page 96 he deals with the Lord's Prayer found in the Baptismal Service:

"First on Baptismal waters bright
It seems to move, a face of light,
And when around we kneel and pray
The holy accents seem to say,
Our Father, freed from error's chain,
May we Thy children be,
At this blest fountain born again
To filial liberty."

Williams then prays that in this changing world those baptised may:

"In the path of duty run,
Like children of the sky.

Oft as breaks out their mother's stain,
While they advance to heaven,
Children in love may they remain,
Forgiving and forgiv'n.

Let nought allure them from Thy word,
Or tempt their spirits frail,
But should they fall, yet, blessed Lord,
Let evil not prevail."[93]

When that prayer is used at the Confirmation of those baptised it had

"... caught an altered tone.
The cheek with shame and hope was burning,
To a lost father's house returning,
It seem'd to chide, and yet to cheer,
And to that blending hope and fear
It brought our endless birthright near,
And from the rude world seem'd to sever,
Binding us to that shrine for ever."[94]

Williams considers, too, the Lord's Prayer occurring after the Confession and Absolution in the daily services:

"... At mercy gate
Repentance stands, made wise too late,
Half lifts the latch, as one in guise
To enter, but with tearful eyes
Sees her lost heritage, and sighs.
But watching for returning grief
The great absolver with relief
Stands by the door, and bears the key
O'er penitance on bended knee:
Then blending accents sweet to save,
Come like gale on sullen wave,
When day is at his western cave."[95]

The Middle Aisle represents Holy Scripture and the South Aisle the Apostle's Creed. In his consideration of the Creed he arrives at the clause, "And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead". He exclaims:

"O mercy with strange terrors blended!
Above, around, the skies are rended,
Christ sits on high, and far and wide
Are hurrying angels, - all is ended!
Ah, hence with indolence and pride,
With vain hope in the Crucified!
In those dread truths do I believe?
Then let me not Thy presence grieve,
But working in calm fear that fiery hour abide."[96]

When he speaks of the Holy Catholic Church and the communion of saints he says:

"And thence through all His priesthood sent,
With power to loose, and power to hold;
Like oil on Aaron's head besprent,
Till to his clothing's skirts it went:
Thence, to all time diffusing down,
Thou fillst the Church from that blest crown
With odorous graces sweet ..."[97]

He speaks of the Communion of saints and the forgiveness of sins thus:

"Why mourn we left on earth alone?
When bound within that mystic zone
The dead and living are brought nigh,
And knit together all in one:
O bond for mortal sense too high!
And pale remorse, repress thy sigh;
See the baptismal seal of heaven,
The pledge of penitence forgiven;
Go, sin no more, but learn a better strength to try!"[98]

From the Nave Williams approaches the screen, the symbol of the Disciplina Arcani, the sacred reserve of the Church. As "Nature withdraws from human sight" her treasures, so:

"When out of Sion God appear'd
For perfect beauty fear'd,
The darkness was His chariot,
And clouds were all about.
Hiding His dread sublimity,
When Jesus walked nigh,
He threw around His works of good
A holier solitude;
Ris'n from the grave appear'd to view
But to a faithful few.

Alone e'en now, as then of old,
The pure of heart behold
The soul-restoring miracles
Wherein His mercy dwells;
New marvels unto them reveal'd,
But from the world conceal'd.
Then pause, and fear, - when thus allow'd
We enter the dark cloud,
Lord, keep our hearts, that soul and eye
Unharm'd may Thee descry."[99]

The screen, then, veils the choir where angels and man unite in the sacramental hymn. Williams here practices the reserve of which he preached, and so there is no overt declaration of Eucharistic doctrine; but lines such as these:

"Here there is a living cup -
Wells of water springing up
Unto life that cannot die -
The pledge of immortality;
Tis a fount of heavenly strength -
Proportion'd to th'undying soul,"[100]

and the quotations from St. John Chrysostom which he appends in the notes to this section indicate quite clearly the source of his doctrine, the Ancient Fathers, who are represented in the windows of the Cathedral, and supplemented by such Churchmen as Laud, Ken, Andrewes, Butler and King Charles the Martyr.

The Lady Chapel signifies the Magnificat, and in it he repeats the thesis of Tract 80, where, in the worship by the Roman Catholics of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is a plain illustration of the way in which the natural man lowers the object of his worship to his own frailty:

"But then dishonour'd most, when thou art seen
An idol, God and man to stand between.

Alas! man's heart, in sinful consciousness,
Some fond and frail illusion still will frame,
Which to the house of health may find access,
Without repentance, or a sinner's shame:
There is one only all-prevailing Name,
But unto Him none but the pure can look,
None but the penitent His presence brook."[101]

The Cathedral expounds the same doctrine of the church as does Tract 86, the same doctrine of reserve, of penitence, of discipline as Tract 80.

The Baptistery, published in 1842, contains a series of verse meditations suggested by the allegorical drawings of the Flemish engraver Boethius a Bolswert (1590-1634), which Williams found in Suquet's Via Vitae Aeternae. "As such it is the first tentative step in the direction later taken by Pusey, that of introducing foreign books of devotion to this country."[102]

Williams subtitles The Baptistery "The Way of Eternal Life", and this is the message of the whole poem. He makes his position on the question of Baptismal Regeneration clear in the section entitled The Frontispiece:

"How art Thou seen in Heaven, O living Well,
The Fount of our New-Birth, - the blessed seal
Of our inheritance? ...

Countless as broods that fill the teeming sea,
On generations generations pour
As through the mouth of Ocean, flowing free
Into the world through that Baptismal door:
Numbers innumerable, evermore,
Part on each side in endless destinies,
Some on advancing to light's blissful shore,
Some on the road where sorrow never dies,
Each as they choose their lot, the way before them lies ...

Haply to earth-dimm'd eyes alike they seem; -
These worldly Favour courts with winning smiles,
And Pleasure lures with many a lightsome scheme ...

While virtue shows the path where nought defiles,
And her meek children 'neath her solemn throne
Walk on their silent way, sad, desolate, alone.

On, step by step, they tread their way with fear,
And down-bent looks; and as they onward pass
Grief's penitential robes they seem to wear:
Eying herself within a silent glass
Faith calmly moves, and from the worldly mass
Parts more and more, where Virtue's palmy rod
Points out the way; and like the withering grass
The things of earth beneath her feet are trod,
While on their narrow way they upward walk with God."[103]

In the First Image, entitled the Choice of Life, Williams prays to God to

"Shew me the way that leadeth unto Thee,
Though it be difficult Thou art all might,
Though low Thou art of love a boundless sea,
Though dark Thou art Thyself the living light,
Though toilsome Thou art goodness infinite,
And wilt refresh the heavy laden soul
That comes to Thee; - guide me to Thee aright ..."[104]

The Baptistery breathes the same spirit as the Cathedral as it traces the spiritual life of man, the emphasis on penitence and obedience, the stress on Baptismal Regeneration.

In the Image "Childhood at Self-Examination" Williams begs his reader:

"... O learn to prize
That ignorance, let manhood wait awhile;
Manhood must learn of Childhood to be wise,
In wisdom prized of God, and free from guile; -
Her very light deceives, her wisdom does defile.

But sin comes and defiles this innocence.

"Then with the volume of his life outspread
Stands the recording angel, trembling till
The day appointed is for ever fled,
And shows how little good, how much of ill, -
The broken vows and the untutor'd will, -
Points to the twofold tablet, - thoughts of awe
Resolves of seeking good, avoiding ill; -
And stern to view, refusing to withdraw,
Rising in mirror stern dread Satan's written law."[105]

He exhorts:

"Now trample 'neath thy feet the deadly coil
Of that fell monster ...
... in the tender soil
Of youth's soft heart plant the immortal shoot
Of Heaven-born virtue: it shall bear Thee fruit ..."[106]

"Come on Aspasio, on thye heavenly war
With shield of faith and with the spirits sword,
Scatter the sin which doth thy pathway mar,
Strong on the mail of God's unfailing word ..."

He prays:

"O Thou Who dost enlighten man's dark heart ...
Be Thou his guide throughout this desert wild,
In the Baptismal cloud or fire in glory pil'd."[107]

Williams prays for him to learn self examination and to recognise his failings and his sins. Williams pictures taking him by the hand and saying:

"Through Penitence's gate we now must look,
Lost is the happier path, to peace allied,
Yet fail not, cling thou still unto my sheltering side"[108]

Williams continues:

"With that I came unto a place so sad,
I would not speak of it to happy ears ...
Shapes of remorse they were and stalking fears,
That glared on me, and told of long past years;
And much I question'd them, and wander'd on
Until I came to the dark lake of tears,
And kneeled down to drink, and lo, thereon
Saw mine own image gleam, a spectre pale and wan"[107]

Mercy reassures him:

"He answer'd, "Heaven for them hath love in store,
Who see their image in the fount of tears,
And more and more their sinful selves deplore;
While the pale vision of their vanish'd years
Visits them, and a threatening aspect wears,
It finds them on their knees, nor e'er again
O'ertakes with its allurements, till their fears
Shall turn to hope, while at the Cross of pain
They drink the healing stores which dying life sustain"[110]

In the image entitled "The Shortness of Time" Williams pictures a dying man bewailing his lost youth and opportunities to a priest. He cries in despair,

"It needs a faith long school'd in hourly life,
To feel the everlasting arms beneath,
When in the bosom wakes an Ocean's strife,
And face to face looks on approaching death.
O Thou before Whom with our fleeting breath
The shades of being pass, the All in All,
Whose lowest whisper Wisdom cherisheth,
Morn, Eve, Month, Year, and Fast and Festival,
How hast Thou call'd to me, when I heard not Thy call."[111]

In Image the fifth, "Giving thanks for all things", Williams pictures one asking him:

"Are no thanks due to that Immortal Love,
Who on the Cross to purchase Thee hath died,
That so His death thy better life might prove?
Is this all nought thy thankless soul to move?

For such vast love He asketh no return,
But this - that thou wouldst live for Him above,
Who came from highest heaven thy love to earn;
Yet in thy thankless heart no gratitude doth burn."[112]

Others remind him of the grace of baptism, the grace of the Holy Communion, and for the grace that

"When'er thou knockest, at thy lifted hands
The gate of every blessing open stands:
Each prayer is heard in Heaven, thy very sighs
There find a tongue, and sound in Heavenly lands ..."[113]

He dreams that he meets sinners bewailing their fall from the good life and their ingratitude to God, and is affected by their despair. He wakes and asks:

"And is my gratitude but like a dream? ...
Let not my thankless spirit dry the stream
That floweth from thine own true Lebanon!
Thine ever bounteous care still floweth on;
I drink the stream yet seldom think of Thee;
And yet I breathe and live in Thee alone;
And every care that comes to visit me,
Is but the cloud that wraps Thy burning charity."

He wonders at God's love and wondering cries:

"Me hath He call'd to love Him, me hath deign'd
To call His Child, for me His life-blood pour'd,
And when I turn from Him then He is pain'd:

To all things else His all-contraining word
Sets bounds, and o'er them throws His holding cord,
But to our love: He asks our being whole ..."[114]

God does not force our love, His love calls out ours, and Williams responds with a renunciation of all worldly consolations, only does he ask for a heart to know God's love.

The stanzas based on the sixth Image are entitled "Angels bearing Crosses". Antonio longs to be able to keep within his heart "heaven's smouldering fire", but it seems in vain. After a conversation with a ministering Spirit, he vows:

"This (the Cross) to my breast I clasp, and ask no more
Nor ever from my spirit lay aside:
This is the richest gift Heaven hath in store
For exil'd man, beyond where spirits soar
Weigh'd out in scales of boundless charity,
And brought by angels through the heavenly door; -
Then let me seize the Cross, and follow Thee,
My master and my God, - no more I wish to see!

If only step by step, a pilgrim blind,
I may but follow Thee, nor rove in vain
'Mid those enticing ways which endless wind;
If so I may at length that path attain,
Wherein Thy saints with Thee the Cross sustain
Along the road to Heaven; yea, now I learn

That wisdom which doth make each step of pain
A step to Heaven; we need not that discern,
But bear the Cross, and that shall to a sceptre turn."[115]

In the section entitled "The Church asking the Prayers of her children", Williams points out that the Church can only regain the unity lost by discords by keeping the spirit of obedience. This is what the Apostles taught, for this the Martyrs shed their blood:

"That all with Christ one robe might be arrayed, -
And 'neath one Shepherd all one fold celestial made.

They deem'd one narrow road the way to Heaven,
But manifold the paths that lead to Hell ..."[116]

"The Complaints of the Penitent" is the title of Section 8. He says:

"On bended knees I would return to Thee,
Renouncing this bad world: ...

I too like him have listen'd to the world,
And, while her siren notes were on my ear,
Hung on th'enchantment; ...
Undoing that which Christ hath wrought in me!
Still nightly, with confession and remorse,
Fain to unmake the work ofthe past day,
I weav'd the web of that fam'd heroine,
Yet to beguile not others, but myself, -
Not false fidelity, like that fam'd wife

Faithful though false, - but weaving the vain web
Of self-deceiving falseness. Now I turn,
And with uplifted hands again abjure
Sin and the world, and turn again to Thee."[117]

He pictures the crucified Jesus saying, "Weep not for me, weep, mortal, for thyself". He has spurned the Sacrifice of Jesus and His love by his love of the world. He has soiled the grace given to him in Baptism. He goes on:

"Now for the spotless white of Thy pure robe
I clothe myself in sackcloth's mourning weeds,
And sit in sorrow: nay, will rise and walk
On penitential thorns, and wander forth
From place to place along the wilderness,
To expiate my heart-engrain'd deep stains."[118]

He pleads:

"Ye of the house where stern repentance dwells,
Pity a pilgrim who doth come to lay
His unstanch'd sorrows in your pitying breast!

Thou bidst the heavy-laden come to Thee,
Thou lookest out, and hastenest on the way
To meet the poor returning prodigal.
My sins are more in number than the sands,
More than the sands Thy mercies are to me:
Yea, though my sins are deep as Hell beneath,
Thy pity is more ample than the Heavens.

I count Thy words of promise, Thou hast set
Seventy-times seven the measure of our love,
What then shall be the measure of Thine own?
But seven times seventy, - Sabbath days of Heaven?
Infinite is Thy patience as the sea,
The Sea of Baptism, sea without a shore;
Thy love is as unbounded as the sky,
Reflected in the waves of that calm sea."[119]

Williams confesses that no part of him is free from sin. He has hurt God's Spirit by his disobedience, and Williams prays that the Spirit of God will not leave him, for:

"With fasting and with prayer and painful alms,
Still let me strive to hold and win Thy stay ...

Yea, Thou Thyself hast knock'd at my dull heart;
By warning - by Thy mercies - by Thy grace -
But I have still refused to let Thee in.
Close not against me the eternal door ...

And within Thy calm and holy grove
I fain would hasten on the road of Heaven;
Guide me to haunts of lowly penury,
That I may cast aside my worldly wealth,
And gird my loins with holier hope; and now
Lead me to bowers of lowly Abstinence,
And Heavenly Contemplation ..."[120]

Williams realises that for him in his sinful state only one hope of seeing Heaven remains - Penitence, wrapped in mourning weeds.

"And if to her I cleave, walk her sad ways,
And kneel in prayer without th'eternal gates,
The rays through Heaven's dark portals shall break forth,
And sounds be heard of blissful melodies ...
Rejoicing over one sinner that repents ..."[121]

Williams continues his examination of the spiritual life of man in the sections entitled "Habit moulding Chains and Actions written in Heaven". The habit of sin can chain the heart, but the habit of obedience and prayer and virtue

"... makes the burden light,
When with spontaneous spring the heart ascends
In prayer to Heaven, in prayer begins and ends"[122]

He continues:

"Then Wisdom's self, descending from the sky,
Shall train thy heart to glad philosophy;
And Christ Himself upon thy way appears
In things of Heaven to school thine eyes and ears: ...

For if Christ is within, enchrin'd in light, ...

He forms His parable, as erst of old,
Giving the seeing eye and hearing ear,
And heart to understand His presence near ...

Thus, when the heart from fleshly bonds made free,
Attains to that immortal liberty,
The spirit of adoption shall make wise,
And clothe the world with her own mysteries."[123]

Williams ends the poem entitled "Man encompassed with Blessings" with these words:

"If thou art fair with God above,
And fairer than all things below,
Bath'd in thy light, immortal Love,
Let our heart burn, our footsteps glow,
With emulous haste our feet be shod
To love our neighbour and our God:
For ection is the heart's own door,
Whereby affection comes, and gathers in her store"[124]

After a meditation on the Nativity of our Lord comes the poem, "Trusting always in God". Penitens confesses that he has tried to stop sinning by his own efforts and his own strength of will:

"But my resolves, as cords of tow,
Before the strength of passion go,
Like hempen bonds which flames o'errun
Or icy streams before the sun.

I could sit, and sit and weep
O'er my heart's sorrow;
My wounds in blood Thou bidd'st steep,
Thy mantle borrow.

If most forgiv'n could most love,
  Sweet were my sadness;
I should be a wing'd dove,
  And drink wells of gladness ..."[125]

Williams makes Penitens and Fidelio sing together:

"Lord, who hast ta'en us by Thy hand,
'Tis only by Thy strength we stand;
Thou art the Way, the Truth, the Life, ...

Still do we see Thee all in all,
Still do we hear Thy loving call;

... by the cry ...
Of Thine example, - and Thy tears, -
And of Thy Blood, which wakes our fears, -
And by the seal in Baptism given, -
And by a name that's writ in Heaven ..."[126]

Williams devotes one poem to an imaginary pilgrimage to St. David's Cathedral, a place, in the 1840's, most beautiful but also most desolate. He wonders at the ruins of this "place of penitence and tears", and confesses that he seems

"... to feel the Judgement nigh,
And from the fellowship that's there
Shrink with something like despair: -
To think that when we rise again
We must awake 'mid holy men ...

'Mid those who could so live and die,
With pure resolve and purpose high,
As thus to leave for days to come
A fragrance breathing o'er their tomb ...

And they, I ween, who sleep below
Had more of wisdom than we know:
With alms and prayer and penitence,
They sternly conquered things of sense."[126]

In the next part of the poem Williams compares the waters of the font with the waters of the city of God and all the waters mentioned in the Bible: all these are

"Types of Baptismal blessing ever winding"[127]

The text above the picture which inspired the twentieth poem reads: "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow His steps." Williams pictures Jesus on the way to Calvary carrying His Cross saying to all men, "Follow me":

"O painful lesson, written in Thy blood,
To follow Thee! O lesson full of pain! ...

Seek we for rays of comfort from above?
Through the dark valley cheerless was Thy road,
And the withdrawing of Thy Father's love
Like a black thunder-cloud on Thee abode ...

Shrink we from penury and hard estate?
Thou hadst but one poor mantle at Thy death ...

Thus when we meet Thee at the City's gate
And seek to enter, Thou dost bid us turn
Unto the Mount of Sorrows, there to wait
Till we ourselves and Thee shall better learn ...

Something to wean the soul from things of sense,
To higher aim the weak resolve to brace,
To train our thoughts in lowly penitence,
And bring us to the Cross, the Fount of Grace."[128]

In his poem "The Great Manifestation" Williams pictures the last judgement, when our Lord has come again to judge the quick and the dead. He ends this terrifying picture with a plea to God, a plea that has since become well-known as a hymn:

"Lord, in this Thy mercy's day,
Ere it pass for aye away,
On our knees we fall and pray ...

Let us now knock at the door,
Ere it close for evermore ...

'Neath Thy wings let us have place,
Lest we lose this day of grace,
Ere we shall behold Thy face.

Love of God shall stand alone,
And that love it shall be known,
By the deeds that we have done."[129]

In 1844 Williams published a second volume of poems based on the drawings of Bolswert. The second poem is entitled "The Place of Refuge", and contains, among other things, a fierce denunciation of the Church, of the contemporary industrial society, and of the State.

Williams pictures Jesus on the Cross at Calvary, the place where man alone

"May view unharm'd the universal strife ...
And 'mid the place of dying cling to life."

He goes on:

"Where'er on either side Faith lifts her eye,
Judgements of God are present; all things cry
Broad is the way to ruin ..."[130]

He pictures sins as a miasma from a marsh, choking everything gradually, even choking the Church:

"... o'er the Church they wreathe,
Till her faint pulse is scarcely found to breathe;
While sick at heart and feeble at the tomb
She sits, unable to disperse the gloom;
Where the Egyptian darkness long hath striven
To muffle up and blend the light of Heaven
With false philosophy ...
... hence without fear
The drunkard, slanderer, and adulterer,
Impenitent - of crimes each varied kind, -
Die in her bosom, are by her consign'd

To sacred earth, pronouncing o'er them hopes
Of joyful Resurrection; while she opes
Her altars unto all, the mingled crowd
Of Vice and Fashion, - all alike allowed;
No golden keys, no sacred discipline
To hinder or preserve the hallow'd shrine.
Meanwhile to the admired admiring crowd
The platform and the pulpit ring aloud
With popular ignorance, to feed the ear
Of feverish partizans; no godly fear,
No aweful modesties of reverend care;
Be sure, where fear is not, God is not there."[131]

A biting, anti-Protestant stanza, versifying the message of the Tracts on Reserve. Williams asks: "Why these late-born novelties?" He continues:

"... Blame not the poor,
Who long have flocked around the Church's door,
Finding no entrance, and return no more.
No, for Christ's little ones doth pity bleed
For His lost flock that wander without heed
From the true fold; how could they else, when none
Was found to guide them ...?
No, no, church-teachers ye from age to age
Ye State-disposers of God's heritage,
Of you will God require it ...
... who wed ...
... the living with the dead,

The Church with the bad world, with brow and hand
Leprous with sacrilege ...
... yet reject with scorn
Those who could call you for your sin to mourn,
In fast and sackcloth ..."[132]

He denounces the luxury and the liberalism of Oxford and Cambridge, and then continues:

"Blame not the poor; where could they find around
An Apostolic Pastor, hear the sound
Of Creeds, and holy Church and discipline,
From those for earthly things who yield divine?"[133]

He blames the "drooping church" for its worldliness, the ambition of its pastors, its factions and its wealth: "unsoundness reigns" throughout the Church. No wonder the poor stray

"... untaught, unheeded, unbaptised.
How shall they struggle from the deep turmoil
While unbaptised efforts vainly toil?"[134]

Williams pleads with the Church to throw away "the incrustations of this worldly pride" and to renew herself:

"To seek the ancient paths, bent to explore
Her wounds, and her lost discipline restore."[135]

The Baptistery became popular with many people, including Pusey, and it is certainly, in parts at least,

the best of his poetic writings. In his poetic manner and style Williams was a pupil of Keble. The latter made three rules for the sacred poet: he must write for the love of the subject, he should express specimens of his general line of thought and he must write in a manner which was grave and restrained.

> "How far Keble and Williams were faithful to the first precept is a matter of doubt. They certainly observed the second and third rules and this accounts for much that is dull in their writings."[136]

I suppose Williams' idea of the Church would be what Brilioth called the static conception, "which was built up with the Apostolic Succession as the corner stone and after the supposed ground-plan of the early Church".[137] Maybe. But even if his doctrine of the Apostolic Succession is rather mechanical, his desire for holiness and his insistence that the way of renewal was the way of penitence was passionate and overwhelming. As he reminded us in his Tract 87: his ideas were formed from pastoral experience.

NOTES

1 Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 35
2 Owain W. Jones, 'Isaac Williams and His Circle', pp. 1, 2
3 Isaac Williams, Autobiography, Ed. by Sir George Prevost, p. 16
4 Church, 'The Oxford Movement', p. 66
5 Ibid, p. 70
6 Ibid, p. 74
7 Jones, 'Isaac Williams', p. 14
8 Ibid, p. 29
9 Isaac Williams, 'Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge', p. 2
10 Ibid, p. 2
11 Ibid, p. 11
12 Ibid, p. 12
13 Ibid, p. 13
14 Ibid, p. 21
15 Ibid, p. 23
16 Ibid, p. 25
17 Ibid, p. 27
18 Ibid, p. 30
19 Ibid, p. 30
20 Ibid, p. 35
21 Ibid, p. 36
22 Ibid, p. 40
23 Ibid, p. 41
24 Ibid, p. 45
25 Ibid, p. 46
26 Ibid, p. 46
27 Ibid, p. 51, n. 1
28 Ibid, p. 28
29 Ibid, p. 61
30 Ibid, p. 62
31 Ibid, p. 63
32 Ibid, pp. 63, 64
33 Ibid, p. 64
34 Ibid, p. 69
35 Ibid, p. 70
36 Ibid, p. 70
37 Ibid, p. 72
38 Ibid, p. 72
39 Ibid, p. 72
40 Ibid, p. 74
41 Ibid, p. 75
42 Ibid, p. 77
43 Ibid, p. 77

44 Ibid, p. 77
45 Ibid, p. 78
46 Ibid, p. 79
47 Ibid, p. 79
48 Ibid, p. 80
49 Ibid, pp. 82, 83
50 Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 111
51 Chadwick, 'The Victorian Church', Vol. I, p. 203
52 Church, 'The Oxford Movement, p. 265
53 Isaac Williams, 'Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge', Part IV, p. 4
54 Ibid, p. 10
55 Ibid, p. 7
56 Ibid, p. 37
57 Ibid, p. 38
58 Ibid, p. 40
59 Ibid, p. 41
60 Ibid, pp. 49-50
61 Ibid, p. 51
62 Ibid, p. 51
63 Ibid, p. 53
64 Ibid, p. 60
65 Ibid, p. 62
66 Ibid, p. 65
67 Ibid, p. 67
68 Ibid, p. 72
69 Ibid, p. 79
70 Ibid, p. 86
71 Ibid, p. 88
72 Ibid, p. 89
73 Ibid, p. 90
74 Ibid, p. 98
75 Isaac Williams, 'Indications of a Superintending Providence in the Preservation of the Prayer Book and in the Changes which it had Undergone', Tract 86, pp. 19, 20, 21
76 Ibid, p. 45
77 Ibid, p. 45
78 Ibid, p. 55
79 Ibid, pp. 61-62
80 Ibid, p. 84
81 Ibid, p. 98
82 Isaac Williams, 'The Cathedral', 'The Advertisement'
83 Ibid, p. 4
84 Ibid, p. 7
85 Ibid, p. 10
86 Ibid, p. 30
87 Ibid, p. 33
88 Ibid, p. 55
89 Ibid, p. 65
90 Ibid, p. 71
91 Ibid, p. 78
92 Jones, 'Isaac Williams', p. 38
93 Isaac Williams, 'The Cathedral', p. 97
94 Ibid, p. 97
95 Ibid, p. 98

96 Ibid, p. 155
97 Ibid, p. 156
98 Ibid, p. 156
99 Ibid, p. 211
100 Ibid, p. 224
101 Ibid, p. 234
102 Jones, 'Isaac Williams', p. 39
103 'The Baptistery', p. v
104 Ibid, p. 13
105 Ibid, p. 22
106 Ibid, p. 22
107 Ibid, p. 24
108 Ibid, p. 27
109 Ibid, p. 27
110 Ibid, p. 29
111 Ibid, p. 45
112 Ibid, p. 66
113 Ibid, p. 67
114 Ibid, p. 73
115 Ibid, p. 85
116 Ibid, p. 94
117 Ibid, p. 107
118 Ibid, p. 109
119 Ibid, p. 112
120 Ibid, p. 113
121 Ibid, p. 121
122 Ibid, p. 122
123 Ibid, pp. 124, 125, 126
124 Ibid, p. 149
125 Ibid, p. 171
126 Ibid, pp. 193-195
127 Ibid, p. 219
128 Ibid, p. 261
129 Ibid, p. 298
130 Isaac Williams, 'The Baptistery', Vol. II, p. 22
131 Ibid, pp. 22-23
132 Ibid, pp. 23-27
133 Ibid, p. 25
134 Ibid, p. 27
135 Ibid, p. 31
136 Jones, 'Isaac Williams', p. 156
137 Yngve Brilioth, 'The Anglican Revival'

WILLIAM PALMER

In his diaries Newman wrote,

> "The original founders (of the Oxford Movement) were the late Mr. Froude and Mr. Palmer ... to whom Mr. Newman at once joined himself in July 1833."[1]

Yet Professor Chadwick, in his "The Mind of the Oxford Movement", questions the inclusion of William Palmer Fellow of Worcester College, in the list of true Tractarians. He admits that Palmer was indeed a High Churchman, one of the most learned in Oxford. But he agrees with Dean Church's assessment of Palmer's "Treatise on the Church of Christ", which was published in 1838. Church wrote:

> "The Treatise on the Church was an honour to English Theology and Learning; in point of plan and structure we have few books like it."[2]

Church continues:

> "It is comprehensive, methodical well-compacted, and, from its own point of view, exhaustive. It is written with full knowledge of the state of the

> question at the time, both on the Anglican side and on the Roman. Its author evades no question, and is aware of most. It is rigorous in form, and has no place for anything but substantial argument. It is a book which, as the Apologia tells us, commanded the respect of such an accomplished controversialist as Perrone; and, it may be added, of a theologian of an opposite school, Dr. Döllinger... It is remarkable that it did not exercise more influence on religious thought in Oxford at the critical time when it appeared. But it had defects ... It was dry and formal ... it treated as problems of the theological schools ... questions which were once more ... beginning to touch hearts and consciences, and were felt to be fraught with the gravest practical issues."[3]

Here is the real difference between Palmer and the other Tractarians, as Dean Church pointed out. Newman, Keble and Pusey were concerned with growth in holiness, in sanctification. They were concerned with what Professor Chadwick calls "the element of feeling, the sense of awe and mystery in religion, the profundity of reverence ... which marks the difference between the old-fashioned High Churchman and the Oxford Men. It

was not so much a difference of doctrine, a difference in the adherence to certain propositions. It was primarily a difference of atmosphere ...".[4]

It was not a difference in doctrine, even though Palmer's presentation was cold, logical, even prosaic, and no survey of the thought of the Oxford Movement can ignore William Palmer of Worcester, especially as Newman coupled his name with that of Froude as a twin founder of the Movement. Newman, in his Apologia, is more critical of Palmer. He said:

> "Mr. Palmer had many conditions of authority and influence. He was the only really learned man amongst us. He understood theology as a science; he was practised in the scholastic mode of controversial writing ... He was as decided in his religious views, as he was cautious and even subtle in their expression, and gentle in their enforcement. But he was deficient in depth; and besides, coming from a distance, (Palmer was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin) he had never really grown into an Oxford man ... nor had he any insight into the force of personal influence and congeniality of thought in carrying out a religious theory ... he wished for a Committee, an Association, with rules and interests, to protect the interests of the Church in its existing peril."[5]

According to Newman, Palmer represented "the board of safe, sound, sensible man", the old fashioned High Churchman. Palmer wanted to protect not to change. The truth is, as Dr. Chadwick points out, that Palmer "somehow leaves the impression that Church order, or the apostolic succession, or ordination, are pieces of machinery, that is because there is nothing evocative, symbolic, sacramental about his earthy writing".[6]

Palmer's Treatise on the Church of England then may have been too cold for Newman, too relentlessly logical for inclusion with the thought of the Tractarians:

> "There is no mystery, no depth, no feeling -
> all is tidy, the mystery is cleared away,
> the system propounded in its rigidities."[7]

But, as I have said, the Treatise must be studied: the atmosphere may be different, but the doctrine is the same.

In his consideration of the nature and function of the Church Palmer considers the question of separation of the unworthy from Communion. He quotes St. Paul to show that "when any professing Christian is guilty of heresy, idolatry, or other crimes, it is the duty of believers to separate themselves from him at once."[8] He then proceeds to quote supporting evidence from the early church and concludes:

> "It may be inferred from these facts, that
> in the judgement of the church, it is
> lawful to withdraw from the communion of
> any of the brethren ... when they are

notoriously guilty of heresy, idolatry, or other grievous crimes, or when they communicate with heretics and idolaters, and thus encourage them in their sins."[9]

Palmer, then, is as rigorous as any of the Tractarians in his demand for greater emphasis on discipline in the life of the church member. Palmer then continues to write on the Sanctity of the Church. He affirms that the source and origin of all the holiness of the Church is Christ Himself, "Who gave himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works" (Titus, Chapter 2, Verse 14). The sanctity of the Church derives from Jesus through the Apostles. What about the actual holiness of the members of the Holy Church? He condemns the doctrine of the gathered church, the communion of actual and real saints.

"It is asserted by some that a society which includes a number of unholy men cannot be a church of Christ, that a true Church comprises only saints or perfect Christians. The Novatians and Donatists considered all who were guilty of great sins as forming no part of the church. The Pelagians held the Church to consist only of perfect men free from sin. The Wikliffites taught that the Church includes only the Predestinate. The Anabaptists and the English Dissenters asserted, that it

> consists only of those who are visibly holy in their lives; and the latter founded their separation from the church on the principle that she comprised sinners in her communion."[10]

In spite of his approval for the withdrawal from the communion of any notoriously sinful member of the Church, Palmer will have none of this. He quotes texts to support his view that "while the church of God exists on earth, it will comprise evil men as well as good in its communion" (Ibid, p. 105). He quotes Augustine, Cyprian and other fathers in their refutation of the Donatists, and Jerome and Augustine against the Pelagians and Donatists. Palmer then quotes St. Paul addressing the Church at Corinth and accusing the members thereof of many sins. Palmer points out that the person accused of incest was not separated from the Church until the apostle had ordered the Church to excommunicate him, thus proving that manifest sinners are sometimes found in the church. Palmer then quotes from the Book of Revelation to demonstrate the glaring faults of the members of the churches of Thyatira and Sardis.

> "The mere fact, then, that there are known sinners in any church, does not annihilate its character, render it apostate, or deprive it of the rights which belong to it by divine institution. Nor does an improper <u>delay</u> in expelling offenders ...

> Such faults and defects of discipline are found in every society of Christians alike."[11]

Palmer chides dissenters for criticising the established Church for allowing notorious evil-livers to remain church members. He points out that they are often very understanding and merciful towards their own members. Palmer regrets that they do not extend the same understanding and charity towards a Church which admits that there will always be sinners in its fold. Palmer again emphatically denies that evil-livers cease by their own evil-living to belong to the church. They do not excommunicate themselves. Palmer admits "that the ungodly whether secret or manifest, do not really belong to the church, considered as to its <u>invisible character</u> ... the elect ... who are known to God only ... But I deny that such men cease to belong externally to the church, <u>until</u> they are excommunicated ... or until they withdraw themselves".[12]

Palmer then goes on to consider another contention of the Dissenters, the supporters of the gathered congregation of the perfect:

> "None but those who are visibly holy in their lives can lawfully be admitted into the church. In opposition to this principle, I affirm that VISIBLE SANCTITY OF LIFE IS NOT REQUISITE FOR ADMISSION INTO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST (Capitals are Palmer's own.) First,

> the Gospel was preached to publicans, harlots, sinners of all kinds who were invited to repent and be baptised, and wash away their sins ... Therefore a profession of faith in Christ, of willingness to obey his laws and believe his words, is a sufficient condition of baptism, unless there be some proof at the same time, that the profession is hypocritical."[13]

Palmer emphasises that Baptism is the way appointed by both Scripture and the Catholic Church of making Christians. Baptism gives men the right to all the privileges of the church, and also the responsibilities of Church membership:

> "... as a baptised Christian, he (the candidate) has a <u>divine right</u> to every external privilege of the Church."[14]

Palmer's exposition of the Catholic idea of the Church and of entry into that Church by baptism is important for understanding the beliefs of the other Tractarians. He emphasises, first, the authority of the Church. It is the Church, through its appointed ministers, which excommunicates, it is the Church which has the power to repel evil-livers from its communion, it is the Church which has the power to judge who shall be excommunicated and who shall not be excommunicate. Palmer stresses this at length and the Tractarians all stress

it too, that the Church holds the power to bind and to loose, to absolve and to excommunicate. And if the Church can repel, it can also receive back the penitent, the baptised, who has broken his baptismal vows, to the life of the Church and its Sacraments.

Palmer emphasises too the nature of baptism. It is not the mere sign of the entry of the justified, accepted, regenerate man into the company of the saints. It is a sacrament which in itself transforms the penitent sinner, forgiving his sins in the name of the Lord who instituted the sacrament, and giving him the status of a son of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. But Palmer also mentions that baptism carries responsibilities, and here we come again to the fear of the Tractarians that the "Lutheran" (their term) doctrine of justification lessens not increases the responsibilities of the Christian. The Christian has the privilege of the life of the Body of Christ, but it is a privilege which enables him then to take up his Cross and follow Jesus. The Sacraments and the life of the Body are the means which the Christian uses to fulfil his discipleship, to cultivate true holiness.

In Chapter 13 of his Treatise Palmer considers what he calls "Dissenting Principles as affecting the Sanctity of the Church". After claiming that dissenting principles i.e. the Doctrine of the gathered church of regenerate and holy men - breeds schism upon schism (always a sore point with the Tractarians,who were perhaps subconsciously

worried about their own church and its relationship with the historic churches of East and West) Palmer continues:

> "The design and the intention of dissenters is, to admit none but <u>really</u> regenerate and holy men into their churches; but in adopting this notion, they were obliged to devise a new method of admission into the church, different from what Jesus Christ had appointed."
>
> (p. 312)

Lawful baptism was Christ's command to his apostles for membership of the church with all its rights and privileges.

> "But the only conditions for Baptism were repentance and faith. There was no mention of regeneration, sanctity, real piety, whether visible or invisible, as prerequisites to its reception. Those who were baptised came to the holy fountain as repentant sinners, not as professing saints: 'Arise and be baptised, and wash away thy <u>sins</u> ...'"[15]

Palmer is emphatic that the above qualification for baptism, repentance, could never create a church composed only of professing saints. This idea was anathema not only to Palmer but to the other Tractarians. The Nonconformist ideal of the gathered community of saints not only engendered spiritual pride: it falsified completely the whole picture of the Christian life as

one of continuing penance, and struggle for holiness. There is no place for a life of humble obedience to the commandments, of humble obedience to the moral law, of humble taking up of the Cross and following Christ, in the society of those who are already justified, already regenerate, already saints. Palmer's Treatise may be dry stuff, without the poetry of Williams or Keble or Newman: but their fear of pride, of laziness, of cheapening the Gospel of Jesus is all there. To say that the Treatise, as Chadwick does, could be made to sound like a piece of ecclesiastical machinery for disposing of dissent, is not quite fair. Behind the anti-Dissent polemic was the desire to emphasise the true nature of the Church and the true nature of her Sacraments. And it was Palmer's treatise, so said Gladstone, which gave him his High Church views.

NOTES

1 C. S. Dessain, 'Letters and Diaries of J. H. Newman', XIX, p. 287, quoted by Piers Brendon, 'Hurrell Froude', p. 121
2 Church, 'The Oxford Movement', p. 214
3 Ibid, p. 215
4 Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 28
5 Newman, 'Apologia', Fontana Edition, p. 125
6 Chadwick, 'Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 63
7 Ibid, p. 28
8 William Palmer, 'A Treatise on the Church of Christ', Vol. I, p. 64
9 Ibid, p. 68
10 Ibid, p. 105
11 Ibid, p. 106
12 Ibid, p. 112
13 Ibid, p. 113
14 Ibid, p. 114
15 Ibid, p. 313

W. G. WARD

Jenkyns, the Master of Balliol, remarked to Ward in 1844: "Well, Ward, your book is like yourself, fat, awkward and ungainly". A remark unflattering to both author and book, and no doubt a reflection of the views of the majority of Ward's readers. But in spite of the idiosyncracies of the book, Ward himself had no doubt what was the ideal of a Christian Church.

> "Let us carry with us then this simple and obvious ideal of the church's office ... that her one and only object shall be to save the souls of those committed to her charge ... that her voice shall be as the voice of God heard amidst the din of this restless and sinful world, guiding us in perplexities, soothing us in distresses, strengthening us in temptations, alarming the careless and worldly, cheering the contrite and humble of heart."[1]

This, then, is the great truth which the Church must proclaim, that the sinful state is a hateful and a perilous

state. Those who come to church regularly must be strictly warned against the delusion "that a regular attendance at Christian ordinances can compensate for open and deliberate acts of sin".[2] Ward admits that it is comparatively easy to put forward generally the perils of sin. These perils must be brought home unmistakably to each individual, so he can recognise these perils and dangers in himself. He warns that "far more subtle and specious is the snare of Satan, in cases where deadly sin exists, unknown nay unsuspected by the sinner himself; where wealth is idolatrously prized or pursued; or love of power or of ease wholly banish from the evil any real love of God; or men admit maxims and practices in their daily calling indefensible on grounds of morality; or allow themselves in resentment or absence of forgiveness to some one, at least, of their fellow men; or pursue some habitual course of action which they are afraid steadily to look in the face, lest they be compelled to acknowledge it wrong; or where thoughts of pride, self-complacency or of envy and malice ... are permitted in a degree which constitutes a deadly sin ..."[3]

The Church must also warn its members that sins which are not commonly recognised and acknowledged as deadly still stunt spiritual growth, and that those who indulge in them place their souls in peril: "even though they continue in a sense to enjoy the means of grace here, the final salvation of the offenders is placed in the most imminent jeopardy".[4] Ward underlines his emphasis on the

need for church members to practise continuous self-examination by adding a footnote to the above:

> "Spiritual writers lay great stress on the arduous contest which we shall have to wage against Satan at the moment of death; and say that he will put forth his utmost strength at the moment when the prey is on the point of escaping his snares. Our Prayer Book in like manner says, 'O God most mighty, O Holy and Merciful Saviour, Thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not, at our last hour, <u>for any pains of death</u> to fall from thee'. This is one great reason why a prayer for final perseverance should form part of the daily devotions even of the most advanced Christians ... it is a ground for the most lively alarm."[5]

So the Christian must be alert to the perils of sin until his last breath. There can be no relaxation of his struggle against sin. And Ward is concerned because it is not enough for the church to preach against the dangers of sin. The priest must have at his disposal some means of dealing with those members of his flock who, although they are regularly attending church and receiving the sacrament, yet "in whom he has reason to fear the existence of ... secret sins". He points out that convention would

stop such faithful churchpeople from indulging in open sins. The priest can, of course, and should, preach against these self-deceitful tendencies. But if the priest is to be a true healer of the soul then he needs a means of reaching the individual and convincing the individual that is more penetrating than pulpit generalities. The church must provide the pastor with such means to deal with these subtle and, in the end, deadly snares.

The Church must encourage people to return from immorality and ungodliness, and must "endeavour to place religion before him in a light as attractive as truth will permit; and to make that task as easy for him as the case allows, which at best must be more wearisome and grievous, of retracing his steps and disentangling himself, under God's grace, from the miserable thraldom of sinful habits. At the same time, some wisely and religiously constituted system of observance must be always at hand, to join the embers of piety into a steady glow ... to strengthen and protect him in holy seclusion, till he may be able again to go forth into the world, without imminent danger of falling a second time away from the narrow path".[6]

Ward insists, too, that the Church must guide and direct those who have never totally renounced their Christian calling, "shew them their spiritual dangers, guide their penitential acts, and mould their habits after the Christian model".[7] Then the Church must, too,

train the saints, encourage their enthusiasms and direct them to holy things. Ward bewails the absence of saints in the Church - meaning, of course, the Church of England in the nineteenth century. So the Church must have a moral, ascetic and mystical theology, culled from the writings of the past Christian ages, to replace rule- of-thumb and arbitrary rules:

> "This being then granted ... whereas the Church witnesses in the midst of us the great principles of morality, and is bound moreover to assist her children in applying them to their particular circumstances, in knowing what is and what is not sin, and how grievous in themselves are particular sins; she must needs have a recognised body of <u>moral</u> theology: that whereas she is bound to guide them to the various moral and theological virtues, to all holy and Christian tempers of mind; and to implant maxims of conduct and inculcate practices of piety, which shall lead to those virtues and tempers; her ministers must be sufficiently versed in a certain uniform and recognised body of <u>ascetic</u> theology: that whereas her highest office is to train, not ordinary Christians, but those predestined to be saints, and whereas

> those of her children, who are climbing up that arduous and dizzy path, are free in great measure from the temptations which beset ordinary men, but exposed to perils of a more subtle indeed and transcendental, but no whit of a less fatal, character ... and whereas <u>their</u> salvation (speaking generally) is no more assured before the end of their pilgrimage than that of the humblest Christian; she must possess a certain number of thorough proficients in the noble and wonderful science of mystical theology."[8]

The above is worth quoting in extenso, because of the insight it gives into the whole Tractarian attitude towards the forgiveness of sins and the Christian life generally. There is the emphasis, found in Froude, Keble, Newman and Williams, on the arduous path of Christian discipleship, on its difficult and slippery nature. There is the insistence that, however proficient the disciple becomes, however free from the temptations that beset ordinary men, yet he is still in danger of spiritual death until the very end of this earthly pilgraimage. Here is the reaction to the Evangelical preaching of blessed assurance which could, in the view of the Tractarians, very, very easily make the Christian, careless of his moral and spiritual life, content instead to rely on his emotions and his sense of having been saved.

But the passage is also interesting in its stress on the need for saints in the Church. And here Ward went beyond his fellow Tractarians. For Ward, Rome could produce saints; the Church of England could, or did, not. He shared with the other Tractarians his conviction that in conscience and moral honesty and strict obedience was the secret of Christian discipleship and ultimate salvation. But he was also, in R. W. Church's words "greatly affected, not merely by the paramount place of sanctity in the Roman theology, and the professed Roman system, but by the standard of saintliness which he found there, involving complete and heroic self-sacrifice for great religious ends, complete abandonment of the world, painful and continuous self-discipline, purified and exalted religious affections, beside which English piety and goodness at its best, in such examples as George Herbert and Ken and Bishop Wilson, seems unambitious and pale and tame, of a different order from the Roman, and less closely resembling what we read of in the first ages and in the New Testament."[9]

But what in Protestantism he especially objected to was, as I have said above, "Its ostentatious separation of justification from morality, with all its theological refinements and fictions".[10] Here he brought into sharper emphasis Newman's insistence on the right state of the heart. The sense of duty is "the one faculty which is visited by divine grace, and which under that grace leads us onwards to salvation".[11] Like Isaac Williams Ward was at pains to state that the gospel was the complement to

the natural law. He condemns Luther for denying or disparaging this principle.

Dr. Bernard Reardon in his discussion of Ward and his views, quotes in extenso a passage towards the end of his Ideal:

> "The priest of a country parish will endeavour to lay his foundation within the heart of his flock; he will not consider any attendance of theirs on Divine Service, even the most regular, even (if so be) daily as well as Sunday, to be any real security for so much as the beginning of a truly Christian life. It is the feeling of <u>accountableness</u> throughout the day, the habitual thought of judgement to come, the careful regulation of thought, words and actions, which he will impress on his flock as the one thing needful. Their presence in church may be useful as giving him the power to address them, but he will use that power for the very purpose of impressing on their mind that the true religion must have its spring from <u>within</u>."[12]

Dr. Reardon comments:

> "Such a passage, from a work intended to exalt as the ideal of a Christian church one strongly resembling the actuality, so its author believed, of the Church of Rome, might well have astonished its Protestant

readers. Yet it is typical of the prevailing attitude of the Oxford divines - 'Holiness', in Newman's aphorism, 'before Peace'."[13]

NOTES

1 W. G. Ward, 'The Ideal of a Christian Church', p. 11
2 Ibid, p. 12
3 Ibid, p. 13
4 Ibid, p. 13
5 Ibid, p. 13, note E
6 Ibid, p. 14
7 Ibid, p. 14
8 Ibid, p. 18
9 Church, 'The Oxford Movement', p. 342
10 Ibid, p. 342
11 Ward, 'Ideal of a Christian Church', p. 204
12 Ward, 'Ideal', p. 438
13 Reardon, 'From Coleridge to Gore', p. 154

CONCLUSION

We have now completed our survey of the Tractarian leaders and their thought on the subject of forgiveness of sin. The impression is certainly one of moral severity, and indeed David Newsome detects in the works of all of them "an undercurrent of pessimism and gloom".[1] Certainly the purpose of the Tractarians seems to have been to inspire fear and anxiety and penitence. To the Tractarians the Church represented the beauty of holiness: but too much stress on the beauty could lead to a lessening in the severity which the Church exists to inculcate in the reluctant hearts of men.

What reactions did the teaching of the Tractarians on justification, baptismal regeneration and forgiveness of sins have on contemporary theologians? The most famous critic, because of his controversy with Pusey over baptism, was F. D. Maurice. He himself expressed it in this way:

> "I didn't personally know either Mr. Newman or Mr. Pusey. The first I regarded as an eminent Aristotelian divine and popular tutor, who had been in great sympathy with Dr. Whately, and who was then following Mr. Keble, in his reverence for Charles I,

> and in devotion to Anglican episcopacy ... in a short time Mr. Newman was the declared antagonist of Luther, the defender of the English church only as it presented itself in writers like Bp. Bull, who had resisted the Reformer's doctrine - that simple belief in Christ is the deliverance from evil and the root of good. That doctrine was still more undermined, as I thought, by Dr. Pusey's tract of Baptism, published a short time after; a tract which drove me more vehemently to what I took to be the teaching of our catechism - that by baptism we claim the position which Christ has claimed for all mankind."[2]

Maurice thought that the nerve of his mission as a minister of the Gospel would be cut by teaching such as this:

> "Where is the minister of Christ in London, Birmingham or Manchester whom such a doctrine heartily and inwardly entertained, would not drive to madness? He is sent to preach the Gospel. What Gospel? Of all the thousands whom he addresses, he cannot venture to believe that there are ten who, in Dr. Pusey's sense, retain their baptismal purity. All he can do, therefore, is to tell the wretched creatures, who spend eighteen hours

> out of the twenty four in close factories and bitter toil, corrupting and being corrupted, that if they spend the remaining six in prayer - he need not add fasting - they may possibly be saved. How can we insult God and torment men with such mockery?"[3]

Dr. Vidler relates that "Pusey's tract made Maurice see the difference". For it seemed to him that Pusey's teaching, so far from acknowledging baptism as the witness to a permanent communion between God and man, made out that baptism was an instantaneous event which took a man out of his relation to Adam and made him a member of Christ. But this relation to Christ was not permanent: it was severed by post baptismal sin. The teaching of the Tractarians struck Maurice thus:

> "They, looking at Baptism as an act done in and instant and accomplishing its purpose in an instant, and not rather as the witness of an eternal truth, the sacrament of constant union, the assurance of a continual living presence are driven to this conclusion - that the moment after it has been performed is a period of ideal purity and excellence, from which the future life even of a saint is a deflection and which those who have wandered far into sin cannot hope to recover; these must be content, by much

> prayer and fasting, to seek for God's
> mercy which may, perhaps, though there
> is no certain promise to uphold the
> flattering expectation, once again redeem
> them out of sin and hell."[4]

It is natural that Maurice, whose theological principle was, according to Lord Ramsey, Werde was Du bist, become what you are, was repelled by Pusey's views on baptism. The deeper cause of the gulf between Pusey and Maurice, as Lord Ramsey points out, is a difference of theological method. For the Tractarian the Church was a supernatural society set over and against heretical sects and the world. For Maurice, on the other hand, the Church was related to the half-truths and broken lights of heresy and error, and offered the reality of which they were parodies and distorted witnesses. The Tractarians viewed the Church as the home of the redeemed in contrast with a sinful world, a world where truth was spurned and denied. Maurice viewed the church not only as the home of the redeemed, but as the sign that God had redeemed the whole human race and that the whole human race was potentially in Christ. For Pusey baptism brings the Christian from the sinful world into the church, baptism gives a new nature by regeneration and the Christian receives the infusion of the Holy Spirit. For Maurice every child that is born is born into a world already redeemed by Christ, and in Baptism this truth is proclaimed and the child is put into relation ship to Dr. H. R. Mackintosh, in his "The Christian Experience of

Forgiveness", quotes Dr. Dale: writing to a friend about the life of Pusey, to whose massive and exalted piety he pays tribute, says:

> "The absence of joy in his religious life was only the inevitable effect of his conception of God's method of saving men; in parting with the Lutheran truth concerning justification he parted with the springs of gladness."

Dr. Mackintosh continues:

> "God's love in Christ, in its full measure, is offered not to those merely who are believing enough, or penitent enough, or reformed enough in their lives. It is offered to all who will cast themselves on God, though it be with 'faith as a grain of mustard seed'."

In his "God was in Christ" Dr. D. M. Baillie writes thus:

> "It was, I think, from one of F. W. Robertson's sermons that I learnt this lesson many years ago, and I will cite a passage which begins with a sentence quoted with strong disapproval from Newman. '"A true penitent", says Mr. Newman, "never forgives himself". O false estimate of the Gospel of Christ and of the heart of man! A proud remorse does not forgive itself the forfeiture of its own dignity; but it is the very beauty of the penitence

> which is according to God, that at last the sinner, realising God's forgiveness, does learn to forgive himself ... This is the great peculiar feature of this sorrow: God is there, accordingly self is less prominent. It is not a microscopic self-examination, nor a mourning in which self is ever uppermost: my character gone; the greatness of my sin; the forfeiture of my salvation. The thought of God absorbs all that". And here is a similar testimony, from a very different quarter, about the penitence of the Christian: 'His sorrow for sin is not a mortified, humiliated, angry disgust with himself. It is a humble hopeful sorrow, always "turning into joy" ... "But I am unworthy of joy; I am willing to work and suffer if need be as a sinner. I don't look for joy". That is a sentiment true for a pagan, but it contradicts the whole Creed of the Catholic church. "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins".'[5]

Dr. Owen Chadwick discerns the results of the Tractarian doctrine of the forgiveness of sins - and Pusey's in particular - in the young Liddon, Pusey's

disciple:

> "This concern for responsibility, this devotional ... undervaluing of grace, this reluctance to recognise naturalness and 'the seed growing secretly, that sanctification was not a supernatural life but a supernatural consecration of natural life, affected the young Liddon ...' Even when the presuppositions of another age in theology are put aside, something perhaps is still missing. Sin, judgement, grace, redemption - he proclaims them from the housetops. But he cannot quite bring himself to say, O felix culpa quae talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem ..."[6]

Pusey and his companions were in reaction to what one can call, quoting Bonhoeffer, cheap grace. Their religion may have seemed joyless - yet all of them can become rapturous about the glory that awaits the obedient Christian in heaven. They may have been rigorous and severe - but God to them was so generous as well as so almighty, so loving as well as so just, that to respond to this love and to this generosity at the level of mere emotion seemed a poor thing and an insult. They may have overstressed the disciplina arcani, the doctrine of reserve, yet those who practised it, especially Keble, have been an inspiration to many, many Christians. In the twentieth century, when the abandonment, in the West at

least, of organised religion by the multitudes, has caused grief and panic and the consideration of this remedy and that method of making the Church more attractive and the faith more relevant, it is refreshing to read of men who cared nothing for relevance, expected their message to be received and understood and cherished only by the few, and who had as their motto, Holiness is all. The modern pastor would, me judice, be driven mad more quickly by his attempt to make his heedless flock heed the doctrine and gospel of F. D. Maurice than by his trying, slowly, patiently, quietly, and humbly to build up in himself and, by his example, in others, obedience to the command of Christ who said, Take up thy cross and follow me. The nineteenth century needed Pusey and Newman and Keble and Isaac Williams: perhaps the twentieth century needs them more.

NOTES

1 David Newsome, 'Godliness and Good Learning', p. 180
2 F. Maurice, 'Life of Frederick Dennison Maurice', p. 182
3 F. D. Maurice, 'The Kingdom of Christ, Volume I, p. 97
4 A. R. Vidler, 'The Theology of F. D. Maurice', p. 101
5 D. M. Baillie, 'God was in Christ', pp. 165-166
6 Chadwick, 'The Mind of the Oxford Movement', p. 50

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