Ann Margaret Schellenberg
Prize the Doubt: the Life and Work of Francis William Newman

ABSTRACT:

This thesis is a biography of Francis William Newman [1805-1897] for the Ph.D. in Theology and Church History at Durham University. Newman was the younger brother of the Cardinal, John Henry Newman. In contrast to his famous brother, whose misgivings about his childhood faith led him to affiliate with the Roman Catholic Church, Newman's beliefs evolved from a nominal, if rigid, subscription to the XXXIX Articles, to a youthful flirtation with evangelical fundamentalism, and ultimately transmogrified into a curiously rational yet mystical spirituality.

Considered by his contemporaries, including Carlyle and George Eliot, to be one of the great intellects of their day, Newman never shrank from expressing controversial opinions. He wrote on a variety of subjects: mathematics, classics, languages, poetry, and politics, as well as theology. His writings sparked debate and yet were popular: *The Soul* was printed in ten editions.

Today Newman is chiefly known as his brother's biographer, as an honest doubter, or as a curious footnote in a study of John Henry's life. In his own time, however, Newman's work cast a broad shadow, influencing others on both sides of the Atlantic through his writings, his teaching, and his correspondence.

It is important to consider Newman within the context of Victorian Church History: the forces which shaped the Oxford Movement acted on him as well as on his brother, although with quite different results. His integrity and deeply held religious convictions expressed themselves in his commitment to social issues: he participated in a variety of Victorian movements. These included university reform, education for women, temperance, abolition of slavery, vegetarianism, government decentralisation, public health, campaigns against cruelty to animals, and justice. A portrait of F. W. Newman must delineate some of the most important concerns of the Victorian Era, concerns which have not yet been obliterated.

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Ph. D. Thesis
University of Durham
Department of Theology
1994

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None of this material has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or any other university.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Sheridan Gilley. His encouragement has drawn more out of me than I imagined possible; his criticisms were as gentle as they were justified. His scholarship and his style of writing have inspired me, and his enthusiasm propelled this thesis.

I am also grateful to Manchester College, Oxford, for bringing me to England, and giving me a year's scholarship. Dr. Ralph Waller, Principal of Manchester College, introduced me to F. W. Newman, and Dr. Frank Schulman supervised my research there. In addition, my research at Durham has been subsidised by an Overseas Research Student Award, and by the Unitarian Universalist Association, which has named me one of its scholars.

I have found the librarians and staffs of the archives I have consulted to be uniformly helpful, and I owe them thanks. I am particularly indebted to those at Manchester College, the Birmingham Oratory, and the Boston Public Library.

St. Mary's College has provided an ideal environment for my research, and I would like to thank its students, staff and Senior Common Room. They have tolerated Newman anecdotes for two and a half years, although they wisely restricted me to one a day. In particular, I would like to thank Michael Peterburs, Dr. Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, and my proof readers: Dr. Alison Taylor, Dr. Susan Armstrong, and especially Dr. Máire Ní Fhlathúin.

Another proof reader I must thank is Dr. Paul Richardson, who understood when I temporarily lost my sense of humour. It is not his fault that this thesis contains no graphs. I'll never forget our research trip to Weston-super-Mare.

Most of all, I would like to thank my family: my sister, my grandmother and my parents. They have been very patient with their perennial student, and I hope that they are pleased with the fruit of my research.

A. M. Schellenberg
April 1994

Abbreviations

BL	BRITISH LIBRARY
BO	BIRMINGHAM ORATORY
BPL	BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
CU	CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY
HL	HUNTINGTON LIBRARY
HU	HARVARD UNIVERSITY
L&D	*LETTERS AND DIARIES OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN*
LU	LONDON UNIVERSITY
MCO	MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD
MCS	MANCHESTER CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY
WCO	WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

Chapter One:

My Youthful Creed

> The bad fairy was annoyed: why had she not been invited to the christening? Invitation or no invitation, however, she *would* attend, and so when the good fairies had promised the innocent babe all the brilliant endowments they could remember there was a sudden interruption and the uninvited fairy stalked in. 'I promise him,' she hissed malevolently, 'as a crown to those high qualities, the entire lack of a sense of humour' and disappeared as suddenly as she had come. That or something like it must have occurred when in 1805 the third son of John and Maria [sic] Newman received the names of Francis William. That or something like it explains why though both first and third son were born endowed with exceptional mental gifts, it was only the former who was to become a great scholar and a great saint, while the latter was never to succeed in being more than a great crank. The last year has seen more than one re-assessment of the life of John Henry Newman, but his younger brother's career is a fascinating byway which repays a closer study than it usually receives.
>
> -- Kenneth Ross

Whether or not fairies were present at his christening, it is true that Francis William Newman was born on 27 June 1805, the fourth child of John and Jemima[1] Newman. He had two older brothers, John Henry born in 1801, and Charles Robert born in 1802, and an older sister, Harriett Elizabeth, born in 1803. Their father was a banker, a Partner in Harrison, Prickett and Newman.[2]

Influenced by Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, their father abstained from the pious family religious activities presided over by his wife. Later in life, Francis reflected that this evasion had been a deliberate action on his father's part. John Newman worried that if his sons adopted his own, less conventional, religious beliefs, it would limit their opportunities for success, then tied to membership in the Church of England. Consequently, he never shared his beliefs with his sons, although he cautioned them against religious enthusiasm. Francis recorded:

> I had heard him say, 'I do not pretend to be a religious man;' also, 'I am a man of the world;' nay, once: 'I wonder that clever men do not see that it is *impossible* to get back to any certainty where they are so confident' -- he meant in *religious history*....So I painfully whispered to myself: 'He is not a Christian.' But as I grew up, I began to honour a breadth, serenity, and truthfulness in my father's character....I saw him, in my memory, as an unpretending, firm-minded Englishman, who had learned his morality more from Shakespeare than from the Bible...[3]

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1 Née Fourdrinier.

2 Gilley, p. 7.

3 *Cardinal Newman*, pp. 6-7.

Some accounts describe the family's religion as Calvinist or Evangelical, but Francis objected to these designations. When Thomas Mozley[4] applied the first label to the Newmans' mother, Francis protested at this, "both as untrue, and as a most gratuitous aspersion on her good sense:"

> The religious training of us which he ascribes to her and the religious books to which he says she introduced us, - I entirely deny. I suppose he elaborated the fancy, out of the idea that sons who fall into Puritan reading must have got it from their mother, if one of her grandfathers fled from French persecution as a Protestant. Not one of the books he names was put into my hands by my mother, and if she ever read even one of them (which I doubt) it is likely to have been from our introducing them to her.[5]

The Evangelical label would seem to adhere more precisely, given the prominence of the Bible in the family's spiritual life, but John Henry felt his mother "would be called an Arminian and Remonstrant."[6] Looking back on his childhood, Francis remembered his eldest brother as his most significant religious influence.

Two more sisters were born after the family moved to London in 1808: Jemima Charlotte in 1808, and Mary Sophia in 1809. The Newman family prized intellectual achievement and musical ability: John Henry played the violin, the girls played the piano, and Francis played the violoncello. One of Francis' earliest memories concerned an opera written by John Henry:

> ...when I hardly can have been full five years old, I acted in our drawing-room the part of *fisherman* to the lord of a (Welsh?) castle. I remember the eulogy put into my mouth on the great lord for 'eminence in the four cardinal virtues,' and above all, for being *so fond of fish*.[7]

In counterpoint to this musical harmony were good-natured arguments and teasing. John Henry's surviving correspondence with his sisters brimmed with warmth, joy and delight in each other's company. He described the following scene to Jemima:

> Talking of Harriet [sic] leads me to observe that she is a girl possessed of *rash*ness -- (the pun I cannot claim) -- but she is looking quite herself, smiling, sitting on the sofa, with pretty pink cheeks and blue eyes -- (this wording is not mine) -- I am obliged to keep Francis off by main force; the boy is now snorting in my ears; Harriett is very fond of 'accoucher' on the sofa...[8]

Some natural affinities developed among the siblings: Francis felt closest to Jemima, another middle child. Jemima was plain, gentle and introverted; Francis was the handsome, extroverted child who would sit on a caller's lap and entertain him.

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4 [1806-1893] divine and author, married Harriett Newman in 1836.

5 BO, F. Newman '70- '90, FWN to Mrs. Phillipps, 9 July 1882.

6 BO, T.Mozley, JHN to T. Mozley, 9 June 1882.

7 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 3.

8 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 90, JHN to JCN, 3 October 1820.

A month before Jemima was born in 1808, the two oldest boys were sent to the Ealing School, Middlesex, a large private school with 190 pupils. Despite Charles' brush with ringworm in 1810,[9] Francis entered the Ealing School in 1811, after a summer of illness and fever.

Dr. George Nicholas, the headmaster, was celebrated for his tennis serve, and set the tone for a variety of sporting activities. Nearly seventy years after leaving this school, Francis described these with nostalgic enthusiasm: fives-court and tennis, cricket, rounders, football, petty fives, hopping and hopscotch, patball and trapball, prisoner's base, tops, and marbles.[10]

In contrast to his brother, John Henry, who "did go to our bathing-pond, but never swam,"[11] Francis was an accomplished swimmer. One acquaintance said Francis was "the most beautiful young man he had ever seen."[12]

At the Ealing School, Francis experienced the power that even poor teachers exercise over their students:

> I remember the first box on the ears that I got at school, with the comment, 'You are a blockhead.' because I could not learn a long definition of the Subjunctive Mood, of which I understood not a word, and perhaps should not now. It went very deep into my heart at the time, & might have disgusted me with learning.[13]

Another instructor influenced Francis as an example to emulate:

> ...when an Elocution master was introduced when I was at school, the boys at first laughed, or were abashed & dumb; but the teacher persevered, & before long some boys who had always been idle in every thing caught an enthusiasm, which changed their moral character. The teacher used to boast, that in no school at which he taught had he ever been the cause of any boy being punished.[14]

The idea that enthusiasm can be used to educate the moral character, of education as a moral force, remained with Francis throughout his life.

Francis did not believe he was a precocious child:

> I went to school when I was 6 years old, and <u>was always diligent</u>: that was all my precocity. But J. H. <u>composed</u> in <u>prose</u> and <u>verse</u> while he was a mere schoolboy. He wrote of his own fancies little farces for us to act in the drawing room, when I was a very little boy. I almost think, when I was 6 $^{1}/_{2}$ and he was under 10; & he edited <u>a weekly</u> MS at school, - I might say more - which circulated among certain boys, when probably he was 14.[15]

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9 O'Faolain, p. 21.
10 *Cardinal Newman*, pp. 2-3.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
12 O'Faolain, p. 23.
13 LU, AL 342 5, FWN to JRM, 5 November 1872
14 *Ibid.*
15 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to Mrs. Phillips, 9 July 1882.

The "weekly MS" was probably John Henry's weekly paper *The Spy*. This was the organ of a short-lived secret society presided over by John Henry as Grand Master, which included their brother Charles. Francis was not initiated into this "special Order;" his exclusion may reflect the difference in the three boys' ages, or the family's conviction that Francis was incapable of keeping a secret.[16] Francis later wrote:

> As a little boy, I was a rattling talker; and if a gentleman petted me, I was soon on his knee, quite at home; and my father said of me to my mother before the family: 'Never tell a secret to that boy, for it will be sure to leak out from him.'[17]

This period marked the end of an alliance between one set of the brothers and the beginning of a new relationship among the three. Until 1815, John Henry and Charles Robert were thrown together as the two oldest boys. But in 1816, Francis began to read religious books at Bible School, and attempt secret prayer.[18] Francis and John Henry drew closer together in the Evangelical experience of conversion, especially under the influence of their Classical Master, the Rev. Walter Mayers.

Mayers, an Evangelical clergyman, introduced the Newman brothers to the doctrine of Election and God's Justice.[19] Thus, the influence of a religious male authority figure was felt at the same time that their father's business became troubled.[20] Although it is natural to ask theological questions during hard times, there is a curious contrast between their father, with his Shakespearean rather than Biblical morality and this Evangelical Classical Master.

John Newman's former partners at the bank found a position for him in Alton managing a brewery. The Newman brothers experienced the change in the family's circumstances in an abrupt manner. As John Henry explained to Harriett in a letter to their Aunt Elizabeth:

> ...they left Norwood, with no expectation of not seeing it again; they consoled themselves with the hope, of living there again, of mending the walk towards the pigs, of bettering their garden, of improving the place etc. etc. etc. and yet they will not see it again --[21]

At the time, John Henry was fifteen and Francis was eleven years old. Their father's failure in business may have reinforced their childhood attitudes toward authority. Whereas John Henry, the oldest child, tended to identify with authority figures and tradition, Francis was more likely to challenge authority and the status quo.

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16 *Cardinal Newman*, pp. 4-5.

17 *Ibid*, p. 55.

18 *Phases of Faith*, p. 1.

19 *Ibid*.

20 John Henry objected to descriptions of his father's "failure:" "My Father's bank never failed. It stopped - but paid by the end of the month its creditors in full." BO, T. Mozley, JHN to T. Mozley, 9 June 1882.

21 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 27, JHN to Elizabeth Newman, 30 October 1816.

As children, John Henry and Francis William argued about everything *except* religion. Yet the arguments were friendly; the two brothers' relationship was so close that Francis was the first family member John Henry told when he won a Trinity College scholarship.[22]

Although the brothers agreed on religion, their religious experiences differed. For John Henry, his Evangelical conversion marked the beginning of his formal religious convictions; it was immediate. For Francis, the process of conversion required three years of study and prayer. At the age of fourteen, Francis considered himself a converted Evangelical, and experienced the persecution of schoolmates who tried to "corrupt" him.[23] Doubtless alcohol was among the corruptions to confront Francis, a teetotaller from childhood. This distaste for strong drink was shared by John Henry and Mayers.[24]

In 1819, as Francis' conversion came to fruition, the Newman family moved back to London from Alton, where the father unsuccessfully attempted to earn a living as a brewer. John Henry hinted that although the family managed to stay together, there were hardships, among them Mary's chilblains, and Charles' decaying gums.[25]

John Henry paralleled his father's failure in 1820 when he did not live up to the high academic standards he had set himself. He received a "below the line" second in his classics examination and failed to receive honours in his strongest subject, mathematics.[26] Paradoxically, this failure freed John Henry from his father's expectation that he enter the law, and allowed him to declare his intention to take Holy Orders.

At sixteen, Francis was confirmed in the Church of England by the Bishop of London, Dr. Howley.[27] This confirmation, with its emphasis upon the catechism, struck Francis as a hollow ritual. The subordination of faith to knowledge disappointed the young Evangelical.[28]

In 1821, their father was bankrupt. To contribute to the family fortune, John Henry offered to take responsibility for Francis' education. His parents worried about this undertaking, but John Henry reassured them on all counts. At the end of June, John Henry noted that the matter seemed settled:

> I am naturally much delighted to find you propose Francis should come to Oxford, and have been arranging things as well as I can. I am not certain whether the college will allow my dinner to be taken out of College, so that I may always dine with him, but I am sure they will do as much as they can; and, since it is not without a precedent, I have great hopes of success in my application....My greatest difficulty is to get good lodgings. I have found one;...being a Coffee House, it is handy, as having

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22 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 52, Mrs. John Newman to JHN, 24 May 1818.
23 *Phases of Faith*, p. 1.
24 Mozley, A. p. 37.
25 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 72, 10 December 1819.
26 BO, *Holograph*, p. 9, 17 August 1820.
27 *Phases of Faith*, p. 1.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

dinner etc. all under one roof. There are two sets of rooms. Francis's would be £26 a year, candles being found.[29]

Before moving to these lodgings, Francis viewed a spectacle that indelibly impressed him with its brilliance and its "wearisomeness," the Coronation procession of George IV.[30] When George IV was still the Prince of Wales, he had contravened the Royal Marriage Act in 1785 by marrying a Roman Catholic widow without the king's consent. As this marriage was considered invalid, the prince was married to Caroline, a German princess, against his will. Although the marriage was consummated, the prince refused to live with Caroline. She lived in Italy until her husband succeeded to the throne, when she returned to England to claim her station as Queen of England. Caroline's case had tremendous popular appeal, which placed the government in an awkward position. On the one hand, George IV wanted Caroline's title and privileges revoked, and on the other hand, there were riots in support of Caroline. Only a generation had passed since the French Revolution, and its memory encouraged the government to respect public opinion: they withdrew the bill for divorce after it passed by nine votes in the House of Lords. Caroline attempted to attend the Coronation, but was not admitted; she died soon after this. Later in life Francis professed a cynical view of her death: while he called it a tragedy, he felt that Caroline's heart "was broken not by love but by disappointed ambition."[31]

The debate on this issue extended into the Newman family's drawing room. John Henry, perhaps influenced by Oxford University's support of the Court, vehemently argued for George; their father defended Caroline. Their father's argument appeared "*more Christian*" to Francis, but it ended sarcastically: "Well, John! I suppose I ought to praise you for knowing how to rise in this world. Go on! Persevere! Always stand up for men in power, and in time you will get promotion."[32] Francis remembered that his father "whatever his inferiority in culture to his son, had an earnest zeal for *justice*, and in temperament as an arbitrator would have dealt equably with contending parties."[33] Francis found "the strangeness of the affair was hard to forget:"[34] both for John Henry's opposition to their father, and for the passion expressed in this opposition.

On another occasion in 1821 Francis found his brother's political interests curiously intrusive and irrelevant. Dr. Nicholas asked John Henry to write the prologue for the school dramatic production of Terence. Francis wrote "I was then sixteen, and, as 'captain' of the school, had to recite the prologue. Of course I learned it by heart."[35] The prologue was a "panegyric" on George III, written eighteen months after his death, and Francis considered it an odd topic, since it had nothing to do with Terence and "my father and even my father's mother charged George III as the chief criminal for two cruel, needless wars, both ruinous, the

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29 *L&D*, vol. 1, p. 110, JHN to John Newman, 25 June 1821.
30 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.
31 *Ibid.*
32 *Cardinal Newman*, pp. 8-9.
33 *Ibid*, p. 6.
34 *Ibid*, p. 8.
35 *Ibid*, p. 10.

American ignominious also."[36] Francis attributed his brother's lack of common sense to his zeal for authority.[37]

When John Henry visited the Newmans in August 1821, he and Francis decided to receive communion fortnightly. This decision distressed their parents. Their mother thought John Henry was "righteous overmuch and was verging upon enthusiasm," and taking Francis with him.[38] Their father worried that the two excluded their brother Charles, so Francis and John Henry decided to invite Charles to join them in reading the Bible with Scott's Commentary.[39] This measure restored the family's equilibrium, although the Newman parents held John Henry responsible for his younger brother's religious enthusiasm. One of John Henry's biographers, Maisie Ward, held the opposite to be true:

> Actually Francis, though the younger, seems to have been the leader at this stage....Francis would not go to the theatre 'for religious motives.' John went once or twice and 'seemed', he repentently notes, 'so little to feel the impropriety of so doing' that he 'mentioned it in the company of religious persons."[40]

Francis embraced Evangelical Christianity in a peculiarly rigid form. One aspect in particular obsessed him: keeping the Sabbath. Francis later explained that he was "enslaved to One Form -- that of observing the Sunday, or as I had learned falsely to call it, the Sabbath."[41] On 30 September 1821, Francis refused to copy a letter for his father on the Sabbath. After dinner, John Henry was drawn into the controversy, and called downstairs to state whether he considered it a sin to write a letter on a Sunday. John Henry supported "dear Francis" against his father, but described the scene as "more painful than any I have experienced."[42] Francis reported that the "unpleasantness" lasted about 48 hours.

This defiance, pitting the two brothers against their father, hints at a paradox that continued to appear as a theme in the brothers' lives. Both would ultimately seek emancipation through greater strictness: John Henry in a religious sense, Francis in a more secular moral sense with distinct political ramifications.[43]

Francis moved to the Seale Coffee House in Oxford, at the corner of Holywell and Broad Street.[44] On 14 November, John Henry reiterated to their father, "It has always been my intention, since it was fixed that Francis should be with me at Oxford, to ask your leave to let me take whatever charge he might incur, upon myself."[45]

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36 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 10.
37 *Ibid*, p. 11.
38 Ward, M. p. 60, 13 August 1821.
39 *Ibid*., p. 61
40 *Ibid*., p. 60.
41 *Phases of Faith*, p. 2.
42 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 112.
43 Willey, p. 13. Willey discusses resisting parental authority for "greater strictness" not "emancipation," and sees this as the first step in Francis' career of being "anti-everything."
44 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.
45 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 116.

A week later their mother displayed her *anxiety about her husband's health, and* her gratitude for her family's emotional support:

> I thank God sincerely, that all of us have always had our happiness in each other's society, and have not sought for pleasure beyond our own approaching meeting...I shall only say, every thing you [John] do or say is sure to be a comfort and make me still more proud of you. Indeed, my dear, I am convinced I am highly favoured to have six such good children...[46]

At Oxford, Francis' society extended beyond the limits designated by his mother, and he enjoyed meeting his brother's acquaintances. One, John William Bowden, seemed "a type of beautiful manhood," perhaps "too tall for an Apollo," but whose "modest sweetness of expression seemed Christian beauty such as I had not seen in the British Museum from any Greek."[47] While undergraduates, Bowden and John Henry had composed a poem together called "St. Bartholomew's Eve."[48] This poem impressed Francis, who copied it out and carried it around with him.

Even an adoring younger brother can be an unnerving presence if he is determined to test his wit against his elder. Throughout Francis' undergraduate days, John Henry used his behaviour toward his brother as a sort of barometer, noting on different occasions: "Not so cruel to Frank" or "Constantly impatient with Frank."[49]

Their parents also scrutinised John Henry's behaviour but were more concerned with his excessive piety. After church on 6 January 1822, John Newman delivered the following lecture to his oldest son:

> Take care. It is very proper to quote Scripture, but you poured out texts in such quantities. Have a guard. You are encouraging a nervousness and morbid sensibility, and irritability, which may be very serious. I know what it is myself, perfectly well. I know it is a disease of mind. Religion, when carried too far, induces a softness of mind. You must *exert* yourself and do every thing you can. Depend upon it, no one's principles can be established at twenty. Your opinions in two or three years will certainly, *certainly* change. I have seen many instances of the same kind. Take care, I repeat. You are on dangerous ground. The temper you are encouraging may lead to something alarming. Weak minds are carried into superstition, and strong ones into infidelity.[50]

John Henry later appreciated his father's words, noting:

> His father spoke from his general knowledge of the world; and, had he known his son's character thoroughly, he would have had a still greater right to anticipate a change in the religious views of the youth whom he so much loved and was so anxious about. For...the critical peculiarities of evangelical religion had never been congenial to him, though he had fancied he held

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46 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 117.
47 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
48 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
49 O'Faolain, p. 58.
50 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 117.

> them. Its emotional and feverish devotion and its tumultuous experiences were foreign to his nature, which indeed was ever conspicuously faulty in the opposite direction, as being in a way incapable, as if physically, of enthusiasm, however legitimate or guarded.[51]

On 21 January, Mrs. Newman warned John Henry that Francis might not return to Oxford:

> Your father seems to hesitate very much about Francis's return to you. Pray, my dear, do not set your heart upon it. On this, as on all occasions, you will, I *know*, be satisfied that whatever is ordered for us, will ultimately be best. Nothing is finally settled; so do not make any remarks or arrangements pro or con. *I* have a prepossession in favour of your plans, but it is in present circumstances too serious an undertaking for me to persevere in advising.52

John Henry anticipated this as a pragmatic decision based on family finances, but also interpreted it as a "punishment to me for the wicked ill nature and moroseness with which I treated him last term."[53] By return post he wrote to his mother, urging his parents to reconsider:

> For Francis (this much others know) is certainly amazingly advanced for his age in classical and mathematical studies. Now this is so much vantage ground, which he will entirely lose (at least the classical). You may truly say he has been labouring the last ten years at *business, if* he comes to College; but all this fagging dwindles into a mere accomplishment, like music or dancing, if he is thus suddenly diverted into a different course. He has improved of late wonderfully. I have been astonished, ever since he has been with me, at the way in which he has dived into things, and the quickness with which he has comprehended them, and the vigour with which he has scrutinized them.[54]

John Henry emphasised Francis' intellectual achievements, which were considerable, but perishable, meant as a foundation for a degree. He described his Francis as someone capable of concentrated analysis. Although Francis was intuitive, in his brother's opinion it was a concrete sort of intuition: more suited for things than to persons, more suited to mathematics than to morals, and more suited to scholarship than to business. Later Francis modestly quoted Aristotle in evaluating his abilities: "mature years are wanted to be...prudent as a statesman, but a boy may be a geometer."[55] Whether John Henry's letter influenced his parents is unclear; however, it was decided that Francis would return to Oxford, to John Henry's delighted surprise.[56]

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51 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 117.
52 *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
54 *Ibid.*
55 *Cardinal Newman*, pp. 14-15.
56 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 120, JHN to Mr. Newman, 25 January 1822.

This decision determined Francis' future, but there were still logistics for John Henry to arrange:

> My friends at Trinity have been kind enough to advise me not to have Francis's name put down at Trinity, but at Worcester. They say they know their College to be an expensive one, and Worcester a very moderate one. I write therefore for your permission for his name to be put down at Worcester instead of Trinity; also for him to stand for a scholarship at any College...[57]

John Henry wanted to help Francis, but not merely financially: he intended to direct his studies. John Henry rejected an opportunity as tutor in a gentleman's family in Paris for £200 a year, because it would mean forfeiting any opportunity for a fellowship, but also because it would place his support of Francis on a purely financial basis.[58]

Perhaps Francis' living in Oxford without official connection to a College concerned his parents. John Henry wrote them a reassuring letter in the middle of February after his friends at Trinity had inquired about Francis at Worcester, where they learned that the Worcester fellows "would make little difficulty in coming into their wishes with respect to Francis -- so that there is every probability, when a vacancy occurs, that Francis will be elected..."[59]

The Newmans also worried about their eldest son, that his desire for a fellowship would push him beyond physical well-being. Francis reassured the Newmans on that account:

> John has been obliged to leave off in a great hurry, and tells me to give my opinion on his health without looking at his letter. I think he is EXTREMELY well, and in VERY good spirits. We have been out for an hour and a half at least, every day, but three, I think, for five weeks.[60]

John Henry realised his hope for a fellowship in April.[61] Gaining an Oriel fellowship redeemed John Henry's academic reputation and made his financial future more secure. The two brothers moved to lodgings in Merton Lane at Palmer's, because the Dean of Oriel, the Rev. Endell Tyler, insisted that Francis should eat his meals from the Oriel buttery.[62] The Rev. Joseph Blanco White[63] was one of their neighbours at Palmer's. A Spanish citizen with an Irish grandfather, Blanco White escaped the Inquisition "by flight to Lord Wellington's Camp."[64] Blanco White and John Henry enjoyed playing their violins together, and all

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57 *L&D.* vol. I, p. 120, 28 January 1822.
58 *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121, JHN to John Newman, 30 January 1822.
59 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
60 *Ibid*, p. 125, 12 March 1822.
61 *Ibid*, p. 130, FWN to Aunt Newman, 12 April 1822.
62 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 13.
63 [1775-1841] theological writer who converted from Catholicism to Church of England, and then to Unitarianism.
64 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 13.

three became friendly.[65] Blanco White dined at the Fellows' table at Oriel, but had breakfast and tea with Francis and John Henry.[66] "To take tea with him was a great treat," remembered Francis in 1888.[67] Francis listened as the other two debated theology, and recorded that they were "apt to end by Blanco White's sharp warning: 'Ah! Newman! if you follow that clue it will draw you into Catholic error.'"[68] He commented, "Not having the veteran priest's foresight I was surprized [sic], but not at all alarmed. I had not yet guessed how wide a chasm would soon open between us two."[69] At that time, Francis and John Henry read prayers together three times a week.[70]

Blanco White used his violin as a teaching aid in a lecture on acoustics, the relationship between musical sounds and mathematical curves. Francis attended this lecture, and described Blanco White's demonstration: he sat on a mahogany table strewn with fine sand and held his violin close enough to press its strings against the edge of the table. "From my chair," Francis commented, "I could see every thing on the table; so, I suppose could every visitor, in the moderate sized room."[71]

Blanco White drew a string, and the sand leaped about. The smooth pure note produced a set of curves in the sand. He drew another note, and the sand rearranged to a new set of curves in a display Francis called "harmonious and elegant," an "elegant exhibition to the eye of invisible vibrations."[72] This type of innovative teaching inspired Francis in his own teaching career.

Mayers kept an interest in the two Newmans' progress, and wrote to John Henry on 7 June:

> Last evening I took tea at [the Newmans']. All well. Your excellent grandmother is nearly recovered from her accident. She is always very full of you and Francis, and almost glories in having spoiled the latter.[73]

Unlike their excellent grandmother, John Henry was determined not to spoil Francis. He wrote to their mother on 23 August:

> The only way ultimately to succeed is to do things thoroughly. I lost much time by superficial reading: nearly the whole of the Long Vacation this time two years. Francis shall not go such bad ways to work.[74]

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65 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.
66 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 14.
67 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.
68 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 14.
69 *Ibid.*
70 Ward, M. p. 59.
71 WCO, "Acoustics."
72 *Ibid.*
73 BO, *Holograph*, p. 23.
74 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 145.

Francis returned home for the Long Vacation, but his brother kept him informed of Oxford news, including the reconstruction of Magdalen College.[75] Meanwhile, John Henry continued his efforts to get Francis a place in a College. On 6 September John Henry wrote to his father: "I have been making a great push to get Francis in at Oriel -- but I fear it is quite impossible."[76]

Despite the uncertainty over College affiliation for Francis, he prepared to return to Oxford. His brother sent the following instructions home:

> Expecting to see Francis, I am in fact expecting to see you all; for I shall require you to fill him full of all of you, that when he comes, I may squeeze and wring him out as some sponge, affording me refreshment, for I am very thirsty.[77]

The Newman parents worried that it would be Francis who would squeeze and wring John Henry dry. John Henry sent their mother this reassuring letter:

> ...with respect to Francis being with me....[y]ou have not the *slightest* occasion of the *slightest* uneasiness or anxiety. He is no inconvenience to me. He is incurring no great expense. No bills are owing by him except the tailor's, and one for a hat. He owes nothing for board or lodging; and what he is incurring this term, I expect to be able to pay before he goes down at Christmas. He has been now above a year at Oxford without any inconvenience or trouble to me.[78]

John Henry reported on Francis' progress:

> My time has been so engaged that I have hardly had an opportunity of examining him, as I could wish. As far as I have done so, he seems much improved. To say that he knows more than most of those who take common degrees would be saying little. I am convinced he knows more of Greek, as a language than most of those who take first classes: and, to complete the climax which is such only because it is I who say it, he certainly knows much more of Greek as a language, in fact is a much better Greek scholar, than I. Recollect I am not talking of history, or any thing which is the subject of Greek. Again, he is a much better mathematician than I am; I mean, he reads more mathematically, as Aristotle would say.[79]

John Henry speaks of Francis' command of Greek "as a language;" this interest in linguistics and the structure of language over and above its content continued throughout Francis' life.

On 29 November Francis matriculated at Worcester College. Francis considered this date "the starting point of my manly life, influencing the whole that followed."[80] John Henry reported the event to their mother:

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75 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 146.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 150, JHN to Mrs. Newman, 25 September 1822.

78 *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155, JHN to Mrs. Newman, 5 November 1822.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

80 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 24 December 1885.

> Francis has been entered this morning, and in two hours time will have his name put down on the Worcester books. As he is now a gownsman, he cannot reside in Oxford till he gets rooms, which will be in the course of the summer, I fancy.[81]

Thus at the age of seventeen, Francis subscribed to the XXXIX Articles. He "well knew and loved the Articles" for "their spiritual and classical beauty;" signing them was "'no bondage,' but pleasure." Francis realised, however, that most of the other students did not believe them, and felt that "compulsory subscription was hollow, false, and wholly evil."[82] At this point he started to examine Church doctrines critically, using proof texts.

Francis left Oxford to satisfy the University statutes; in his brother's absence, John Henry reflected on his behaviour toward Francis:

> I have felt while with Francis at Oxford, a spirit of desperate ill temper and sullen anger rush on me, so that I was ready to reply and act in the most cruel manner to intentions of the greatest kindness and affection. So violent has this sometimes proved, that I have quite trembled from head to foot, and thought I should fall down under excess of agitation.[83]

Yet John Henry looked forward to his brother's installation at Worcester College, and continued to plan for him. In a letter to their father on 5 December, John Henry persisted:

> As to Francis, you will very much distress me, if you think at all of money about him. He is in no want of it; he has paid his entrance money etc and he will have plenty when he comes up to reside. Everything as regards him will be as smooth as possible. I was delighting myself with the prospect, when your letter came, and teazed [sic] me with the idea that you are anxious about him....Francis...will not have to change his course of study, as you suppose, by being at home till he resides. I have arranged all that. He will be thrown out of nothing. Let me alone, and I shall do all very well. They behaved very kindly at Worcester. Every thing will, I see it will, be very right, if only you will let me manage.[84]

Their mother responded to this declaration, writing:

> Your Father forwarded to me your delightful letter, which I know it will gratify you to know gave him so much pleasure, that I have not seen any thing cheer or comfort him equal to it a long time. I am quite at a loss to say any thing adequate to my feelings on the whole business. I am almost tempted to think that you are blessed with the widow's cruse of oil. You seem so inexhaustible in your resources, and so kind in your application of them. I congratulate you and Francis on his matriculation, and I am delighted to anticipate that he will, whenever opportunity occurs, do you credit, and reward you for all your labours and anxiety for him. I fully accord with you, when you say, 'Let me alone, I shall do it all well if you will let me manage: all will be

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81 *L&D*, vol. I, p.156.

82 *Phases of Faith*, p. 2.

83 Trevor, *Pillar*, p. 38.

84 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 156.

> right.' This is just the text I have preached from, whenever your father and I have discussed the subject. For many months I always begin and end by saying, 'I have no fear, John will manage.'[85]

In a letter to Transcendentalist Moncure Conway,[86] Francis described his attitude towards religion in 1823:

> I was an Evangelical, but like plenty of Evangelicals beside, both now and then, was resolved to follow the Truth whithersoever it led me; and was always indignant when told 'you must believe this or that,' or you will find it, 'will lead you further.' 'If that time comes, I shall go further' was my uniform reply. It was this spirit which led so many of the best brains among the Evangelicals to go further and to secede from the party.[87]

Unlike other Christians, who believe in God, Jesus, or the Bible, Francis' first allegiance was an intellectual one, to Truth. This allegiance engendered an independent spirit. Thus it is interesting to see the older brother dictating to the younger precisely how to study the first decade of Livy, how to list the laws and vocabulary.[88] Francis occupied a good proportion of his brother's thoughts. On his birthday, John Henry's entry was nearly as full of Francis as himself, as he evaluated the past year and considered the prospect ahead:

> First, let me notice the most wonderful and most parental manner in which the Lord has supported Francis and myself in temporal things. Michaelmas year we began with hardly any thing; nor was any channel perceptible by which we were to gain any thing. I had indeed one pupil, but there did not seem any great possibility of my having more...The Terms came, and the supply was always ready. I have been enabled nearly entirely to support Francis...to enter him at Worcester...and it seems as if I should have the requisite sum to pay for him, when he comes to reside.[89]

In May, John Henry wrote to Francis Hungerford Brickenden at Worcester College to inquire just when Francis would come to reside, for Francis had been told in November that there would be a vacancy in the middle of May.[90] With this assumption, John Henry wrote to their mother:

> I expect Francis will come to reside soon, and will send him word as soon as I know about it. This is a subject, which I fear you do not think of without being pained at heart, and, as I know there is no need for any such pain, I hasten, if I can, to remove it. I hope my Father will put Francis and me entirely from his thoughts, with respect to money matters. Every thing will be prepared and ready when Francis comes. My Father has nothing to think of,

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85 *L&D*, vol. I, pp. 156-157.
86 [1832-1907].
87 Annau, p. 149.
88 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 160, JHN to Mrs. Newman, 14 February 1823.
89 *Ibid.*, p. 161, 21 February 1823.
90 *Ibid.*, p. 162.

> and therefore nothing will pain me so much *as* his thinking about it....[91]

Since there was no vacancy at Worcester, Francis decided to spend the Long Vacation in Worton, assisting Mayers with his mathematics pupils. In 1823 Mayers became the curate resident at Worton, between Banbury and Woodstock, near Oxford.[92] There he was noted for preaching impressive, "most beautiful experimental" sermons.[93] Francis decided to defer his residence at Worcester until January, and remain in Worton until Christmas. Working with Mayers in this way enabled Francis to claim, "I knew him much better than did my brother."[94] He protested that Mayers was not a high Calvinist: "his Calvinism consisted in this, that he did not *explain away* the 17th Article,[95] but bowed under it with reverent shuddering."[96]

Apart from the XXXIX Articles, Mayers indulged in occasional irreverence, and Francis' letter to Harriett indicted her as an accomplice:

> As you recommended, I offered to curl Mr. M's hair, to which he consented, on condition that I would let him perform the operation on me; but unfortunately he had no curling irons, so that my project fell to the ground.[97]

Francis reminded Harriett that he had hurt his leg riding her pony, and told her that he was riding again, sometimes to meet John. In closing, Francis compared the residents at their Aunt's to a bowl of punch: "Mrs. B. being the rum, Miss B. the water, Mrs J. the lemon & all of you the sugar." This light-hearted banter contrasted sharply with the middle portion of the letter:

> I do not feel at ease in talking with you, but I can write to you on this subject; for I know surely, dear Harriett, that you have your treasure in heaven; that you have chosen the better part, which shall not be taken away; and with this last truth that I would strive to comfort you -- it shall not be taken away, though Satan terrify you, & you think you see insuperable difficulties arising from man; but when you pray to the Lord 'plead thou my cause -- stop the way unto them that seek after my soul' he will hear you; he will say unto your soul 'I am thy salvation': I know you are sensible and probably find from experience, that our gracious Lord is by afflictions leading us to live nearer to him; more & more holily; and these are preparative to our final deliverance. Then while we fear & would gladly avoid them, still will they come, let us remember who sends them, and for what purpose, and endeavour to welcome them. -- Life is short, and eternity -- how long! -- and we shall soon forget all our troubles when we meet before our Redeemer's throne. Receive these words as they are

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91 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 162.
92 Sieveking, p. 14.
93 *Ibid.*, p. 16, noted by Charlotte Giberne.
94 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 14.
95 Predestination and Election.
96 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 15.
97 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to HEN, 23 September 1823.

> intended; and believe me, dear H. I remember you in my prayers. -- May I ask the same interest in yours? I greatly need it, indeed.[98]

These earnest Evangelical words of comfort hinted at the Newmans' hardships, but imply that Harriett had not acquired the same religious perspective as her younger brother.

Clenched in this Evangelical attitude, Francis returned to Oxford to reside at Worcester College. There he found many friends, including Bonamy Price,[99] "yet no one of my equals gained any ascendancy over me, nor perhaps could I have looked up to any for advice."[100] His discussions with other freshmen prompted Francis' "first effort at independent thought against the teaching of my spiritual fathers."[101] He located one particular heresy at John Henry's College, Oriel, where one Fellow encouraged his parishioners to play cricket on Sunday.[102] Another Fellow of Oriel, Mr. Davison, lectured on Prophecy and traced the development of religious doctrine.[103] Francis found his own faith developing as it was confronted by new perspectives on old doctrines: a third Fellow, of a different College, protested that only unbelief could come from examination of the doctrine that Jesus died for our sins.[104] The Evangelical clergy Francis approached with his questions were not helpful: perhaps they felt their own faith threatened by these issues.[105]

Francis soon felt that there was no one at Oxford he could seek for guidance spiritually, and so he turned to God: "This solemn engagement I made in early youth, and neither the frowns nor the grief of my brethren can make me ashamed of it in my manhood."[106]

Religion at Oxford seemed to Francis to be the property of two distinct camps of theologians: High and Low Church.[107] As far as Francis could tell, their chief difference concerned the Anglican Baptismal Service, but "after more mature consideration, I concluded that their deepest division was on the question whether Erudition was needful for a right explanation of the Holy Scripture."[108] Copleston's[109] four lectures on the 17th article "tranquillized" both sides of the debate.[110] There was a "wide belief that all the Low Church were Calvinists,"[111] and the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Marsh, imposed Test

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98 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to HEN, 23 September 1823.

99 [1807-1888] economist, M.A. Worcester College 1832, mathematics master at Rugby until 1850, Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford 1868-1888.

100 *Phases of Faith*, pp. 2 - 3.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

103 *Ibid.*

104 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

107 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.

108 *Ibid.*

109 Edward Copleston was the Provost of Oriel College.

110 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.

111 *Ibid.*

Articles on ordinands which he called "Cobwebs for Calvinists."[112] Francis commented that he had known many Low Church Anglicans, "but the nearer I knew any one, the slacker Calvinist I found him."[113] Increasingly, and to his consternation, Francis found his brother lining up with the High Church camp, while Francis' sympathies lay with the Low Church partisans. This difference became apparent in their discussion of Episcopal powers:

> I had on one occasion dropt [sic] something disrespectful against bishops or a bishop....[My brother checked and reproved me -- as I thought, very uninstructively -- for 'wanting reverence towards Bishops.' I knew not then, and I know not now, why Bishops, *as such*, should be more reverenced than common clergymen; or Clergymen, *as such*, more than common men. In the World I expected pomp and vain show and formality and counterfeits: but of the Church, as Christ's own kingdom, I demanded reality and could not digest legal fictions. I saw round me what sort of young men were preparing to be clergymen: I knew the attractions of family 'livings' and fellowships, and of a respectable position and undefinable hopes of preferment. I farther knew, that when youths had become clergymen through a great variety of mixed motives, bishops were selected out of these clergy on avowedly political grounds....In the last century and a half, the nation was often afflicted with sensual royalty, bloody wars, venal statesmen, corrupt constituencies, bribery and violence at elections, flagitious drunkenness pervading all ranks, and insinuating itself into Colleges and Rectories. The prisons of the country had been in a most disgraceful state; the fairs and waits were scenes of rude debauchery; and the theatres were...whispered to be haunts of the most debasing immorality. I could not learn that any bishop had ever taken the lead in denouncing these iniquities...[114]

Francis evinced his concern for justice in his consideration of bishops, and his disillusionment with their human frailties.

Francis dated his concern for animals to his undergraduate days at Worcester College. Reports of doctors practising vivisection caused "pangs of horror [to pass] through Oxford. Condemnation seemed universal."[115]

In March, John Henry commented to Jemima:

> Worcester is such a distance from Oriel that I can only give you a general account of Francis's behaviour -- I hope (and of course you hope too, so I give you much *information* on the subject) he does his tasks well.[116]

Francis countered this brotherly negligence with mock outrage: "So you see! who would have thought it! only think! Jemima!! impudence! he knows nothing *about* my tasks!"[117] John

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112 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.
113 *Ibid.*
114 *Phases of Faith*, pp. 7-12.
115 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.
116 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 173, 8 March 1824.
117 Trevor, *Pillar*, p. 50.

Henry ended his portion of this letter with the observation: "I shall leave Francis to finish and direct this -- for you must know, *I begin things best, and he finishes them best.*"[118]

Certainly John began his Oxford career with a flourish. As Francis noted, "The Oriel Fellows, with Copleston at their head, held the van."[119] John Henry was ordained a deacon on 13 June and accepted the curacy of St. Clement's. The day after his ordination, John and Francis met for prayer:

> John asked Francis if he had been at the ceremony; he had, and his answer made John realize [sic] he had been praying for him, 'for me, *me* who at the time was so hard and miserable'. He began to cry and could not go on reading, but went on sobbing, unable to stop, while Frank finished it. 'O the evil of my heart, so vile, so proud. How I behave to *him*! "For ever" words never to be recalled.'[120]

John Henry's "'For ever' words never to be recalled" were also words never to be forgotten. Newman mythology paints Francis constantly arguing with his brother. Francis objected to this likeness.[121]

Still, the brothers' consensus on matters theological began to erode significantly. Evangelicals combed the Scriptures looking for meaning in each last jot and tittle; Francis used the same scrupulous attention to deconstruct his brother's actions, with unfortunate results. Over twenty years later, Francis attributed "the collision between us when we were at College" more to "my harsh, blunt, inexperienced and heartless mode of following out dogmas which I received as axioms, than from any fault in you. You have ever had a far more refined and tender heart than I."[122]

Ironically, this collision was precipitated by a gift. When Francis moved into his rooms in Worcester College, John Henry decided to surprise him with something to decorate the walls. At Smith and Parker's, the print-sellers on the corner of High Street and Long Wall, John Henry looked through several portfolios of engravings, but as

> ...so often happens in attempts of this kind, I found nothing that pleased me. At last I chose a Wilkie, I think the 'Rent Day,' and a Correggio, - very different subjects on purpose. The subject of the Correggio was called 'La Madonna col Divoto;' St. Jerome and another Saint were sitting at a table, and the latter was presenting a monk to the Blessed Virgin, who with the Divine Child was at the top of the picture in clouds.[123]

John Henry continued "It took my fancy as an artistic work; and I recollect feeling some scruples on the score of its subject." Although John Henry insisted that he had no "religious intentions" in selecting this print, Francis was horrified to find, in his quarters, an engraving

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118 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 174.
119 WCO, Speech, 21 June 1888.
120 Trevor, *Pillar*, p. 51.
121 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to Mrs. Phillipps, 9 July 1882.
122 Ward, M. p. 62.
123 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to J. Morley, 13 July 1879 & answer to the foregoing by JHN.

which he considered a devotional picture. Francis marched over to Smith and Parker's and demanded that the engraving be removed immediately. To his astonishment, he learned that his brother had ordered it for him.[124]

Looking back on this incident over sixty years later, Francis interpreted his brother's action as a generous impulse: "I am sure that he thought me an ungrateful brother. My own act made me unhappy; yet the more I ruminated, the more I judged that to resist from the beginning was my wisest way."[125] At the time, however, Francis responded to the engraving with spiritual revulsion rather than aesthetic appreciation. As far as Francis was concerned, this gift marked an irrevocable doctrinal split.

John Henry understood Francis' rejection of the engraving as a declaration that the Madonna was an unsuitable subject for art. He claimed the engraving for his own rooms, remarking that the problem with Protestants was that "they forgot that sacred utterance, 'Blessed art thou among women.'"[126] John Henry probably intended this to be the last word on the subject, but Francis interpreted it as "an attack on *Protestants collectively*;"[127] he felt compelled to correct his elder brother:

> Dear John, I do not forget it, but I remember also, that to like words from another woman, Christ replied, '*Yea rather*, blessed are they who hear the Word of God, and keep it.' Our Lord *did not approve* of honouring his mother.[128]

John Henry made no reply to this, so Francis considered that he had won the argument, noting that afterwards, John Henry's proof texts came from the Prayer Book and not from Scripture. However, John Henry continued to assert that Protestants "*in general*" were "ignorant and hasty." Francis extrapolated from John Henry's comments that he was "undermining *every objection* to Invocation of the Virgin."[129]

Francis appreciated his brother's arguments for tradition, but felt the term to be too vague. He wrote, "I admired the Prayer Book, but knew that in its present form Cranmer and statesmen following him composed it, and *they* did not set it on a par with Holy Writ."[130]

Francis claimed that their discussion of the engraving "forced me to study Invocation of lower beings, its tendency towards Idolatry, and *why* it was acceptable to low minds, who dared not invoke the Supreme."[131] Another brotherly dispute examined the subject:

> The more my brother argued about Invocation...the more uneasy he made me, till one day, wearied with the topic, I broke out in clearer opposition than usual, saying, 'But, my dear John, what can be the *use* of invoking a Being who *cannot hear* you? The Virgin is not omnipresent!' He replied, by an argument under

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124 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 18.
125 *Ibid.*
126 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
127 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
128 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
129 *Ibid.*
130 *Ibid.*
131 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

> which I at once collapsed, muttering inwardly, 'What is the use of discussion if he *will* be so *whimsical*?'[132]

John Henry remembered the incident differently:

> If his other instances of my invoking the Blessed Virgin are no better than this, they do not go for much. For myself, I utterly disbelieve that any can be produced. That there were disputes between us on the subject of her invocation is an hallucination. I never invoked the Blessed Virgin, as I think - nay, or advocated her intercession, till I was a Catholic. My belief in her gifts and prerogatives grew, but were the growth of a course of years. As far as I can speak from memory, as I think I can, I held that, while I was an Anglican, I was bound by the anglican prohibition of invocation; and accordingly I said in a letter to a friend, under the date of January, 1845, 'Somehow I do not like using Invocations except under the sanction of the Church.'[133]

Perhaps the key to their different interpretations of the "collision" rests in this: for John Henry, the principle at issue was aesthetic, and for Francis, it was metaphysical. This would explain why the affair contained more significance for Francis. It caused him to re-evaluate his relationship with his brother, who found it so difficult to say, "On further consideration I find that *you were right, and I was wrong*."[134]

> No doubt I shall be told that these revelations are 'unbrotherly.' Perhaps they are; but so have been our relations since 1824, sorely against my will. I expected to carry these matters with me into my grave: I never whispered them even to my mother and sisters.[135]

Francis betrayed his bitterness over this rift in the statement:

> If my brother had shown me as much courtesy as did my *tutors* at Worcester College, or my senior Fellows at Balliol, instead of tormenting me by chidings as if I were a young child, he might have known me better.[136]

Francis understood his brother's attempts to temper his Evangelical zeal as an attempt "to undermine in me every Protestant principle." In his eyes, John Henry "was in heart a Papist all but wanting a Roman Pope. He wanted a Papal clergy, a Pope in Canterbury, and a submissive laity, with High Honours to the Virgin, Monasteries and Nunneries."[137]

In September 1824 their father became very ill. Francis joined the family on 28 September; their mother, John Henry, Charles, Harriett and Francis participated in a vigil

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132 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 21.

133 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to J. Morley, 13 July 1879 & answer to the foregoing by JHN.

134 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 23.

135 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

137 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to Mrs. William Thompson, 16 December 1883.

which lasted all night. Their father died the next night, and John Henry, Charles and Francis slept in the parlour in their clothes.[138]

After their father's funeral, Charles Robert renounced the family as "too religious" for him.[139] So in one year, at the age of nineteen, Francis' relationships with all the men in his immediate family underwent significant change. In the case of the relationship between John Henry and Francis, the change seemed to be more keenly felt by Francis than by John Henry, who did not realise the significance of their argument to his youngest brother. Despite Francis' challenges to his brother over the years, Francis had "filial" feelings for him, and gratitude for his financial support:

> As a warm-hearted and generous brother, who exercised towards me paternal cares, I esteemed him and felt a deep gratitude; as a man of various culture and peculiar genius, I admired and was proud of him; but my doctrinal religion impeded my loving him as much as he deserved, and even justified my feeling some distrust of him.[140]

In addition, Francis' mentor, Mayers, married Sarah Giberne on 21 December. This marriage would bring Sarah's sister, Maria, into the Newman family's orbit in 1826.

In 1826, as Francis prepared for the examination schools, John Henry grilled him daily.[141] After the examinations, John Henry sent this operating manual home with his brother:

> You must indulge him in some things poor young gentleman -- he has got some odd ideas in his head of his having been lately examined, of his having been thanked for the manner in which he acquitted himself, particularly in the mathematical school -- and of a general belief in Oxford that his name will appear in both first classes -- you must not thwart him in these fancies, but appear to take no notice of them, and gently divert his attention to other subjects. -- He is a great talker; be sure you do not let him talk, poor young fellow -- he is particularly apt to talk when persons are in the room -- you have better therefore keep him as much to himself as possible -- He behaves particularly ill in the company of ladies, chattering at a great rate, young man, and especially when I or other discreet person is not by; perhaps then you had better keep him in the back building -- or send him up into the study, for he will be remarkably sedate among the children there.[142]
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> He can mend shoes, string pianos, cut out skreens [sic], and go on errands -- the last is his forte -- employ him in errands while he is with you and the time will pass pleasantly enough. -- I forgot to say that he could sharpen knives. -- He is very docile, while kindly treated, and quite harmless. -- Do not frighten him.... I thought it best to caution you -- keep your eye upon him. -- He is

138 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 193.

139 His separation appears to have been a gradual process, as Charles attended their grandmother's funeral in May 1825.

140 *Phases of Faith*, p. 7.

141 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 286.

142 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

> to eat no breakfast or dinner while with you. Deluge him with gruel, of which he is fond.[143]

Francis received a double first, a tremendous twenty-first birthday present. His mother thanked John Henry, "I think I must congratulate you equally with Frank on his success, as I suspect your anxiety on the occasion has been much greater than even his."[144]

Maria stayed with the Mayers during the Long Vacation, where Francis was her daily companion;[145] he took "great pains" in instructing the sisters in Political Economy. But it was John Henry who captured Maria's imagination: "His talents and piety attracted my admiration."[146]

Francis accompanied Maria when she went to the fields to sketch, and taught her about the Bible. Maria did not suspect that he was falling in love with her, because he was two years younger than she was, more Evangelical, and she was already promised to another man. When Sarah asked Maria whether she thought Francis loved her, Maria replied that she was unable to imagine that such a knowledgeable and charming man would even think of loving her. Francis' letters that summer make it clear that he was captivated by both Maria and Sarah. He observed that Sarah was always

> ...ready for religious conversation;[147] and [I] have derived the greatest benefit from it. I have never yet known any one in whom there appears such a uniform tranquil flow of religious feelings, & who has so much ease in expressing them. I am sure that an hour of her company has a stronger effect in drawing off my mind from this world & exciting to prayer & meditation, than either discourse from the pulpit or private reading ever produce. Indeed I think we lose a great deal, by being too reserved in the communication of our mutual feelings...I am led to reflections of this kind by seeing with what pleasure I look forward to Mrs. M's society; how much more regard I felt for her from the very beginning, than I could well account for; & how much she recurs to my mind at prayer.[148]

When Maria and Francis said good-bye, he urged her to befriend his mother and sisters, because he thought her piety might do them good.[149]

Mrs. Newman and her daughters disappointed Maria on this account. They were more clever than she was; knowing the Bible better than she did, they had an annoying tendency to interrupt her proselytising to correct her arguments.[150]

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143 *L&D*, vol. I, p. 291.

144 Mozley, A. p. 134, 6 June 1826.

145 Sieveking, p. 17.

146 *Ibid.*

147 This was in direct contrast to his sisters: Maria Giberne observed, "I was greatly puzzled from not finding...fervour and readiness to talk on religious subjects. Any other subject they entered into readily, but this they always paused and seemed averse to engage." Ward, p. 123.

148 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 5 July 1826.

149 BO, Giberne, p. 52.

150 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Meanwhile, Francis obtained Fellowship at Balliol in November, and contemplated becoming a missionary.[151] He was more troubled by the XXXIX Articles than he was in 1821, particularly by the issue of Infant Baptism. These doubts caused Francis to decide that he could not obey John Henry's wishes, and be ordained. There is a curious parallel here between John Henry's rejection of his father's career goals, and Francis' rejection of his brother's.

151 Maria Giberne was also considering becoming a missionary, but she was told that a young woman should not become a missionary unless she was married.

Chapter Two:

Strivings After a More Primitive Christianity

In 1827, Francis stood at the threshold of the type of Oxford University career promised by a brilliant double first and a Fellowship at Balliol. When Samuel Rickards[1] played fortune teller, guessing men's characters from their handwriting, John Henry thought he did a good job of identifying Francis. He recorded Rickards' judgement for their mother:

> This is a hand of very great talent -- I have rarely seen greater talent -- Great versatility, i.e. for example, great elegance of scholarship with powers of abstract reasoning. Skilful in the niceties of Greek plays -- Talent for mathematics. He does not think much of his present attainments, for he is looking forward to some great end. -- Enterprising mind, which is giving considerable trouble and unsettles him. -- A great deal of pertinacity, very great deal, yet arising more from a very clear view of what he considers to be truth, than from any other cause; for he is very amiable -- very. He will be of great usefulness hereafter. -- He has not gained much from society; but it would have been much better if he had gained more from others. -- In consequence of this defect he has many crude notions. -- He does not pay sufficient attention to the opinions of others. -- This I will say, I have no conception who the person is, as is sometimes the case -- the hand bears a considerable resemblance to Arnold's[2] -- a resemblance which I have made use of in giving his character...[3]

Francis went to Ireland for a visit and accepted an invitation there to tutor the sons of Edward Pennefather.[4] He described his employer:

> Mr P is astonishingly simple-minded, & circumspect not to have more to do with worldly concerns than absolute duty requires: and he is in every thing so indifferent to the world, that I am sure Tacitus would have branded him for culpable sloth. But he is very active where he thinks it his duty to act, or where he thinks it the cause of Christ. He has been laid up for the last fortnight with a terrible attack of the gout, so severe at times that his life was thought in danger; but throughout the whole, his patience is truly beautiful. I of course only saw him when he was comparatively at ease, but then he said the pain was like the continual drawing of a tooth.[5]

Newman believed Edward's wife, Susan Darby Pennefather, to be "the most perfect character I have ever seen."

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1 [1796-1865] curate-in-charge at Ulcombe, Kent 1822-1832; Fellow of Oriel 1819-1822.

2 Thomas Arnold.

3 *L&D*, vol. II, p. 30, JHN to Mrs. Newman, 24 September 1827.

4 [1774?-1847] Irish judge, called to Irish bar 1796; bencher of King's Inns, Dublin 1829; solicitor-general for Ireland 1835 and 1841; chief justice of Queen's bench 1841.

5 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 8 October 1827.

> If you knew Mrs P. it would nearly follow as a sort of Corollary that her children all knew & loved divine truth. She is so anxious for that one thing; and has such caution not to press it indiscreetly at the same time. I was rather interested to find that she considers Sunday to be no direct obligation. She says that she thinks she sees reason for thinking it conformable to Christ's will to keep it, tho [sic] it is not commanded; at any rate this is one of the principal means we have of professing religion without ostentation; just as the Jews professed by it their belief in the Creator. But she lets her little girls read their books on Natural History &c on Sunday: and says we are under no bondage. I have been much struck at the clearness with which she discusses questions of conscience, and the direct way in which she brings the first principles of the Christian temper to bear on the minute actions of daily life. So too the gentle way in which she insinuates her advice to her sons, every word of which implies the principle that this world's judgment [sic] is nothing.[6]

Newman called Mrs. Pennefather "an experienced Christian;" the lessons he learned from her pushed his Evangelicalism into apocalypticism:

> I never gained before so clear an idea of what was meant by a Christian's being opposed to the spirit of the world. It is not merely to avoid the pomps & vanities, or merely to judge of actions by an opposite rule; but it is to feel that the time is short, and to be looking for the Lord Jesus from heaven. I am afraid you will not agree with me, but I cannot look either backward or forward with pleasure to the conversation of a common room; and I do think that at Oxford mere literature & the advantages of literary conversation are enormously overrated....At present I have considerable doubts of the propriety of dining out at all, except where my mouth may be opened on those subjects, which my secret soul believes to be the only important truths in the universe.[7]

He also met Mrs. Pennefather's brother, John Nelson Darby, who "rapidly gained an immense sway over me." His emaciated physical presence repelled Newman:

> A fallen cheek, a bloodshot eye, crippled limbs resting on crutches, a seldom shaved beard, a shabby suit of clothes and a generally neglected person, drew at first pity, with wonder to see such a figure in a drawing-room.[8]

Newman found Darby unrelenting in his determination to fulfil Biblical demands. One day Newman confessed that although it would be unchristian to desire riches, he hoped to be able to give his children a good education. Darby retorted, "If I had children, I would as soon see them break stones on the road, as do any thing else, if only I could secure to them the Gospel and the grace of God." Newman admired his integrity and became "ashamed of Political Economy and Moral Philosophy and all Science; all of which ought to be counted dross for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord."[9] Newman acknowledged

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6 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 8 October 1827.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Phases of Faith*, p. 17.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Darby as his superior.[10] "In order to learn divine truth, it became to me a surer process to consult him, than to search for myself and wait upon God..."[11]

In October Francis was able to send £100 to John Henry with the younger Edward Pennefather, who was about to matriculate in Oxford at Balliol College. Francis described Edward:

> Edward P. interests me very much: he is amiable, & of very delicate & retired feelings: with a thorough sense of religion, but a sort of depression which I do not fully understand. I think it is from a sense of his incapacity (he is certainly slow) fancying that he shall live a useless being &c. These ideas I have been trying to counteract: partly, I mean, that he really rates his powers too low; & partly, that it is infinitely less a man's powers, than his devotion of heart that determines his usefulness.[12]

Edward's younger brother William[13] contributed to his difficulties:

> William P has, humanly speaking, the advantage of his brother in every thing: and this among other things, tho' without the slightest jealousy, seems to discourage the elder....I have *little* doubt that W has for many years back been retarded by being kept with his brother.[14]

Francis' new friends pleased him, and reminded him of Mrs. Mayers: "there is a simple & unhesitating belief of the word, joy in believing, & a consequent life in Christ; life as a citizen no longer of this world, but of heaven."[15] He reported that they had shown him "a much higher notion of a spiritual walk."[16]

At this time Newman encountered Anthony Norris Groves'[17] pamphlet "Christian Devotedness," and he communicated his enthusiasm for it to his friend Charles Pourtales Golightly:

> He maintains that the precept "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth" is to be taken in its literal meaning; & acts accordingly. In his profession (of a dentist) he makes a large income, but lives on a small fraction of it, & gives away all the rest, for religious objects chiefly. He maintains that the great error of the whole nation, Christians as well as unconverted, is the supposing that riches & comforts are better than indigence;

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10 In July 1830, Newman introduced Darby to Evangelicals at Oxford, including Benjamin Wills Newton. He asked Darby to visit Plymouth, thus precipitating the movement known today as the Plymouth Brethren.

11 *Phases of Faith*, p. 21.

12 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 8 October 1827.

13 [1816-1873] divine with interests in home and foreign missionary organisations.

14 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 8 October 1827.

15 LP, M S 1808, ff. 182-5, 1808 176, FWN to CPG, 25 October 1827.

16 *Ibid.*

17 [1795-1853] Devonshire dentist who went to Ireland for his education. He was sometimes a guest of the Pennefathers.

> contrary to the express declaration of our Lord, that it is all but impossible that rich men can be saved.[18]

Newman family consensus admitted that Francis was happy, but his mind had been "warped" by his Evangelical faith.[19] Their mother thought his "excessive ideas" were inversely correlated with his health: she mourned, "He has none of them in Winter when he is well."[20]

Francis worried that he had been too interested in politics previously:

> I have glimpses of what a Christian ought to be, -- having seen several eminent Christians here, -- such as make me ashamed of my past & present self; yet without clearing my view from the mists of old prejudice & young dreams & worldly feeling, so as to set me fully free from all men & bound to the Lord alone. One thing I see; that I have of late been led astray by the false dream that God intended this world to be otherwise than a scene of suffering; an error which obscured my view of the true nature of Christ's kingdom, & led me to pay to passing political events ten times the attention they deserved. I think I now fully feel that this world is not only horribly disordered, but that God proposes no remedy for its disorder. ["Man! who made me a judge or divider over you?"] -- But he proposes to gather to himself out of the world a peculiar people, to suffer with Christ here, that they may reign with him hereafter.[21]

When Francis prepared to return to Oxford in November, he wondered how to behave:

> When I look back on the past year, I am deeply grieved; I have appeared (to many at least) much more as a reformer of worldly systems, [which may be good as far as it goes; but how far is this!] than as one who knows that the time is short & is hastening into the day of the Lord: while I fear that I have been too promiscuous in my acquaintance: rather, I would say, I have not been careful to confess Christ in all companies, that I may bear the cross after him. These things make me humble myself, as well they may; and make me shrink from reappearing in Oxford: yet I trust that I have my heart cleansed from an evil conscience & my body washed with pure water; and as I see more into the mysteries of Christ's redemption, I enjoy more of the peace which springs from a knowledge of his love.[22]

Francis' family was equally unsure how to respond to him. In December, Harriett spoke for the family when she complained to John Henry: "I am very uneasy about Frank, as I dare say you are, and now I have two letters to answer, and I hardly know what to say -- I am afraid of saying any thing wrong."[23]

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18 LP, M S 1808, ff. 182-5, 1808 176, FWN to CPG, 25 October 1827.

19 *L&D*, vol. II, p. 30, JHN to Mrs. Newman, 22 October 1827.

20 *Ibid*, Mrs. Newman to JHN, 28 October 1827.

21 LP, M S 1808, ff. 182-5, 1808 176, FWN to CPG, 25 October 1827.

22 *Ibid*

23 *L&D*, vol. II, p. 39, HEN to JHN, 4 December 1827.

In 1828, just over three years after his father's death, Francis' sister Mary died on 5 January, a little over a month after her eighteenth birthday. This tragedy was followed by Walter Mayers' sudden death on 22 February. The voids left by his sister and his mentor may have made Francis even more susceptible to Darby's influence.

In February Francis made "himself very useful" in Ireland, visiting the poor and helping people who could not read.[24] Aunt Newman and Harriett noted Francis' apocalyptic tendencies: Aunt Newman wrote that his "delightful letter" was "half full of our beloved Mary, and the other half on the Millennium;"[25] Harriett, that "[h]is head was full of nothing but the Millennium."[26]

However, Francis' theology did not disqualify him from visiting John Henry's parishioners on his brother's behalf when he was in Oxford. "Naturally," Francis recorded, "I attended his sermons; but never gained from them the instruction or pleasure that others did. *Distrust had sunk roots too deep in me.*"[27]

In July 1829 Francis was back in Ireland, but returned to Oxford in October. Under Darby's sway, "the desire, which from a boy I had more or less nourished of becoming a teacher of Christianity *to the heathen*, took stronger and stronger hold of me." His admiration for Groves' tract "inflamed [me] with the greatest admiration; judging immediately that this was the man whom I should rejoice to aid or serve."[28] In May Francis informed his family that he planned to travel to Persia as a missionary, writing to his mother first. She explained to John Henry:

> A letter this morning from dear Frank, informing me his plans are ripening for his pursuing his wishes for devoting himself to a Missionary life. He is very anxious to tell you, but has always found you engaged... Forgive me the anxiety I feel on this point; it is a subject so near to my heart. I am not so shocked as many would be at the determination. I have ever considered that persons do not hesitate to send their children for worldly advantage, and surely we may depend on more certain support and protection for those who forsake all to take 'good tidings of great joy' to those who are in darkness and misery. There is much that I regret, but I could never be happy, if I added a pang to the parting by withholding my affectionate concurrence and earnest prayers for a blessing on his humble but hearty desires.[29]

Francis annoyed John Henry by not consulting him before making his decision, not telling him his reasons for going, or his plans.[30] John Henry claimed that he did not object to Francis' mission, but it pained him not to be consulted. He observed to Jemima, "All I can say is, he never has thrown himself on my confidence, and (I trust) never will, and be disappointed in

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24 *L&D*, vol. II, p. 56, Mrs. Newman to JHN, 18 February 1828.
25 *Ibid.*, Aunt Newman to JHN, 21 February 1828.
26 BO, *Holograph*, p. 35, 23 February 1828.
27 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 41.
28 *Phases of Faith*, p. 24.
29 *L&D*, vol. II, pp. 224-225, Mrs. Newman to JHN, 26 May 1830.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 226, JHN to JNC, 27 May 1830.

me."[31] Despite the difficulties between the brothers, John Henry continued to use Francis as a parish visitor. In the face of Francis' enthusiasm for his mission, John Henry conceded, "Frank so completely puts himself into His hands, that we can have no fear for him, whatever becomes of his projects."[32]

In 1830, Francis decided to join Groves and his wife at their mission in Baghdad. On 23 September 1830, Newman launched a three year missionary journey into the Ottoman Empire, by sailing from Dublin to Bordeaux.

An unusual group set sail from Dublin. There were seven members in the party, four male, three female. They shared a desire to return to what they called a more primitive Christianity, absolutely inclusive, without a professional clergy. Two of Newman's companions, John Vesey Parnell[33] and Dr. Edward Cronin, were early leaders of what came to be called the Plymouth Brethren movement. These three were approximately the same age, about twenty-five years old. The fourth man in the party, Mr. Hamilton, shared their religious philosophy.

Nancy Cronin, Cronin's sister, was engaged to Parnell. The Cronins' mother was the sixth member of the party. In the original plan, Cronin's wife was also meant to join them, however, shortly before their departure, she died in childbirth. Cronin decided to bring their infant daughter along.

Twenty-four years later Newman published letters sent home as a record of his journey to the Ottoman Empire. The early letters are amusing, and betray nineteenth century English prejudices about the French. These were reinforced by the journey from Dublin to Bordeaux, which took five days; they waited a month to get a ship from Marseilles to Larnica. This voyage took twenty-four days. Another passenger on board was a Jew, "on a mission from the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem" "to propagate the Jewish faith."[34] The French ship's captain was "highly diverted" that these Jewish and Christian missionaries were sailing together, and begged Newman's party to convert the Jew.

Newman discovered that Cronin,

> ...thrown into new circumstances with deficient supplies, beat his mother 'hollow' in cookery. *She* could not get on without a coal-fire, proper vessels, eggs, milk, butter, good meat, &c., but *he* (guided, I suppose, by chemical principles) showed inventive resource in suggesting substitutes, and was by far our best cook.[35]

Among the culinary novelties Newman first experienced in Larnica were potatoes fried in oil. "[I]n spite of my prejudices," Newman judged, "[I] found them excellent."[36] There

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31 *L&D*, vol. II, p. 226, JHN to JNC, 27 May 1830.
32 *Ibid.*, p.284, JHN to Mrs. Newman, 27 August 1830.
33 [1808-1883].
34 *Personal Narrative*, p. 8.
35 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

they hired a ship to go to Ladakia, and then travelled for six days, about 130 miles on mules over the mountains to Aleppo. Before they left Ireland, they had been told

> ...that *mules* as well as *camels* carry panniers in which females can ride: otherwise no one could have approved of Mr. C. bringing his mother with us. It was not until we reached Ladakia, that we found it to be a delusion, and that Mrs. C., like all the rest, must ride astride! It was to her, morally and physically, a great trial. 'Ach, Edward!' said she to her son, 'I expected they would persecute and murdher [sic] us, but I never thought to ride astride a mule.'[37]

Mrs. Cronin's mule fell with her five times, three of which were dangerous. "Her son was in terrible distress at every fall; for he was carrying his infant in his arms; and when he leaped from his horse he could not put the child down in the mud without danger to it."[38]

The travellers carried a prodigious amount of luggage, "many hundred weights of trunks, chests, hampers, bags, baskets,"[39] including a medicine chest, and a lithographic printing press. When they set out from Ladakia on 29 December, "the climate in the day was like summer." The nights were cold. Newman wrote:

> We started in a beautiful afternoon, and travelled some three hours into the hills, when, to our surprise, the men began to unlade the beasts in the middle of a bleak lofty plain, while heavy clouds were gathering and lowering. We could not at first believe that they meant to pass the night there. I mustered a few words of Arabic to denote that we must pass the night *in doors*: I was not able to express, that we had no tent. He probably understood, but he was inexorable; all of our packages were already on the ground, and we had to make the best of it.[40]

The travellers heaped their "rudest boxes" to make a wall, and made a place to sleep under some oilskins which had been wrappers for the bedding they had left in Bordeaux. Newman continued:

> We had a small supply of food in baskets, but had not guessed that we should be wholly dependent on this. All night the rain fell in torrents like to our July. Our whole floor was swamped: we had to sit on carpetbags, and let them get wet. Clothes, bedding, bags, baskets, were drenched, and we had to mount in the morning in the midst of rain, which continued with partial intermissions all day. The roads were riverbeds, and our progress slow and anxious. After riding eleven hours without dismounting...we took refuge in a cabin, and were happy to dry our naked feet at a fire of good logs, and get a little sleep on dry dust, having no dry clothes to change, and all our bread mouldy. We had fasted the whole day, yet none of us suffered; not even old Mrs. C., for whom I greatly feared....We seem to have been well seasoned by the month of [sic] our little ship.[41]

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37 *Personal Narrative*, p. 12.
38 *Ibid.*
39 *Ibid*, p. 2.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
41 *Ibid.*

The voyage, with its "rapid *contrasts*" was not without its pleasures; Newman described its beauty to his friends at home:

> The depth of tint in the Mediterranean purple surpassed my previous belief. By night it was peculiarly glorious, both from the brilliancy of the stars, which are reflected in the water, and from the quantity of phosphoric light. These are the latitudes, in which men love gorgeous colours. Our dim atmosphere gives England a quaker taste. I now understand why African dress loves gaudy contrasts: they do but imitate nature round them, and it is a bold philosophy which says nature is in bad taste. Here at Aleppo...[f]rom the flat tops of the houses one has such a magnificent view of the mountains behind: I never before had such a notion of *infinity* in hills; you can see everything clear, for what is most distant is strongest, not like delicate country seen from a height, all dim and feeble. The great range runs north and south as far as one can see, and southward ends in Lebanon, according to map [sic]. Beneath this range are hills and smaller hills innumerable, like sea waves, but under great variety of lights and forms, and even in winter rich to the eye. I can fancy that an artist would not be able to paint for delight of looking, besides the *despair* of getting on canvass a hundredth part of the beauty which the eye takes in.[42]

He added:

> ...to be in a wild country, with females old and young, not knowing the language of the muleteers in whose power you are -- who can put you to soak all night under the rain and starve you all day -- is certainly so unpleasing, that we entered Aleppo with much satisfaction, and heard the sounds of French almost as if it were our dear mother-tongue. All Europeans here seem to be freemasons to each other.[43]

Newman and the others tried to assimilate into the culture in dress as well as other customs. Although Newman worried that these changes might eventually alter his character, he grew a moustache, and wore a gown and a blue turban. In February 1831 he confessed:

> I am afraid you will not think the better of me, when I tell you that I am become a smoker; and, this, though I had so great a dislike to it in England. I do not mean that I am always smoking: certainly not: but I have bought two pipes and amber mouthpieces and all the apparatus; which shows that I am in earnest.... As my first business is to learn the language, and learn it from men's lips, and if possible, from the more learned men; my first wisdom seems to be, to make my society as little unacceptable to them as may be.... If any one calls on me, I must offer him a pipe, and smoke one myself; and conversely, when I call on any one, I must not refuse the pipe.... The pipe fills up gaps of time, and 'breaks the ice' like an Englishman's remarks on the weather, so as to hinder the chilly effect of silence.[44]

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42 *Personal Narrative*, p. 12.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

Cronin's profession provided further access to native society. Newman explained "I too, if not a physician, yet am the physician's interpreter, which sheds around me a halo of 'medicinal art.' Lady Hester Stanhope's physician, on board of our French ship, told us we should learn to value the [Arabic word for doctor] as a passport to confidence."[45]

Some scholars have commented on the irony that Newman's book about his missionary journey contains little information about his actual missionary work. They must have skipped its preface, where he noted: "The phraseology, especially when religious subjects are approached, is chastened to suit the writer's maturer taste."[46] Newman's youthful enthusiastic evangelism conflicted with his mature position of practical theism.

Perhaps it is the reluctance of the maturer writer which prevented him from expressing his motivation for the voyage. In Newman's spiritual autobiography, *Phases of Faith*, he explained that he did not feel a particular *call*, but instead felt "willing and anxious to do anything in my power to teach, or to help others in teaching" Christianity.[47] Ever since he was a boy he "had more or less nourished" the desire "of becoming a teacher of Christianity *to the heathen*." Newman noted, "I saw that I was shut out from the ministry of the Church of England, and knew not how to seek connexion [sic] with Dissenters."[48]

Even while Newman was in the grip of his youthful religious enthusiasm, he was sensitive to the way in which his group was perceived by others. In March 1831, he complained:

> Wherever we have been, people ask so inquisitively what are our aims, that we are paraded with a vexatious ostentation, as young people going to convert the world; 'young people in love with Christ,' has been another sarcastic, yet more pleasing appellation....Also two females and an infant in the party are something unheard of. We therefore cannot avoid an obtrusion, or at least a notoriety, of the religious object, which is to me sufficiently distasteful; as it is certainly ridiculous, considering the vast process of language-learning which is the lowest *human* condition for success in religious propagandism. We also avoid every approach to the assumption of the priestly, that is of the official, character, to which indeed we have no right; yet it is pertinaciously obtruded upon us.[49]

His understanding of the conversion process evolved as he learned about the indigenous religion and culture. Newman's observations led to his diagnosis of the particular problems in converting Moslems to Christianity, and a prognosis that was less than optimistic.

Early on in this mission, an astonished Syrian expressed his bewilderment at Newman's presence, because "these countries are not like France and Italy, but they are

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45 *Personal Narrative*, p. 20.
46 *Ibid.*, p. iii, October 1854.
47 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
48 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
49 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

'religious countries."[50] The Pasha's engineer, a French Roman Catholic, assured Newman that:

> ...the majority of the Roman Catholics and of the Turks (that is, of the Mohammedans), are *philosophers*; by which he means, unbelievers in their ostensible creed; but he adds, *those who are most 'philosophe' at heart are generally most bigoted outwardly, to conceal it*[51]

The Moslems did not consider Europeans to be religious people, for two reasons. The majority of the Europeans they encountered were adventurers, traders, and sailors, not occupations noted for their piety. However, even those Europeans who came East as missionaries or to establish religious communities failed to satisfy a crucial requirement of Moslem religion: a reliance on highly demonstrative forms of piety. Whereas it was common to see a Moslem prostrated praying in the market place, European styles of worship were more private and subdued. Newman commented:

> I did not understand till lately how unintelligible to people here is a religion which is not external and almost obtrusive. We are certainly thought much better of, because, two of our party having pretty good voices, we commonly sing hymns in daily worship....Here, on the contrary, all outwardness of religion seems natural, suitable, and (I may add) respectable.[52]

Other "unEnglish" cultural characteristics remarked by Newman included a reverence for sacred characters, like madmen, and Turkish kindness to animals. Newman wrote:

> I was used to think of the Turks as an essentially *cruel* people. The Franks here say: 'A Turk (*i.e.*, Mohammedan) cares more for the life of a cat than of a man:' and this tenderness for brute life is really a Mussulman peculiarity which deserves analysis. I understand that though they will take life for food or to avoid danger, they will not sport with a divine life.[53]

Newman discovered the morality of the Ottomans was "singularly high."[54] Housebreaking was unknown, and there were no criminal classes, no abandoned women, beggars or orphans.[55] "It is," he concluded, "a most perplexing problem, how to make Turks think well of Christians."[56]

Both the Moslems and the "Romish" churches placed great value on the renunciation of human desire; Newman contrasted this with the position of "Greek" churches like his own:

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50 *Personal Narrative*, p. 13.
51 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
54 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
55 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
56 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

"with them, it is a renunciation of human interests; with us, it is a hallowing of them."[57] An ascetic individual was considered by:

> ...every class or sect of English Christian -- high church and low church, Unitarians, Baptists, Wesleyans -- [to be] either ridiculous or revolting: while here, the character is reverenced even by those who have not the remotest thought of imitating it.[58]

Newman found the religious tolerance of the Chaldean monks in Moosul refreshing, but in general, he concluded gloomily that the Christians were every bit as bad as the heathen. "My only comfort is, that several contentious churches are a smaller danger than a single, all-prevailing ambitious one."[59]

Perhaps the single most troubling element confronting Newman was his perception that the "men are without anything that enriches or elevates life. They have no enthusiasm about their religion...even the Christians."[60] He confessed:

> I do not understand half the politics of the place; but I see intrigue to be very eager, and indeed there is so little else to engage men or women of active mind, that perhaps they cannot help intriguing. It is something like a little country-town in England, in which everybody knows where everybody bought everything. In fact, their inquisitiveness is above Yankee-pitch.[61]

Newman had believed that if his group established a model, moral Christian community, others would flock to join them. How very frustrating then, to find that the natives attributed their goodness to their nationality, and not to their Christianity. He explained:

> But when I see the vast chasm between Turkish and English thought and knowledge, I am apt to faint into unbelief of heart as to their ever adopting what is here called *English religion*. I should tell you: neither Moslems nor Franks think of us as Christians but as English: they mean no incivility by this, but it is very vexatious. It would seem that no amount of Christian virtue in Englishmen will here bring credit to Christianity: it will be ascribed to English political institutions. Not knowing the Bible, nor the power of inward religion, they really think our religion can only grow on an English soil: and this is provokingly plausible, because *something* of England of course must always cling to us and pervade us.[62]

In fact, Newman reported, "the now current idea here is, that the English are very good men, but have *no* religion."[63] He despaired of achieving religious unity:

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57 *Personal Narrative*, p. 73.
58 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
59 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
60 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
61 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

> In Turkey, besides Moslems of several races (Osmanli, Koordish, Syrian, Arab, African, Bosnian, Albanian,) one has of Christians the Romish, the Greek, the Syriac, the Armenian, the Nestorian; of which the two most powerful are incapable of union with the rest....Beside, there are the mysterious Druses and Wahabis. In short, the curse of Turkey is, that the Turks (like ourselves in India) have *conquered* and have *not blended* themselves with the conquered people....Each man's church is here his country: he has no other country. Where a church is a people, fanaticism is undistinguishable from patriotism. I see the odious evils of this, yet it appears beyond human nature to escape them.[64]

Writing to a friend at Oxford, Newman explained the problem this way:

> ...here all society is made up of 'churches,' which are to the nation what the Colleges are to the University. The part domineers over the whole. And as nobody may be a member of the University without entering a college the same day, so no one here can be anything but a stranger and traveller, unless he enters one of the authorised churches.[65]

Native superstitions were another problem for the missionaries. Before they set off from Aleppo, they purchased a horse with an amulet hanging around its neck. The natives insisted that the amulet would protect the animal from harm. To demonstrate that such superstitions were foolish and unnecessary, Parnell sliced the amulet from the beast. The natives protested, and watched as the horse then ran off and fell, rupturing its side. Instead of relieving the superstition, this event reinforced it. Newman remarked, "it is wrong to go too roughly against people's superstitions; else, by some accident, you may furnish them with signal instances, which stick in their imagination and memory."[66]

One problem anticipated by Newman was the language difficulty. Told by a Greek citizen that his Greek hybrid of the classical and modern languages was "very beautiful and very funny,"[67] Newman had not realised that he would have the same difficulty with Arabic. The dictionaries and grammars he had brought with him muddled several dialects, ranging from the extremely literary and obscure, to the vulgar. As Newman's language ability increased, he realised that some of the translated Scriptures were very peculiar indeed. The word "lamb," used to refer to Jesus, meant a sort of lamb paste stamped with a picture of a lamb. When Newman suggested another word for "lamb" to a Levantine Christian, the Levantine recoiled from associating the Saviour with an animal to be butchered. "What!" he protested, "a lamb such as a butcher kills for dinner! that is to bring the slang of the bazaar into a sacred topic: it is not decent."[68]

Inadequate as they were, Newman's Arabic lexicons were completely inaccessible to most of the members of his group because they were written in French. Hamilton, although no

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64 *Personal Narrative*, p. 36.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 66.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
67 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

linguist, decided to learn French in order to learn Arabic. Newman explained to him that learning French first was really learning Arabic the hard way, considering they were already in an Arabic speaking culture. He suggested to Hamilton that he spend some time in the local "sherbet-house," listening to the natives, and attempting conversation. Hamilton refused, on the grounds that "he should not like to make ungodly acquaintances."[69] This statement would seem to undermine Hamilton's whole purpose in making the trip from Dublin: how could he have expected to convert heathen while remaining aloof from the ungodly? It is not surprising, therefore, that Hamilton, "dejected and dyspeptic," shortly abandoned the mission.

Newman observed:

> It is sometimes very interesting to me to see the variety of mind and talent in our little party. Mr. C. and his sister have no linguistic ability, but they are eminently practical, often displaying great quickness in understanding total sentences, where they do not know the separate words: though of course this guessing sometimes leads to ridiculous error.....Mr. P. having spoken French from early boyhood and lived in Paris, has a quicker insight into official persons, and understands what they mean, when it is not distinctly or fully said.[70]

Newman discerned a difference in the way other nationalities used language: their frankness startled him. "I cannot tell what to think," Newman admitted, "whether the state of mind which goes along with such phraseology...is *more* or *less* conducive to mental purity than our state."[71] As Cronin's interpreter, Newman continued:

> I have on more than one occasion been struck at [sic] the unconscious simplicity with which Levantine ladies say, not only before me but to me, what is embarrassing to me. I incline to think this is a more wholesome state of mind than ours, though I cannot get myself into it.[72]

When the missionaries finally arrived at Baghdad, an Englishman warned them "not to be deceived as to the excessive difficulty of becoming intelligible in religious *discussion*, which he [said] presupposed a *common* religious *philosophy* between the parties."[73]

Newman attempted to read the Koran in translation in order to gain "some insight into the Mussulman mind." He reasoned that this would make him a more effective missionary:

> When we hear, that the superhuman beauty of its poetry is the great and sufficient miracle of their religion, their admiration seems to imply in it a truth and a power not to be despised; and to put oneself into a temporary admiration would seem to be a

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69 *Personal Narrative*, p. 47.
70 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
71 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
72 *Ibid.*
73 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

> necessary preliminary to understand them rightly or argue to them plausibly.[74]

Unfortunately, he found the Koran difficult reading:

> I have broken sheer down in the attempt. I have tried Savary's French version, as well as Sale's English, but the book makes no impression on my mind: I cannot find where I left off, when I recur to it. That so tedious and shallow a work can meet such praises, gives me a lower and lower idea of the power of mind in these nations. I now think that the Arabs are captivated by the tinkle and epigrammatic point of an old and sacred dialect, while Turks and Persians take its literary beauty as a religious fact to be believed, not to be felt. How wonderful is the power of tradition![75]

It is interesting that an accomplished linguist like Newman could be so insensitive to the difficulties in translating a poetic work. He did not ascribe the problems of the English and French versions of the Koran to deficiencies in the translators, despite his appreciation of the complexity of the Arabic language.

Mere mastery of the local languages did not guarantee meaningful communication. In *Phases of Faith*, Newman remembered a conversation with a Moslem carpenter in Aleppo. The carpenter listened to him patiently, and then politely responded:

> I will tell you, sir, how the case stands. God has given to you English a great many good gifts. You make fine ships, and sharp penknives, and good cloth and cottons; and you have rich nobles and brave soldiers; and you write and print many learned books: (dictionaries and grammars): all this is of God. But there is one thing which God has withheld from you and revealed to us, and that is, the knowledge of the true religion by which one may be saved.[76]

Newman surmised, "the fine theories of a Christian teacher would be as vain to convert a Mohammedan or Hindoo to Christianity, as the soundness of Seneca's moral treatises to convert me to Roman Paganism."[77]

Even if the missionaries had succeeded in converting someone to Christianity, Newman discovered that there were difficulties they had not foreseen: "the idea of leaving one's religious community is not deprecated as a fall from *truth*, so much as scorned and repudiated as an abandoning of one's nationality, one's associations, one's social duties and social rights."[78] This necessarily had implications for converts, and Newman conceded that the missionaries should be prepared to assume financial responsibility for those they persuaded.

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74 *Personal Narrative*, p. 38.
75 *Ibid.*
76 *Phases of Faith*, p. 32.
77 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
78 *Personal Narrative*, p. 66.

Only one year into his mission, Newman concluded that there were only two possible ways of converting these people: by an "extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Spirit, for which I hope, and pray, and in which I sometimes believe," or by the forced creation of a new national identity with subsequent religious instruction.[79]

The missionary party was prevented from reaching their destination, Baghdad, for two years, through a combination of internecine warfare and the plague. The plague did not reach Newman's friends in Aleppo. Newman speculated, "A certain state of atmosphere...is essential, that contagion may propagate itself. For a Turkish town, I believe, Aleppo is cleanly. The smell of the atmosphere is far better than London."[80]

In July 1831, Newman nearly died from a "sharp short fever," his "appearance terrified" Cronin, who leeched his temples and bled his right arm. The patient disagreed with this treatment, and felt an emetic was required. After two emetics, Newman thought he was cured, but Cronin believed he was dying. Cronin tried to bleed Newman's other arm, and when he did not bleed due to a rapid pulse, Cronin scolded him for cowardice. After two scruples of calomel, Newman's pulse returned to normal, and Cronin pronounced him cured. If the pulse had not gone down on its own, Cronin would have opened Newman's temporal artery. Newman reflected on this incident, saying, "What frightful liberties we do grant to our medical advisers!"[81] A second fever in October 1831 left Newman with "no strength to turn in [his] bed:" "my legs were so stripped of flesh that I had to learn to walk again like an infant in three weeks time."[82] Newman commented:

> If one comes to Turkey at all, one must be liable to die *by* one's doctor or *from want of* a doctor. I will go further in heterodoxy. Much as I esteem my friend's medical talent -- though he nursed me in fever as only a mother nurses her infant -- I am so ungrateful as to suspect that I should have recovered better if he had left me alone! He put 200 leeches on me, and the fatigue to me was such, that he afterwards doubted his own wisdom. Where shall wisdom be found? Not here.[83]

Cronin's medicines could not save his sister, who died during a trip to Ladakia in December 1831. After a slight illness, some "very improper medicines" provoked a "violent inflammation of the bowels." Newman mourned:

> Alas! to possess English drugs without English physicians at hand, is a dreadful power....I am astounded at the reverse. Two months back she was hanging over my pillow, weeping and kissing me as a dying man: now here am I in youthful vigour, and she is in the grave.[84]

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79 *Personal Narrative*, p. 38.
80 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
81 *Ibid.*
82 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
83 *Ibid.*, p. 69.
84 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Newman, Parnell, Mrs. Cronin, Dr. Cronin and his daughter attained their destination, Baghdad, nearly two years after leaving Dublin. They travelled there in a caravan of camels. Before the journey, Newman warned his family:

> ...all who have ridden on these beasts speak with horror of the motion. You can see, they move their two right feet together, and their two left feet together, like a mountain sheep whose feet are so tied. Their backs roll like a ship, and their necks poke like a hen's, keeping the rider's head in a perpetual nod.[85]

Before setting off for Baghdad in April 1832, Newman did something "the Franks here regard as ridiculous:" he adopted a "*bazaar puppy*." He thought the dog might be useful for guarding their property on the journey, although he worried "that the instinct of attachment to a master and his property will not grow up in the first generation of these animals."[86] Newman alternately carried his little dog on his horse, or made him walk, but eventually the dog disappeared. Newman wrote, "I hope that he is eaten by a jackal, rather than starved."[87]

Newman discovered that travelling long distances by camel was even worse than he had anticipated. The camels started their journey at two or three o'clock in the morning and continued until ten. This night travel had a serious effect on "old Mrs. C:"

> The effect of it on her (for she did not sleep by day), frightened us so much, that at last we bought the drivers over to our hours. They cannot have planned to extort money; they did not at first understand our reluctance. Their way is, to pitch where camels' herbs and water are to be found, and give the animals a long day to graze....I once told you we despaired of carrying Mrs. C. further. So we did, but she became vehement to move on; and the last summer weakened her so much, that her son thought the journey in fine weather with favourable management was a less evil. However, she bore those four days so ill...that we mean to convey her in future in a...bed carried on one side of a camel. We avoided this before because a camel's motion is as rough, as that of an ass is smooth: but she tires with mere sitting up.[88]

In Aintab, in the north of Syria, the missionaries were summoned before the Governor, and charged with the offence of selling four Turkish Testaments. The Governor ordered them to leave Aintab immediately, and provided them with a soldier for an escort.[89]

Before they could leave, a mob accosted the travellers, and pursued them out of Aintab. Once they were out in the country, the mob began to pelt the missionaries with stones, large enough "to disable a limb or stun" them. The loaded beasts ran off the track, and Parnell dismounted to pursue them. Newman urged Parnell to leave the luggage and attempt to escape their attackers. Parnell could not recover his mount, and tried to run alongside

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85 *Personal Narrative*, p. 64.
86 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
87 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
88 *Ibid.*
89 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Newman and his horse. When Parnell was exhausted, Newman put Parnell on his horse, and Newman ran. When Newman was exhausted, Cronin mounted Newman on his horse. As soon as Newman was up, a man galloped at them and snatched Newman's umbrella from behind Parnell's saddle, causing that horse to dash off with Parnell. The man turned on Newman, followed Cronin's horse into the open country and beat Newman on his head and shoulders with his own umbrella. When he tried to seize Newman's bridle, Newman wrestled the umbrella away from him, and used it to push away the horse's head. When the man saw Parnell heading toward them on Newman's horse, he fled. Parnell and Newman returned to their party, where their escort had collected their beasts.

Cronin had not been so fortunate: he had been beaten with fists, clubs and stones; speechless, he appeared to be paralysed. Mrs. Cronin paced up and down beside the camels and her son's motionless body. "He is just dying," she said. Miraculously, by that evening, Cronin had recovered enough to help erect their tent.[90]

Newman noted that the "assault began with fanaticism, but was continued by the vulgarest cupidity. We found our luggage stripped of all sorts of articles."[91]

In Orfa, Parnell had fever, so Cronin and Newman shouldered his responsibilities. "In fact," Newman commented:

> I had hardly an hour's rest in Orfa; and when we at last got out of a tumultuous khan and an anarchical town, I felt that, like the beast in Kehama, I must 'sleep or die.' A fatherly old man among the camel-drivers addressed me as follows: 'My son! all other nights, sleep thou; but this night, sleep not: for robbers are nigh, who will steal your horses.'[92]

Newman had heard this warning from "the Euphrates to Orfa" without encountering any danger. He complained:

> We have lugged our tent with us for nothing, for they would not and will not let us set it up, lest it allure robbers; and it really seemed better to lose our horses, than to go on losing sleep in alarm for them. Even if I had believed the old man, I do not know that I could have stayed awake to any purpose...[93]

In the middle of the night, Newman was awakened when his saddle was pulled from under his head; almost simultaneously a heavy stone was dropped on him. He heard horses galloping and the camel-drivers firing their muskets after the hoof beats. They lost three horses to the thieves.

The last part of the journey to Baghdad was on a raft down a river. The raft was made of tree branches, fastened together by rope, on top of a sort of mattress made of inflated goat-skins, blown up like bladders. There was a deck made of planks, with a tent for Mrs.

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90 *Personal Narrative*, pp. 83-84.
91 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
92 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
93 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Cronin.[94] The raft was not rowed, but twisted about in the river. Newman declared, "[A] raft is of all imaginable devices the most luxurious for a swimming-lodge....The water is so warm; and you swim round and round the raft at pleasure, and never have anxiety about regaining it."[95]

Mrs. Cronin's first words to Groves were "I am come hither to die."[96] In fact, she died three days after their arrival in Baghdad in July 1832. The rest of the company busied themselves with Groves' school, where they taught geography, arithmetic, and reading in Arabic, Turkish, and English. Newman taught a class of big Armenian boys English and geography every afternoon. In his geography classes, Newman included "a vast miscellany, physical, political, historical, up to my knowledge and my power of talk." The heat was unbearable, and Newman reported "I cannot say I have had a day's real health since I have been here, and I find a new trial in the quality of the food."[97]

Newman explained:

> I like the native cookery here, so far as I have tasted it, and have no reason to doubt that it is wholesome. But...I cannot bear bad attempts at English dishes. Ever since I have been here, my 'inside' has been refractory: it annoys me that my appetite is so delicate....I think it is a kind of self-inflicted torment, like that of ascetics, to force into one's stomach lumping pie crust, or rank oily baked tough mutton...imitative of English roast leg -- when every native servant, *if left alone*, would cook his own materials in his own way into a palatable dish.[98]

Newman's letters home reflect a growing disillusionment:

> Groves has not at all disappointed me: do not think that from anything I have written. He is what I expected from his book, and a great deal more. He has a practical organising directing energy, which fits him to be the centre of many persons, especially since it is combined with entire unselfishness and a total absence of personal ambition or *desire* to take the lead which he does take. He is very sanguine: that also is not the worse for us. I am apt to be sadly faithless, and to see nothing but difficulties.[99]

Newman found that "[t]he dear companions of my travels no more aimed to guide my thoughts, than I theirs: neither ambition nor suspicion found place in our hearts; and my mind was thus able again without disturbance to develop its own tendencies."[100] His study of the New Testament caused him to doubt the doctrine of the Trinity, and the divinity of Christ.[101]

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94 *Personal Narrative*, p. 93.
95 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
96 *Ibid.*
97 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
98 *Ibid.*
99 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
100 *Phases of Faith*, pp. 28-29.
101 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

Newman left Baghdad on 18 September 1832, for reasons "partly personal, partly connected with the interests of my Baghdad friends; and my imagination is in England." The war between the Sultan and Egypt protracted his journey home: "to go a thousand miles round was a shorter, surer, safer, and cheaper process, than to try to get through Syria or Mesopotamia."[102] Here he encountered new perils on the road from Teheran to Constantinople. The horses travelled through the snow by a "*ladder-road*" each trying to step into the holes in the snow made by the first beast's feet.[103] There were bad swamps in the mountains, and forests.[104] Newman's Tartar guide was responsible for feeding him, and Newman boasted that his guide

> ...always tried to get for me the best food that was to be had: only eggs and bread were to be counted on. Once he asked me if I liked honey. Yes. And butter? Yes. He then brought both, and invited me to eat. I said, Where is bread? Oh, replied he, this will do without bread. He actually gobbled square lumps of hard honey and hard butter, and mistook my desire of bread with it for *parsimony*! I little had expected to meet such an illustration of sacred prophecy -- Isaiah vii.[105]

At last in April 1833, Newman arrived in Constantinople. Although Newman appreciated the beauty of the mosques and Bosphorus, he was disgruntled to find himself paying the equivalent of half a crown a night for his bed: "full London price."[106] "Yet," Newman confided, "I do enjoy the bed *with sheets*: it is an inexpressible luxury. How I have longed for it, but in vain!"[107]

Newman's account of this journey is a lively, engaging report of his experiences in an alien culture, and adaptations to it. Among the anecdotes of strange superstitions and rituals, he recorded the questions which eventually forced him to abandon Christianity. Thus Newman's missionary journey acted as a rite of passage into his mature understanding of God, the Bible, and religion. While he was still in quarantine on the coast of England, Newman learned that his "soundness in the faith" was called into question by "painful reports."[108] He could not understand this: "There was no change whatever in my own judgment [sic], yet a total change of action was inevitable: that I was on the eve of a great transition of mind I did not at all suspect."[109] Newman's journey, simultaneously physical and metaphysical, did not follow his expectations of a more primitive Christianity. Instead his faith met its mirror image in the faith of the Ottomans, an image that reflected his own religion's flaws and limitations.

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102 *Personal Narrative*, p. 108.
103 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
104 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
105 *Ibid.*
106 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
107 *Ibid.*
108 *Phases of Faith*, p. 34.
109 *Ibid* p. 40.

Chapter Three:

Calvinism Abandoned and Religion of the Letter Renounced

Newman returned from his missionary journey to Persia in 1833, ostensibly to recruit more people for the mission, more particularly to secure a wife of his own. Upon arrival in England, as Newman explained to his brother John Henry on 26 July, he discovered his sense of vocation as a missionary had faded:

> It has pleased God so to exercise my mind...as to force me to rip up from the bottom all the motives and arguments which induced me to go abroad. Some of them...have lost their power, such as my fancy that I could not undertake any sort of direct ministration of God's word in England. I now feel myself free as air. My desire is...to get my path decided by the unanimous judgment [sic] of brethren united in fasting and prayer.[1]

While his religious vocation remained uncertain, Newman acted more decisively in his private life. According to Maria Rosina Giberne's unpublished biography, Newman visited her soon after his return to England. In an almost telepathic exchange, in which she paled and her heart beat almost into her throat, his hand clasped hers in an icy grip. Before Newman could say anything, let alone ask for her hand in marriage, Giberne interrupted him with the classic rebuff "Let's be friends."[2] This rejection did not seem to dismay Newman. In August 1833, barely a month later, Hurrell Froude, who had attended school in Ottery, sent the local news to John Henry: "They say here that your Brother is to marry a certain Miss Maria Kennaway whom I have always heard ranked among the Socino-Evangelicals."[3]

John Henry substantiated this in a letter written on 2 September.[4] Froude reported another rumour that Sir John Kennaway, British Resident at Hyderabad, had insisted that Francis give up his missionary scheme; John Henry informed Froude that Francis had already decided to do this.[5] Francis later recalled that his Oxford degree won *his father-in-law's* heart:

> Had I not gained my First Class, I do not think I should have gained my first dear wife. I afterwards learned that <u>this fact</u>, with his daughter's love for me, sufficed <u>at once</u> to that Sir John Kennaway to esteem me a worthy son in law.[6]

His Oxford degree may have won his father-in-law's heart, but Newman cut a romantic figure in 1833. Sieveking reported, "his name was in everybody's mouth."[7]

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1 *L&D*, vol. IV, pp. 12-13.
2 BO, Giberne Manuscript, my translation from the French.
3 *L&D*, vol. IV, p. 38.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 51, p. 53.
6 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 24 December 1885.
7 Sieveking, p. 61.

O'Faolain declares in *Newman's Way* that F. W. Newman first met Maria Kennaway in June 1835, which is obviously untrue, since his engagement was already news in 1833. O'Faolain probably deduced this from Sieveking's 1909 biography, which stated that he first met Kennaway in June, while omitting the year. Newman could not have met Kennaway in June 1833, since he was still abroad. Thus Newman must have met his future wife sometime before setting out on his missionary journey in 1830. This information detracts from the importance previously placed upon Giberne's rejection by her niece, Isabel Giberne Sieveking.

Yet there were some superficial similarities between the two Marias: both were beautiful women with dark curls and sparkling eyes, neither was particularly intellectual, and both were older than Newman.[8] Maria Kennaway, one of twelve children, was a Plymouth Sister, and busied herself by visiting the local poor in Ottery Saint Mary, and teaching their children.

At this time, Newman believed in nearly all of Calvin's doctrines. Although he objected to Reprobation, he assented to Election, Preventing Grace, the Fall and Original Sin, Atonement, and Eternal Punishment. Despite his orthodoxy in these respects, Newman learned that "Mysterious aspersions were made even against my moral character." He asked for a tribunal, but the Plymouth Brethren refused him, and "left [him] convinced, that they could not have agreed themselves as to what was right: all that they could agree upon was that [he] was wrong."[9] This personal experience of persecution caused Newman to examine persecution in general; he became ashamed of his previous scorn for "mere moral men."[10]

This affected Newman's romance; Mrs. Newman fretted, "The false representations of persecuting, worldly, self-created Prophets at Plymouth have been torturing Frank and [Maria] almost to a frenzy."[11]

Newman's nephew, John Rickards Mozley, later identified this persecution as the most significant crisis in his life:

> ...henceforth he dared trust no man as his leader....[T]hough it had left some elements of Christian belief in him, and though it had left also a keen desire to inquire into the meaning of Christianity, [the shock] had destroyed his natural Christian trust."[12]

Newman confirmed his nephew's perception in a letter to the American Unitarian clergyman Joseph Henry Allen in 1889, "Except the shock which I received in 1833 from the men to whose religious eminence I had foolishly looked up with deep reverence, no such disappointment has visited me..."[13]

In *Phases of Faith*, Newman recorded:

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8 Giberne was three years older, Kennaway was four years older.

9 *Phases of Faith*, p. 42.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

11 O'Faolain, p. 216.

12 Mozley, pp. 356-357.

13 HU, bMS 416, FWN to JHA, 24 November 1889.

> My heart was ready to break: I wished for a woman's soul, that I might weep in floods. Oh, Dogma! Dogma! how dost thou trample under foot love, truth, conscience, justice!.... Burn me at the stake; then Christ will receive me, and saints beyond the grave will love me, though the saints here know me not. But now I am alone in the world: I can trust no one.[14]

Cut adrift from his friends, Newman grasped that "*spirituality is no adequate security for general moral discernment*"[15] His "Romish" conclusion that "an infallible book is useless, unless we have an infallible interpreter"[16] startled him.

Francis' isolation extended to his family, which may be inferred from a letter from Harriett to John Henry in February 1834. She begged him as her "dear and only left Brother" to show more affection towards her.[17] John Henry defended his separation from Francis on the ground "that he was originating schism, when he returned from Persia - that he was a teacher and organizer [sic] of a new sect."[18]

In 1834 the third Newman brother, Charles, caused a commotion when a family friend found him living in squalor and dishabille with a drunken woman who all hoped was not legally his wife. Charles did not perceive his situation to be as bad as all that; he claimed to have recently received £10 from Francis.[19] Francis clarified what the Newman family knew about Charles' relationship with the woman for Anglican clergyman Walter Trower:[20]

> He says they went to church to be married, but she was seized with a fit (I think) & this defeated it -- At one time he speaks of her with much respect, at another he calls her his bad angel · Whatever she is, she by his own account is occasionally insane, & yet somehow he can keep no money away from her -- Whether they are living together now, I cannot say -- [21]

Reflection on Charles' prospects caused Francis to ponder his own; his language reflected his sense of persecution by the Plymouth Brethren:

> You are desirous that I should be employed among the more educated -- but are you sure which of the two is better for my own soul? Indeed I can entirely say that I am willing to undertake any thing for which I am competent; & the conversation of the better educated is far more agreeable to my flesh, so that they be not puffed up with half learning. But certainly I am sensible that I am better off here -- or wherever I can have less to do with notions & controversies -- & where nothing will pass off but the simple truth addressed to the affections -- However, the long &

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14 *Phases of Faith*, p. 37.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
17 BO, *Holograph*, p. 70.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 92.
19 Sieveking, p. 61.
20 [1805-1877] Fellow of Oriel 1828-30; Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway 1848-1859; Bishop of Gibraltar 1863-1868.
21 LP, MS 1808 178, FWN to WT, 18 July 1834.

> short is, Man deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps -- It is not in my power to choose whither I will go or where I will stay: I am forced to be ruled by circumstances...[22]

Newman's sense of persecution gave him an air melodramatic in one not yet thirty years old. Some of the youthful religious enthusiasm which he edited out of his missionary narrative remained here:

> God makes me feel day by day that we are in a weary wilderness -- could one wish aught else? Alas! I oftentimes am disposed to fret & murmur, when I receive my daily portion of bitterness to eat with my bread; sorrows coming on me from quarters least expected -- But it is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth -- It is good for a man both to hope & quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord -- Thus he breaks our self will, & teaches us to set our affections more singly on the world to come -- a lesson which I need to learn again & again every day -- to be saved in hope & live on futurity -- to find the love of Xt an all sufficient portion, & practically to feel that his favor [sic] is enough for us, in time or eternity, though we find favor with none beside --[23]

These words came from a young man contemplating some of life's challenges: finding meaningful work, choosing a wife. Secure in youth's egoism, Newman believed his trials had some purpose, that they would sanctify him:

> I often wonder whether all the saints need the same strong discipline as I, to lead them to fix their heart's affections thus supremely on him who died for them & lives to make intercession for them -- My tendency is just to give God his turn out of several objects of complacency, instead of casting away every object of desire which I cannot singly love for his sake -- and while I fancy I do but enjoy his good things & by thankfulness sanctify them to me, in fact I am drawn to love other things more than his own self; so that I perhaps feel it an unpleasant disturbance to leave them for more immediate communion with Xt....I think I understand more than I did what is meant by being crucified to the world & dying with Xt -- It is not, crucified to sin merely, but to the world. I feel even things lawful must lose their charms or we must refrain our inclinations, except where Xt's glory is really promoted: else I cannot say: 'I am crucified with Xt, & it is no more that I live, but Xt that liveth in me.' And because I do not voluntarily take up my cross every day, in order that the Spirit may abound in me; therefore in tender kindness the Lord will lay a cross on me, whether I will or no, and will embitter the very idols in which I am seeking my delight.[24]

It is in the context of this letter that the poet Isaac Williams' complaint about Francis must be considered:

> While our Newman, the eldest, has so much poetry, love of scenery, and associations of place and country, and domestic and

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22 LP, MS 1808 178, FWN to WT, 18 July 1834.
23 *Ibid.*
24 *Ibid.*

> filial affection, these qualities appeared to me wanting in his brother, who would have passed by Jerusalem and Nazareth without turning aside to look on them, or the most beautiful object in Nature.[25]

This accusation probably referred to Francis' decision, as a missionary, not to deviate from the mission to act as a tourist. However he demonstrated that his difficulty in viewing beauty and harmony originated in his sensitivity to the squalid and the unjust:

> But in truth I experience that when (Oh that this were always!) my heart is full of the love of Xt, then the most lawful & natural worldly enjoyments lose all power -- I look (for instance) on a beautiful landscape, & am momentarily refreshed, & remember the glorious author, but my heart cannot dwell on it; I cannot talk & admire it; my eye will turn to an opposite region of dreariness, & find no deprivation -- This must (if carried out consistently) make a Xtian painfully uncongenial to the world -- (& alas! suppose not I profess this to be my constant state; else when we meet, you may think me a hypocrite) -- but I am more & more convinced that nothing short of this is to be crucified with Xt...[26]

Harriett worried about Francis, and in July she wrote to John Henry about their brother:

> I had a long letter lately from Frank, - in answer to inquiries I had made in consequence of reports abroad. He says, to be candid, he is somewhat of a Semi-Arian[27] according to your book. Mr Rickards says his error is more in what he rejects than in what he receives. But there seems to be a party of his own friends who do all they can to make matters worse. It began with that Mr Hamilton from Bagdad [sic]...[who] quite believes him to be a heretic.[28]

The reference to Mr. Hamilton from Baghdad seems to indicate that he started the rumours that Francis was "unsound in the faith." Hamilton was jealous of Newman's intellectual attainments and linguistic abilities; Hamilton was the inflexible member of the mission who had to abandon it early. This hypothesis fits with the general anti-intellectualism of the Plymouth Brethren as a movement.

An anecdote Harriett related to John Henry is an ironic counterpoint to the Francis' soul-searching. After a Friday evening conversazione, a man

> ...came from behind afterwards...and began talking with me very familiarly without mentioning [Frank's] name. Presently he asked after 'my dear brother,' -- assuming I never heard from him. I knew I had but one 'dear' brother, and asked if he meant Frank, also who <u>he</u> was...Then after many pet names and the highest praises, he gave him to me <u>as one instance</u> of the subject

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25 Robbins, W. p. 168.

26 LP, MS 1808 178, FWN to WT, 18 July 1834.

27 The son is of the same essence of the Father, but has a definite beginning of existence in time.

28 BO, *Holograph*, p. 70.

> we had been considering [self-deception], and 'he had always thought &c. &c'[29]

Harriett kept her sense of humour about the incident, asking, "is not this like the good lady, who, against each instance of sin or weakness described in the 'Whole duty of man,' entered in her copy the name of one of her acquaintances?"[30] Still this type of encounter with public opinion must have been trying.

A letter from John Henry to Francis makes it evident that Francis had broached the subject of their family's welfare. At this time, Francis had not yet started working as a classical tutor and lecturer in Mathematics at Bristol College.[31] After a period of wondering what his education suited him for, Francis faced financial insecurity. Charles asked Francis for money; he forwarded this request to John Henry, who commented:

> I agree with you that you are not bound to support any collateral relative who can without you provide for himself, -- or *herself*...But it seems to me a very poor ground [[for a man]] to take, to debate about his strict obligation, when affection may lawfully come in -- and again it is totally out of place to speak of me, as if I *maintained* my Sisters.[32]

Francis was critical of his brother, mother, and sisters' lifestyle. John Henry noted, "You speak of our keeping up 'the lust of the eye and the pride of life.'" He protested, "Every one has his place in society -- there is a difference of duties, and of persons fitted for them."[33] Next, John Henry aimed for Francis' Achilles heel, stating that a person who abdicated his place in society,

> ...is then worth nothing at all. He has been trained for a certain place -- he does not know his business in another. You yourself confess it in your letter. You say that, having been trained in Latin and Greek, you cannot make money, now that you have left the Church.[34]

John Henry softened his attack by respecting Francis' religious convictions for giving up his Fellowship at Balliol.[35] While conceding that their mother and sisters might live more cheaply, John Henry continued the assault:

> What could I do better with the money? Give it to some Religious Society, to be spent by strangers in whom I had not reason to feel confidence? I suppose my money goes further, than yours in journeying to Persia.[36]

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29 BO, *Holograph*, p. 71.

30 *Ibid.*

31 Bristol College [1831-1841] occupied a large house in Park Row. Among its more illustrious pupils were Lord Justice Sir Edward Fry, the mathematician Sir George Gabriel Stokes, and economist Walter Bagehot. Sieveking, p. 62.

32 *L&D*, vol. IV, p. 329.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 330.

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*

Jemima painted a picture of Newman family relations in October 1834:

> We get on as well with Frank, as the consciousness of having some forbidden subjects will allow. We keep from argument, which is a good thing. He knows we do not like it, and makes a point, I think, of avoiding bringing on a discussion. But today is the first day we have got him to talk easily on general subjects. Poor fellow, it is very difficult for him to know what to say to please us, when he thinks so differently. He is now making hay in the orchard.[37]

In the same post, their mother announced:

> Frank, I am glad to say, is proposing to establish himself as a 'Teacher of Mathematics' at Bristol -- and he says 'I shall have plenty of time for Christian purposes' -- This appears the most sensible plan he has ever proposed. How wonderfully we are driven from *our own* plans![38]

One month later, Mrs. Newman wrote to John Henry, saying: "Frank has engaged himself as Classical Tutor (!) at the Bristol College. It is a surprising letter written by him, as he seems willing to pursue the line."[39]

From Bristol in November 1834, Francis Newman sent a snapshot of his theological position to Anglican clergyman Charles Pourtales Golightly:[40]

> I regard our Lord's test of false prophets, ye shall know them by their fruits, -- to be the ultimate test to which appeal must be made: for when a man's fruits are good, we must not forget that he may be right & we wrong, though we were a hundred to one against him.... While I do not found my faith on the opinions of men, but on the simple straight forward word of God, I yet, when pressed by modern authority (of the Evangelical & Dissenting School) against me, think it right to defend myself by ancient authority: merely by way of neutralizing [sic] the matter; else I am fancied to be solitary in my notions, & am overwhelmed by simple numbers. *As a specimen, I will tell you that more than once, when in answer to interrogations concerning my faith* concerning the person of Xt I have given the Nicene Creed, it has been replied: "Oh then, you only believe Christ to be 'God of God', that is, a derived God: he is not then really God at all." The modern school are pure Tritheists, holding what the ancients pronounced accursed,... three unoriginated persons; and every thing short of this they call Arianism. Those who are not Tritheists, are Sabellians; for they explain away the word Person into a Mask or Representation. Thus, while I will not call my self an Athanasian, I have in fact gained my ill name by upholding the doctrines of the Nicene Fathers & of Athanasius.[41]

Newman's words evinced his frustration, particularly with religious leaders:

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37 *L&D*, vol. IV, p. 338.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.*, p. 370.

40 [1807-1885].

41 LP, M S 1808 180, FWN to CPG, 12 November 1834.

> I have not stirred up public controversy: I have only had imputations thrown on me because I would not. If any one thing has been pressed on my mind this last year, it is, the grievous mischiefs incurred by men following human leaders -- Each class has its own set of oracles, whom they have known (or believed) to be best instructed -- As truly as the High Church have their human **Fathers**, against the express command of Christ, so have the Evangelicals theirs, & the Dissenters theirs; and among them all, Christ & his Apostles have comparatively little regard -- I am practically more & more convinced, that the only legitimate use of human authority, is, an indiscriminate use: not, to pick out one or two **Teachers**, but to consider all that all sects & parties say; & I find instruction is to be gathered from every one -- Papists & Socinians, Methodists & Baptists, Ch of Eng). & Ch of Geneva, all (I think) have parts of truth, which other classes do not equally regard. I could gain instruction from Athanasius & Arius, put together, & compared with the word of God, but the instant I take either as my guide, nay, or any number of uninspired men, my faith is human faith & not divine faith -- I believe, not because God has so told me (for I believe not my teacher to be definitely inspired) but because a man tells me, who has many human qualifications & advantages for knowing truth.[42]

This derivative faith was not acceptable to him:

> This is not a faith that will support my soul; that will minister peace & comfort to me in prospect of death & judgment [sic] -- It is very necessary to have our hearts full of Christ's words, which are spirit & life, if we are to enjoy any comfort or any abiding peace, or have any strength in spiritual things -- [43]

Like Blanco White, who claimed he became a Unitarian through "systematic study of the Scriptures,"[44] Newman's study of the Bible led him into heresy. This infidelity led John Henry to conflate ultra-Protestantism and liberalism.[45] Yet the study of scripture was an Evangelical duty for Francis, not a radical one; this explained his reliance on the arguments of faith and justification by faith.

Newman's days were not entirely devoted to study:

> I have here found opportunity of employing myself as I wish, being engaged to take at least till Midsummer the lectures of the Principal of Bristol College, (who is in weak health) -- which will occupy me about 3 hours a day; & the rest of my time being left vacant at least at present, I bestow it in assisting a friend who is pastor of a church here.[46]

This church may have been the Broadmead General Baptist Chapel, where Newman was baptised for a second time on 7 July 1836.[47]

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42 LP, M S 1808 180, FWN to CPG, 12 November 1834.
43 *Ibid.*
44 Thomas, p. 81.
45 *Ibid.*
46 LP, M S 1808 180, FWN to CPG, 12 November 1834.
47 *DNB.*

In 1834, Francis read John Henry's first volume of Parochial Sermons, and, although it was not systematic, he realised with a shock how their theological positions had diverged. After three drafts which he destroyed, Francis sent John Henry a letter which attempted to balance his apprehension and alarm with brotherly affection and nostalgia:

> I knew not whether to be glad or sorry that I did not see you at Oxford, for I have many conflicts of feeling about you. I remember when you were curate at St Clement's, how you seemed to be preaching the blessed gospel of the Lord Jesus; I remember your pleasant verses to me the day I came of age, in which you anticipated our being fellow warriors in the same holy cause: I remember that we used once to pray together for a blessing on various members of our own family: & I know not whether it all brings more pleasure or deep sorrow -- [48]

Francis felt that these sermons were the first "tangible proof" of his brother's doctrines:

> Most of my friends disbelieved the length to which you go, & I myself was ever hoping I mistook: so intensely have I resisted the belief that you had utterly abandoned all that, which when first ordained as a minister of Jesus Xt, called by the Holy Ghost, you believed to be the truth of the gospel.[49]

Francis compared the two brothers' changes:

> But as you are distressed at some of <u>my</u> changes, so dear John, pity me & indulge me, & allow me to express my deep affliction at <u>your</u> changes, concerning not rites & ceremonies & order, but the marrow of all religion.[50]

Francis earnestly pleaded with his brother to give him a hearing:

> I know my opinion is very worthless to you; you told me that it was; as <u>I</u> have told <u>you</u> that I could not honestly consult you on practical questions -- Each of us has desired to be honest, & neither, I trust, has given offense [sic]. But though I might not choose to consult you, (-- on some points, I might desire so to do) -- yet whenever you should offer me counsel or opinions, I should certainly listen to it patiently -- or if I have not done so, I desire to express my unfeigned sorrow....I have taken much trouble, from a desire so to write, as least to wound you, & yet speak the whole truth of my heart.[51]

Francis attached twenty-one pages of comments on the Parochial Sermons to his letter, claiming that he wrote them "trying to forget the personality of the author, as though I were ignorant of his name." Francis felt that John Henry's doctrine "strikingly opposed to that of the articles" of the Church and urged him to be prepared for public attacks.[52] He added:

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48 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, n.d., 1834.
49 *Ibid.*
50 *Ibid.*
51 *Ibid.*
52 *Ibid.*

> I have concerned myself almost entirely with the questions, What is the gospel? & on what are peace & joy founded? -- If I be a fool, bear so far with my folly, as not only to read my papers through, but to offer a prayer that if in the midst of much trash I drop some truth wholesome to you, you may get the profit of it -- [53]

Among Francis' central points are these: that the author lacks a sense of the personality of God, that he confounds *emotion* with *affection*, and that he does not understand that "the only healthy ground of joy" is joy in God:

> ...all other joy is either the frenzy of enthusiasm, or the irrational exultation of the selfrighteous [sic]: and every one who has tasted that the Lord is gracious must see that the writer...wrote from theory, not from experience; that he has never had in his own soul one taste of true holy joy, never experienced his union with Xt, never ventured his everlasting all on the faithfulness of that glorious Lord, & set to his seal that God is true -- [54]

John Henry's sermons of this period were marked by their gravity; he defended his approach by stating, "Comfort is a cordial, but no one drinks a cordial from morning to night."[55]

Around this time, Francis Newman encountered his first Unitarian Treatise,[56] on eternal punishment.[57] He had always felt that,

> My heaven and my hell had been in the present, where my God was near me to smile or to frown. It had seemed to me a great weakness in my faith, that I never had any vivid imaginations or strong desires of heavenly glory.[58]

This seed fell on receptive ground. Newman felt that the "controversies" which occupied him did not concern the authority of the Bible: his investigations at this time were the sort of "matters contested between the Unitarians and the Calvinists."[59] Newman decided that there are two types of truths in the Bible: one sort that human beings may judge, and another that they may not. Then the problem was, how to distinguish between the two types?

Newman dismissed the Nicene Creed, which he claimed fell short, like Arianism. Semi-Arianism seemed "more scriptural" than Athanasius or Arius. He could no longer say he believed in the divinity of Christ.[60] Still, Newman insisted that this difference in his creed made no difference to either his morality or his spirituality. His Christology in this

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53 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, n.d., 1834.

54 *Ibid.*

55 Newsome, p. 54. For a more detailed discussion of John Henry's preoccupation with Law and Judgement rather than the Gospel and Love, see Newsome, pp. 106-115.

56 Perhaps Richard Wright's *The Eternity of Hell Torment Indefensible*, which argued that the doctrine of hell had been abused to reinforce despotism. Rowell, p. 44.

57 *Phases of Faith*, p. 49.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

stage was very close to that of Unitarian divine James Martineau,[61] for Newman continued to believe that Jesus had a superior nature.[62] Yet Newman reported that because he held a "high sense of the personal dignity of Jesus" he "had always felt a great repugnance" for Unitarians "though I had not read a line of their writings [about Jesus]."[63] Gradually, Newman's Christology slid along the continuum to rest at pure Arianism.

This change in theology affected his reputation. In November 1835, Hurrell Froude wrote to John Henry with the rumour that the latter had refused to meet Francis on his return from Persia.[64] John Henry took the opportunity to delineate his relationship with his brother:

> You know how it was about my brother. I saw him and was with him for several days on his return. After that, on his determining 'to preach the gospel,' as it is called, I wrote to tell him that, while he did so, I could have no intercourse with him -- my tie to the Church as a Clergyman destroying the claim of relationship on the other hand, and leaving the Scripture rule to act. I have heard from him quite lately -- but not in a satisfactory way. I do fear his verging towards liberalism. That wretched Protestant principle about Scripture, when taken in by an independent and clear mind, is almost certain to lead to errors I do not like to name.[65]

At the end of November, Mrs. Newman wrote to John Henry with news about Francis' wedding:

> We have a letter from Frank today...They are marrying in such a true Christian spirit, that I doubt not a blessing will be on their union -- and perhaps we may greet them both again in the bosom of our own true, spiritual, soothing Church. I intend to propose their coming here after their marriage at Christmas. It may lead to good, and would be very pleasing to your Sisters and myself.[66]

One month before the wedding, however, John Henry heard less pleasing news about Francis from Samuel Wilberforce, the future Anglican bishop: "I have heard within the last quarter of an hour that you deny the personality of the Holy Spirit and the duty of praying to Christ."[67] John Henry protested that he had not realised how far "the low arrogant cruel ultra-Protestant principle" had affected Francis, although he knew "latitudinarianism is a secret Socianianizing [sic]." John Henry found the fact that Francis had not informed him of his new religious opinions as painful as the opinions themselves. John Henry chided, "I am willing to hope it indicates a reluctance to admit how far you are going. You have some

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61 [1805-1900].
62 *Phases of Faith*, p. 55.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
64 *L&D*, vol. V, p. 155.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 164.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 167.
67 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, JHN to FWN, 23 November 1835.

shame towards others -- this is good as far as it goes."[68] John Henry encapsulated the difference between the two brothers and their theological leanings by asking:

> On what ground of reason or Scripture do you say that every one may gain the true doctrine of the gospel for himself from the Bible? where is illumination promised an individual for this purpose? where is it any where hinted that the aid of teachers is to be superseded? when that the universal testimony of the Church is not a principle of belief as sure and satisfactory as the word of Scripture?[69]

For John Henry, the Church was the voice of God, as much as the Bible was. In addition, the Church was an "independent source of truth," in an historical sense, with the legacy of the Apostles' unwritten teachings. Until Francis realised the importance of the Church, John Henry warned, "there is no hope for a clearheaded [sic] man like you. You will unravel the web of selfsufficient [sic] inquiry."[70] John Henry anticipated Francis' response:

> You will tell me perhaps you must pursue truth without looking to consequences. Yet I cannot help begging you to contemplate whither you are going. Is it possible you are approaching Charles's notions? There will be this difference that you will admit the being offered -- though this, I verily think, would be an inconsistency in you -- but, admitting it, what else at least will you retain? Indeed, my dear F., you are in a net which I do not like to think of. I do feel it to be a snare of the devil.[71]

The fact that Francis still retained some Christian doctrines did not pacify his elder brother:

> As to your still holding regeneration &c, I value it not a rush. Such doctrines have no substantive existence. They may remain on your mind a while after you have given up the High Mysteries of Faith -- but will not last longer than the warmth of a corpse. I write in great grief, not knowing what best to say...[72]

Yet John Henry went on to say what Francis perceived as the worst possible thing to say:

> I hope you understand, that decidedly as I object to meet you in a familiar way or to sit at table with you, yet should you be coming here and wish to have any talk with me (not disputation) or in like manner of course to write to me, I shall be most happy. If I can be your servant in any way, so that I do not countenance your errors, you really may command me -- at least I trust so.[73]

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68 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, JHN to FWN, 23 November 1835. For a fuller exploration of John Henry's position on Socinianism, see Thomas, especially chapters one, eight, ten, thirteen and fifteen.

69 *Ibid.*

70 *Ibid.*

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*

73 *Ibid.*

Francis believed that John Henry's restrictions upon their discourse reduced their relationship to superficiality. His reply to this letter placated John Henry somewhat, but was "far from satisfactory." John Henry worried that Christianity might "slip through [Frank's] fingers any day."[74]

Francis was married to Maria Kennaway on 23 December 1835. Forty years later he described their marriage as "a perpetual honeymoon."[75] John Henry took a less romantic view of the union, as he wrote to his intimate friend, John William Bowden, in January 1836, "I trust it may be of service in taking his thoughts from the extravagances in which he has hitherto indulged. Whether he will ever approach nearer to the Church, is another question. I am not sanguine."[76]

Marriage affected Francis' thoughts, by presenting a new type of "extravagances." Before his wedding, he had translated "The Song of Solomon" from the Hebrew, but its publication was delayed, and the publisher went bankrupt. After the wedding, Newman reported:

> I read my "Song" with fresh eyes, & became possessed with alarm that it was too voluptuous & seductive to young men to be a lawful mode of exposing the non-sacredness of the Old Testament. After some hesitation, I had the whole edition destroyed, except a few copies...[77]

However, in March, Francis seemed to be approaching nearer to the Church. Their mother repeated his words to John Henry with delight: "He says, 'I think, my dear Mother, if I were with you on a Sunday, I should no longer decline going with you to your place of worship.' I feel it a great cause for thankfulness."[78]

What would seem to be the rest of this letter is quoted by O'Faolain:

> Maria has no insuperable objections to attending the Church of England, but I cannot take the Lord's Supper there....to disavow what I think evil it is not necessary to absent myself altogether. I even might attend Roman Catholic worship occasionally, with respect and solemnity, and in the hope that *some* of the worshippers might be accepted with God in spite of their mummeries.[79]

Thus it appears that the first Newman to contemplate worshipping with Roman Catholics was Francis and not John Henry.

Early in 1836 missionary Anthony Norris Groves and his new wife visited Francis and Maria, indicating that they did not participate in the "excommunication" imposed by the

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74 *L&D*, vol. V, p. 171.
75 HL, FWN to Frances Power Cobb, 16 August 1876.
76 *L&D*, vol. V, p. 195.
77 MCS, GJHCC 1074, FWN to George Jacob Holyoake, 13 January 1859.
78 *L&D*, vol. V, p. 267.
79 O'Faolain, pp. 216 - 217.

Plymouth Brethren. Francis and Maria then spent the week after Easter with his mother. Francis recorded:

> The winter of our marriage had been one of wild snow; and the following Easter was alike untimely....In that visit to my mother (the last time I saw her), my young wife caught inflammation of the lungs, which I did not perceive or understand -- she was so cruelly bled and cupped, that I think she never recovered it.[80]

This misfortune prevented Francis and Maria from attending Jemima's wedding on 28 April. Mrs. Newman died on 17 May, and his wife's illness prevented Francis from going to his mother's funeral.

Learning of their mother's death, Charles reflected in sorrow on his estrangement from the Newmans:

> You tell me very heavy news indeed. I feel deeply indebted to my brothers and sisters for having so amply filled the office, in which either from my fault or misfortune I have failed, of good children towards my mother.[81]

Although this may only reflect Charles' impression that the rest of his brothers and sisters were "good children," it also may indicate that Francis had once again joined the family orbit. Charles rationalised his flight this way: it "was a step dictated by my sincerity."[82] He was the first Newman to break off relations with family members. Although Charles periodically broke his estrangement with pleas for help or money, there was a pattern of rejection, dictated by sincerity, replicated in John Henry, Harriett, and Jemima's relationships, first with Francis, later between the sisters and John Henry.

John Henry's attitude towards his brothers differed from his sisters', as he acknowledged in an "Apology for myself" written in June 1873:

> These differences, though they tried to hide them and to make the best of them, made me very sore. They had a full right to their own views: but I did not imitate them in bearing patiently what could not be helped.[83]

Francis seemed to believe that his mother and sisters' residence with John Henry meant that they agreed religiously. This was not true, as John Henry reminded Jemima a month after their mother's death:

> I mean, of late years my Mother has much misunderstood my religious views, and considered she differed from me; and she thought I was surrounded by admirers and had every thing my own way, - and in consequence, I, who am conscious to myself I

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80 Sieveking, p. 360.
81 BO, *Holograph*, p. 79.
82 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
83 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

> never thought any thing more precious than her sympathy and praise, had none of it.[84]

As a result of their mother's death Charles drew closer to both Francis, who helped Charles with his study of Greek, and John Henry. For Charles, their estrangement was tragic: "Nothing can be more unfortunate than the differences of opinion that has [sic] happened between three brothers."[85] Thus he made an effort to reconcile them, whilst aligning himself with John Henry:

> How painful it is that Frank and you differ so much in opinion. I have no hope that you will ever agree, for there is a fundamental difference in your minds. I wish I had more unity of opinion with yourself, who have acted with such kindness to me. How I wish I could repay you for your extraordinary kindness to me in some more solid way, than by words....I believe [Frank] does not, nor ever will, do you justice, and perhaps you not him. For how can he help thinking as he does? he is as sincere as you; his mind is differently constructed. I hope the time may come, when we may meet together in the way you expressed in a letter to me, but I hope Frank may not be excluded. No doubt he has some prejudices and mistakes, as you have.[86]

Charles pointed out that John Henry *needed* Francis:

> Francis is uncommonly intelligent, and can reason very well. By cutting yourself off from him, you deprive yourself of the means of correcting faults and errors, for those of your own party cannot see them.[87]

John Henry needed Francis in the Machiavellian sense of cherishing a worthy opponent. At the end of June, Charles tried again to make peace:

> I knew long ago that there were many evils in life, but this one of disunion in our family I hoped to escape....If any thing could make one sick of life, it is these quarrels. Harriett said, when she called on me at Hackney, that we were all bewitched; we are so.[88]

Harriett's diagnosis today would more probably be depressed rather than bewitched; John Henry described her to Jemima as "in low spirits," adding that "Frank has written her a kind letter -- I wrote to him to give up his interest at present from his share in the trust money -- he will do that or what is equivalent I doubt not."[89] Presumably, one of Harriett's worries was her future; this may have been resolved upon her marriage to Thomas Mozley[90] on 27 September 1836.

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84 BO, Holograph. p. 88.
85 *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.
86 *Ibid.*,
87 *Ibid.*
88 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
89 *L&D*, vol. V, p. 307.
90 [1806-1893].

Although John Henry and Francis were estranged, John Henry maintained some friendly communication. In October 1836, John Henry wrote to Jemima, "Also I shall send 3 books, for Frank's wife to choose from -- the two, which she does not take, she may send to me at Oxford some time or other."[91] In addition, the two brothers corresponded about their mother's legacy, and the future of Charles and their Aunt Newman. In November 1836, John Henry wrote to Jemima that Francis had contributed £25 towards a fund for their aunt.

Ironically, at a time when his relations with his family were disrupted, Francis began to worry about his heart. He consulted Dr. John Addington Symonds,[92] a leading Bristol physician who lectured on forensic medicine at the Bristol medical school. Symonds diagnosed "no structural injury to the heart, but functionary disorder; and deficiency of contractile power."[93]

In January 1837 John Henry learned that Francis had misunderstood his gift of a book to Maria. Francis thought that John Henry had put Maria "on a footing of nearer relationship than himself."[94] John Henry complained to Jemima:

> Frank has written me an angry letter lately which has surprised me. It seems he has been all the while fidgeting about my giving a book to his wife....When the book was received, *she* wrote to me, and I *then* answered it -- which has excited F's displeasure.[95]

In turn, Francis' loose lips displeased John Henry; a letter from Bristol in the *Morning Chronicle* reported that Francis attributed an anonymous article about Dr. Nicholas Wiseman[96] to him:

> I do not care who knows it -- people are very much out if they think I do -- but how did F. know? it is like him to go chatting about, not very decent to have one brother speaking against another in mixed society. If he does it on religious grounds, then I have nothing to say of course; only I should find fault with his taste.[97]

Charles jumped right into the middle of this controversy; in February 1837, John Henry explained to Jemima how this happened:

> ...Charles was with me the very morning I received F's letter. At first I put it in my pocket in disgust and said nothing -- but at last I showed it [to] Charles. I now think that F. perhaps is irritated at finding Charles justify me -- at least I think so for want of knowing what to think.[98]

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91 *L&D*, vol. V, p. 369.

92 Father of John Addington Symonds, the famous author and translator.

93 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 30 November 1847.

94 *L&D*, vol.VI, pp. 23-24.

95 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

96 [1802-1865] rector of the English College, Rome 1828-1840, appointed president of Oscott College in 1840.

97 *L&D*, vol. VI, p. 16.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Charles stirred things up by informing John Henry, "the impression I have received of the tone of [Francis'] feelings is, that, to be consistent, *he* ought to be an unbeliever."[99] Charles reported that Francis had accused John Henry of trying to start his own sect: "For he told me what certainly surprised me that 'you were striving with all your might to create a sect, and to put yourself at the head of it.' these [sic] words he repeated more than once."[100]

John Henry explained his reaction to this information to Jemima:

> What a very uncharitable thing it is, his saying I want to make a sect. *I* say nothing of *him*. I judge him in no way. I only say that God tells me to avoid persons who make divisions -- and he makes a division.[101]

Whether or not it takes more than one person to make a division, John Henry had resolved to avoid Francis. Not all the Newmans felt the same way, however. John Henry's diary entry for Friday, 30 June 1837 reported "Aunt N. left for F's Bristol."[102] Perhaps Aunt Newman was the source of this news of Francis, which John Henry conveyed to Jemima in September 1837:

> As to Frank it is very sad. He *will* not live with people of intellect and attainment, at least not as regards *religion*. According to all appearances, he is, as regards religious objects frittering away high talents, and will never have a settled, consistent, comfortable view.[103]

Whereas Francis may not have been living with "people of intellect and attainment," he certainly maintained some connection with them. The poet Arthur Clough first mentioned him in August of 1837, in a letter to a friend:

> Newman (I mean the High priest of Oriel) has, you may perhaps have heard a brother. He has been staying with the Prices[104] and seems to be a very delightful person. Arnold said of him and his brother that in them you saw very plainly the difference between the great man and the little man.[105]

This statement is ambiguous; it is possible that Thomas Arnold meant to refer to Francis as "the great man," and John Henry as "the little man." This description followed Arnold's publication of "The Oxford Malignants" in 1836, an attack on John Henry's theological position. Certainly Arnold's Broad Church leanings appealed more to Francis, who consulted him as a spiritual guide.

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99 *L&D*, vol. VI, pp. 23-24.
100 *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.
101 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
102 *Ibid.*, p. 86.
103 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
104 Bonamy Price and his wife: Price was a student at Worcester College, Oxford with Francis Newman; at this time he was a Master at Rugby. Price later returned to Oxford as professor of Political Economy. In 1869 his daughter Edith married John Rickards Mozley, Newman's nephew.
105 Mulhauser, vol. I, p. 63.

Meanwhile, Francis Newman's contact with Unitarians like Lant Carpenter, Unitarian divine and educator, was courteous, but distant. Carpenter's son Philip, the eminent conchologist, was one of Newman's pupils in Bristol:

> Naturally I did not see much of him out of class: but he certainly made unusual advances to me, and I soon gained a perception of how very transparent was his nature, guileless and ardent; a nature with which I had warm sympathy even while (as I must confess) I had a tender sorrow and pity that he was being educated for the Unitarian ministry.[106]

In an encounter with a "Unitarian gentleman," Newman found himself to be more liberal than the Dissenter: whereas the Unitarian asserted that Jesus was both human and sinless, Newman maintained that the very nature of humanity implies sinfulness.[107] For this reason, Newman complained, "I distinctly believed that English Unitarians could never afford me a half hour's resting-place."[108] Unitarianism was alien to Newman in still another respect. Newman realised that his Evangelical religion had always been essentially Pauline. The Unitarian faith, with its emphasis on the life and teachings of Jesus, was a Gospel faith.[109]

Although Newman still believed in the New Testament miracles, he had shed most of his former beliefs. Nevertheless he wrote, "I was conscious, that in dropping Calvinism I had lost nothing *Evangelical*: On the contrary, the gospel which I retained was as spiritual and deep-hearted as before, only more merciful."[110]

The Bible presented Newman with inconsistencies, with which he grappled. He reached three conclusions: we must use our moral and intellectual powers in its interpretation, we must condemn its errors as immoral, and realise that it is a fallible document.

Newman incorporated his investigations of the Bible in writing *The Hebrew Monarchy*. The route he took to renounce the "religion of the letter" is one well-travelled by modern Biblical scholars. He availed himself of the German scholarship of his day, which transformed his attitude towards the Bible. He viewed "tests of faith" as causing "Disunion,"[111] and proposed that there be only "*one* test, 'Jesus is the son of God.'"[112]

Next Newman abandoned the "canon." Newman compared his Christianity to the "Hindoo's" conception of the Ganges River: "in any case, the river is a gift of God to him: its positive benefits cannot be affected by a theory concerning its source."[113] Newman perceived Christianity pragmatically: he kept its moral and spiritual message and discarded the medium as irrelevant and unreliable.

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106 MCO, MC L.C. 3 fol. 284, FWN to R. L. Carpenter, 23 November 1877.
107 *Phases of Faith*, pp. 60-61.
108 *Ibid.*, p. 62.
109 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
110 *Ibid.* p. 60.
111 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
112 *Ibid.*, p. 88.
113 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

Newman continued to seek affiliation and connection with other worshippers as well. In 1840, Newman's brother John Henry complained to Jemima that this had a negative effect on their Aunt: "I decidedly think that going to those Meeting Houses at Bristol must in every way tend to unsettle her. Nay, the seeing of so many wild people of course -- but one can hardly advise her not to go to Frank."[114]

It is possible that Charles was among the wild people encountered by their Aunt. In April, Charles was back from Boulogne and living in Bristol, working with the Socialists, and asking his family for support.

A more pleasant result of Aunt Newman's visits to Bristol was the reconciliation between Francis and John Henry. John Henry asked their aunt whether Francis was still "heading separation from the Church, presiding or preaching at meetings and the like." Her reply, "I believe I may venture to say that he does nothing of the kind,"[115] satisfied John Henry. He wrote at once to Francis, taking responsibility for their rift, "The conduct of mine of which you took offence had that in it for which I can reproach myself," while he maintained, "I grant nothing of what you imputed to me. I had no notion of offending you."[116] John Henry ended his letter by claiming that he had been wrong only in the "details" of his conduct towards Francis:

> *In saying this, you must not suppose that I have changed my mind* at all in morals & principles, or as to the mode in the persons that be dealt with this are what you were. I think as I did; and have acted quite lately towards a Roman Catholic clergyman as I did to you though not precisely on the same grounds....to go back to earlier times, I quite confess that especially in the years 1821, 1822 and later, I did not behave to you with that habitual meekness which was likely to inspire confidence in you towards me. I was very sorry for this at the time...[117]

Francis received this letter with mixed emotions:

> Your letter this morning received excites at once joy & melancholy apprehension. I cannot analyze [sic] my feelings, but perhaps you may find them out. Most cordially do I accept all your overtures of friendship, (as I understand,) and desire so to be guided by wisdom from above & by due constraint over my own spirit, as that they may produce mutual advantage & happiness.[118]

Francis explored the reasons for their mutual misunderstandings:

> I think you know that I am sufficiently like you (by the grace of God,) to despise the defending of myself, so far as self can be

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114 Ward, M. p. 359.

115 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, JHN to FWN, 11 April 1840.

116 *Ibid.*

117 *Ibid.*

118 *Ibid.*

> separated from Truth, -- from principles, many of which we perhaps think dearer than life.[119]

Francis explained that he had not been able to continue any relationship with John Henry under the terms his brother had previously offered:

> ...as between husband & wife, so in great measure in all the more intimate relations, intercourse which is not friendly and familiar is apt to be intensely painful. To a stranger or acquaintance I can be on business-like agreement; but a brother must at least be my cordial friend, between whom & me there is confidence, esteem & familiarity, (if it do not reach warm affection,) else it would be less painful to me to walk in a separate path, & while glad to hear of his welfare, avoid all intercourse.[120]

Francis did not pretend that he agreed with his brother, "It is not that I want to contradict you, when with you; but I want to feel that I am at liberty to do so, if I like; else it is slavery, not society on equal terms."[121] Francis also addressed the issue of his "sectarianism:"

> I have always abhorred the thought of being leader or promoter of a sect, & I think my whole conduct will show it -- Wherever I have been, I have joined myself to a preexisting [sic] church, & acted in cooperation [sic] with its existing authorities. When they have asked me to preach, I have felt free to do so; and so I do still. That I have not preached for some time, is an accident in my situation, & not a result of any change of principle. You call it sectarianism, to promote any church but that of the Establishment: I do not mean to offend, when I say that I am conscientiously convinced that every Baptist or Independent meeting in the land is (to speak temperately) as true a church as yours, and yours as much a sect as those....It is true that I see much sectarianism in dissenters, but I see a worse sectarianism in the establishment. The former are narrow from want of information or misapplied principle; the latter, when they are so, are so from false principle. My heart & understanding alike long for something larger far than either....I never pretended to official character as a minister; I have always thought it improper in a young man; & I have still too much of the boy, too little gravity, for that office. But I continue decidedly to hold that no ordination is requisite for teaching occasionally...either within a church, at request of its authorities, or without a church, to those who make no profession of religion -- Sectarianism, I believe, may exist without outward separation; as between Jesuits & Jansenists; nay, Nicenists & Evangelicals; and need not exist between Episcopalians & Presbyterians. With these confirmed principles, as axioms of my religion, I know not at what moment I may anew provoke your censure.[122]

Francis' friendships had also been affected by his changed attitude towards the established church:

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119 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 11 April 1840.
120 *Ibid*, Wednesday April 1840.
121 *Ibid.*
122 *Ibid.*

> The same cause prevents my making an effort to resume old friendships, as with Trower, Golightly &c especially while Church zeal seems to me to become more intense, (that is, practically, more bitter,) every day. Moberly,[123] I think, is a tender enlightened spirit, whom I never appreciated: I try in vain to recal [sic] him to mind in detail; I fear to attempt a correspondence. As for Dean, his behaviour was so outrageously offensive, that I was thankful it was also contemptible & laughable, as this helped to keep me from resentment. After that, nothing could be farther from my thought than making an effort to preserve his acquaintance. It is for him first to make low apologies to me.[124]

Francis concluded his letter with an affirmation of his love and respect for his brother:

> Now, my brother, I must once more say, I want to have you as a brother; if only I can keep you! I have always honored [sic] & defended you personally, while I could not defend your principles. I treasure the remembrance of all your affection to me, & cherish visions of the past, though generally sad, because they are often humbling & instructive, and bring before me your many noble qualities.[125]

John Henry's written reply combined warmth and wariness:

> I have just read your affectionate letter and I think I quite understand it. I agree with you that easy unrestrained intercourse between us is impossible and that to attempt it wd be a great mistake....Yet I think you undervalue intercourse which is short of this....This has been my feeling all through these last painful years. I thought that we might have some intercourse, though my principles forbade me any but of a certain kind. From time to time I have attempted it, though I daresay not in the best way. I recalled at one time offering to come to Bristol to you on purpose. But you, I do not say unnaturally, perhaps I might have done the same in like circumstances, wd have all or none.[126]

John Henry claimed that his general agreement with Francis' theological position would surprise him:

> I fear, (wd that I may be mistaken,) that, as we sifted each other's notions, we shd simplify our differences to one or two very great & deep ones, commonly out of sight. But still there might be much cordiality in our opinions of men and matters.[127]

John Henry attempted this "cordiality" by directly discussing some of the points the brothers agreed on: ordination, sectarianism within the Church of England, episcopacy, and science. Despite this, he noted, "if I had to explain definitely what I meant, and was probed to the

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123 George Moberly, [1803-1885] Bishop of Winchester, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol in 1826.

124 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, Wednesday April 1840.

125 *Ibid.*

126 *Ibid*, JHN to FWN, 16 April 1840.

127 *Ibid.*

bottom, doubtless you would think me more like the Roman Catholics than perhaps you do at present."[128]

John Henry reiterated his desire for social intercourse with his brother, while reserving the right to withdraw from him again in the future.[129] Francis countered that he had a far better acquaintance with John Henry's beliefs than his brother had with his:

> If I fail, it is from the difficulty of putting our minds in juxtaposition, & not from want of information. Contrariwise, I think it hardly conceivable that you can know the state of my mind on numberless topics, believing that you can but guess (which you may perhaps sometimes do very keenly) from your general knowledge of human nature.[130]

Francis felt that John Henry's theological position leaned inexorably towards Roman Catholicism:

> I do not at all fear that from personal intercourse I shall think you nearer to a Roman Catholic than I now do & long have done. It has long seemed to me as clear as daylight, that your difference with them is on matters quite subordinate, &, to me, of comparative unimportance. You hold all the main principles on account of which I feel so much aversion for the Romish church as a religious system, & though it is false & absurd to imaging that you wish the supremacy of the Pope, you wish the supremacy of that which in my eyes is no better than that of the Pope & a General Council. It was not therefore until I could enlarge my mind to embrace with Xtian charity all Roman Catholics, priests & people, that I knew how to find admittance for you...[131]

Whereas Francis was raised to believe credal consensus essential to Christian faith, his position had changed. He advocated:

> ...casting...off [creeds], to judge of men by their sincerity, their reverential spirit, and practical benevolence & purity. I now fully believe that this is the only way of avoiding to become, each his own Pope. I cannot find any other way out of the difficulty. It is in vain to refer me to fathers or councils, for I look on these with different eyes: I am fully persuaded that the Church was corrupted at a much earlier period than you will allow: I do not value Chrysostom any more than I value Wiseman, but rather less; & I do not believe that apostolic tradition lasted uncorrupt through half a century, even concerning matters of fact. I am forced then either to disown my right of exacting a creed of any one, & thereby receive as Christians alike Romanists, Quakers, Unitarians & Swedenborgians, (so that only they are not manifestly wanting in the moral peculiarities of a Christian,) or else I must exclude all from whom I differ in matters of grave importance, (as yourself,) and of course must justify others who exclude me in turn. The latter alternative is in my clear judgment [sic] too opposed to the

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128 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, JHN to FWN, 16 April 1840.

129 *Ibid.*

130 *Ibid.*, FWN to JHN, no date.

131 *Ibid.*

> whole spirit of Christianity, & too odious in itself, to be justified by any quoting of texts.[132]

Although Francis explained that he was willing to accept a variety of religious opinion as Christian, he conceded to John Henry that they might "agree in detail, while differing in our foundation." Nevertheless, Francis observed:

> ...I do not despise any points of agreement, howsoever caused: it is better than perpetual contrariety. And I am persuaded, that far deeper in the heart than all which is theologically prominent, there lies an inner element of the moral & spiritual, which is infinitely precious in God's sight, and if we were wise, may suffice to make us love each other when it duly cherished & kindly estimated; and though I must ever fear collisions, while your demands are so large, & my power of granting so small, I am very far indeed from deprecating that we should meet.[133]

The nineteenth century saw many cases like this, in which the same conclusions about religion forced sincere people to the perimeter of the Established Church in England. John Henry agreed with Francis' test of a religious truth, although he noted, "I shd not be candid if I did not add that I regard with great distress and even horror the notion of fraternizing [sic] with Unitarians."[134]

Francis worried about his job at Bristol College, where he had been acting principal since 1838: "at this crisis I doubt whether Bristol College will stand. Affairs have been (as I think) so mismanaged, that I doubt whether it deserves to stand."[135] It was time to move on again; this financial crisis brought Newman into even closer relationship with Unitarians, as a Classical Professor at Manchester New College.

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132 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, no date.

133 *Ibid.*

134 *Ibid.*, JHN to FWN, 5 May 1840.

135 *Ibid.*, FWN to JHN, Wednesday April 1840.

Chapter Four:

Faith at Second Hand Found to be Vain

In 1840, Manchester New College returned to Manchester from York; the College Principal, Robert Wallace, asked Newman for his preferences in classroom furniture and floor covering.[1] As Classical Professor, Newman was appointed to teach "the Greek and Latin Languages, Lectures on the Grammatical Structure of the English language, with Exercises in English Composition."[2] He joined a staff that included James Martineau as Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy,[3] William Gaskell,[4] John Kenrick[5] and John James Tayler.[6]

By the time Newman arrived in Manchester, the "refracting" and "distracting medium" of his prejudice against Unitarians had "evaporated;"[7] he was able to admire their earnest purpose and solid character. In turn, Newman intrigued the Manchester Unitarians with the "charm and delicacy of his character." A student remembered:

> 'No one...could help being struck by Francis Newman's refinement as soon as he heard him, and by the beautifully delicate expression of his thoughts.' In his search for truth he had some sad experiences: his earthly years were full of inward sorrows and aspirations. Friends and relatives forsook him, when he boldly looked into his soul and found God there. How he missed human companionship at that time his own words tell. 'It is pleasant to me,' he wrote, 'to look on an ordinary face and see it light up with a smile and think with myself, 'there is one heart that will judge me by what I am!' He found a brother in James Martineau, and his loneliness was dispelled.[8]

Martineau found Newman's presence a "charm" that made his early years at Manchester New College "memorable:"

> ...his departure withdrew, not only from our classrooms their most brilliant light, but from us his colleagues, -- especially from Mr. Taylor and myself -- a personal friend for whom we had contracted a deep and even venerating affection. Though the change of religious opinion which was then going on in his mind was silently wrought out in his own study, and was not even known to us in its progress, yet it latently carried in it many sources of sympathy and lines of mental approach which, however little marked at the time, made themselves felt....To his vigilant activity of mind, his readiness to start new questions, his fertility of suggestion, his self-forgetful courage in assailing questionable prejudices and habits, I am deeply

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1 MCO, S. D. Darbishire, 1841 278, FWN to SDD, August 1840.

2 Davis, p. 107.

3 Principal of Manchester New College 1869-1885.

4 Unitarian minister , Secretary of Manchester New College 1840-1846, and husband of novelist Elizabeth Gaskell; he taught English language and composition.

5 Professor of history from 1840-1850, Principal of Manchester New College 1846-1850.

6 Unitarian theologian; Principal of Manchester New College 1853-1869.

7 MCO, MC L.C. 3 284, FWN to R. L. Carpenter, 23 November 1877.

8 Hall, p. 73.

> grateful for many an awakening from my own more conservative tendency, opening my eyes to social errors and wrongs which I might not have noticed, and exhibiting remedies which at least demanded a careful estimate.[9]

The author Elizabeth Gaskell clucked, "He dresses so shabbily you would not see his full beauty, -- he used to wear detestable bottle green coats, which never show off a man."[10] Gaskell and her friend Mary Robberds found Maria Newman

> ...rather alarming. Mary said that the religious samplers which hung on the Newmans' walls reminded her of 'the scripture denunciations which were placarded on the walls of Albion Street in Race week', and Elizabeth, although she grew fond of Mrs. Newman, defined her creed as 'a sort of community-of-goods-and-equality-of-rank-on-religious-principles and *very* calvinistic' [sic].[11]

Despite this attention to superficial matters, Gaskell appreciated Newman's spiritual qualities:

> We first knew Mr Newman from his coming here to be a professor at the Manchester College -- and the face and voice at first sight told 'He had been with Christ'. I never during a 6 years pretty intimate acquaintance heard or saw anything which took off that first conviction. Oh dear! I long for the days back again when he came dropping in the dusk and lost no time in pouring out what his heart was full of, (thats [sic] the secret of eloquence) whether it was a derivation of a word, a joke or a burst of indignation or a holy thought.[12]

Newman plunged into College life, serving on the library committee and drafting good conduct and attendance certificates. Perhaps it was this constant exposure to Unitarians which made Newman write a letter defending Unitarianism to John Henry. John Henry responded with a letter expressing not only his pain at Francis' letter, but also his lack of surprise: "your principles lead to scepticism....man is made for religion; and your principles make religion impossible."[13]

John Henry noted elsewhere that Francis' letter doubted

> Whether the beginning of St. John is written by the Apostle, whether it is inspired, and whether the doctrine is not taken from Philo. And he said in the course of his letter, God forbid he should ever doubt Our Lord's Resurrection. Indeed I do not see where he is to stop. It is like [Blanco] White. It is like the Genevans, the Germans, like Protestantism generally. Whether or not Anglicanism leads to Rome, so far is *clear as day* that Protestantism leads to infidelity.[14]

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9 Drummond & Upton, p. 201.
10 Uglow, p. 132.
11 *Ibid.*
12 *Ibid.*, pp. 133-4.
13 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, JHN to FWN, 22 October 1840.
14 Ward, M. p. 360.

His brother's catalogue of Newman's doubts reflected Newman's theological stance at the time: Newman still considered himself to be a Christian, although he accepted Christian doctrine less and less. Newman preferred the religion of Paul, despite its teacher's susceptibility to miracles, ignorance of Jesus' life and teachings, and his "*independent* position...[which] invalidated his testimony...[Paul was] a supernatural...not a natural witness."[15]

Newman commented that Peter and Paul were satisfied with evidence not satisfactory to "modern logic" and it was "absurd in us to believe, barely *because* they believed."[16] This repudiation of "second hand faith" effectively eliminated the "Romish" conclusion which had made Newman so uncomfortable earlier: he no longer looked for an "infallible interpreter."

John Henry admitted "your reasonings are irresistible, granting certain latent principles which you all along assume," and predicted gloomily "that these will be generally assumed by the coming age, as they are in great measure already; I am prepared for almost a downfall of Christianity for a time."[17] John Henry viewed this as a "vivid exemplification of what the Apostle meant when he said that the world by wisdom knew not God, and spoke of the preaching of the Cross as foolishness."[18]

John Henry stated that Latitudinarianism was "an unnatural state; the mind cannot long rest in it." He saw Romanism as preferable to "absolute uncertainty....I have no fears then of the [illegible] tortures of Catholicism; I do but grieve and sigh over them who are destined to fall by the way in the wilderness."[19]

John Henry refuted Francis' statements about Unitarians in eight points which stated his feelings about the denomination in no uncertain terms. Where Francis stated "Unitarians might have been admitted into the Pentecostal Church," John Henry answered, "Well, and so...we admit children. Children are Unitarians in the sense in which the first converts might be, that is, they have to learn the faith."[20] In the next point, John Henry compared the practising Unitarian to a fornicator, "not inconsistent with considering fornication wrong, and in one who might know better, sinful," although he agreed with Francis that "It is for God to judge whether a Unitarian is wicked in rejecting truths now revealed."[21] Yet John Henry maintained:

> ...as incapacity to judge others, does not hinder us from shunning, or being shocked at, or pitying fornication, as the case may be, and denouncing fornication, so a like incapacity need not hinder us from a parallel conduct as regards heresy and this conduct is what I hold to be right.[22]

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15 *Phases of Faith*, p. 120.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
17 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, JHN to FWN, 22 October 1840.
18 *Ibid*
19 *Ibid*
20 *Ibid*
21 *Ibid*
22 *Ibid*

John Henry felt that the Unitarian argument was not scriptural, since it ignored the evidence of the first chapter of the Gospel of John:

> The Trinitarian admits all that the Unitarian affirms, from the O.T. &c (that Christ is man); the *Unitarian* does not admit what the Trinitarian affirms from St John &c (that Christ is God.)....Thus the Unitarian does not argue from Scripture, but from the assumption that He who is literally & wholly man cannot be literally & wholly God. This may be right or wrong, but it is not an argument from Scripture.[23]

Francis pointed to Arian, Sabellian and Socinian aspects of the New Testament, John Henry conceded this "for argument-sake" but claimed:

> ...the Catholic creed is pretty much the union of all these antagonist opinions which separately become heresies; & heresy in each case is not so much a positive doctrine, as the holding a doctrine to the exclusion of other doctrines.[24]

The Greek influence on the Gospel of John disturbed Francis, who confessed "I see not how to deny that John's doctrine is held by Philo."[25] This did not bother John Henry, who argued that the existence of God was not compromised because it had been taught by Philo:

> St. John may teach truth, though he be not the first to teach it....The question is, is it more probable that St. John must be right or that Philo must be wrong? Why may not both be right? I say all this on the supposition of their agreeing together.[26]

Francis demanded "Reason for our faith...valid ones, which will bear keenest scrutiny." John Henry acknowledged this point, "Granted, but a faint reason may be a valid reason." Since John Henry found it "more probable, that the Catholic Creed is true than that it is false," rejection of the creed is a moral fault.[27]

John Henry objected to Francis' dismissal of Church Authority as "the authority of an unseen abstraction" and "an ideal Church." John Henry argued that other collective nouns, e.g. philosophers or the House of Commons, could be similarly treated. He asked, "Are 'philosophers' ideal and the 'House of Commons' an abstraction? So far as the Church does not answer to these illustrations, I do not maintain its authority."[28]

The issue of Church authority continued to occupy Francis, who asked John whether he did not go by private judgement though he proscribed it. This question rattled John Henry to the extent that he delayed writing his reply; it affected him "strongly and painfully," and he wondered whether he should respond to Francis' questions at all. He emphasised

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23 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, JHN to FWN, 22 October 1840.
24 *Ibid.*
25 *Ibid.*
26 *Ibid.*
27 *Ibid.*
28 *Ibid.*

that he was not trying to make Francis "embrace my mind," but to make his own views more consistent by applying his principles "more definitely."[29]

In November, John Henry, reflected on his reconciliation with Francis:

> It is a great joy to me, and fitted for this season that I have made it up with Frank....his tone is, I rejoice to say, as different as possible from what it was years ago....I think he has that great defect of imagination or mysticism (so to put it) which will act always in keeping him from the Catholic system.[30]

Francis was not a Unitarian at this time, which he made clear to John Henry on 8 March 1841: "I have found a Church of England here, which I think I am likely to attend permanently."[31]

Manchester New College considered expansion in January 1841 by adding a school. Newman wrote to G. W. Wood,[32] a member of the College Committee, to express the discouraging opinion of the Board of Professors. He described his day, "Take my own case. I am occupied already from 9 to 12 every morning; & I may have a special class besides, & most probably shall, when we get students of all years in the College."[33]

In addition to the various problems presented by young students, including "noise and confusion when they go in & out," boarding students would require religious instruction. Newman pointed out that in order to provide this, a decision would have to be made about the denomination represented. The logical choice would be Unitarian, but this would invite opposition from other Dissenters.

In June, as presiding professor, Newman represented the view of the Board of Professors on academic prizes. He also submitted a library committee report. On the home front, Charles threatened his two brothers that if they would not support him, he would apply to his parish for support. The Newmans worried that if they gave him a large sum of money, he would squander it on Socialist shares, despite Charles' assurances.[34]

This concern was justified in August, when Charles wrote to John Henry, "I have got threepence, and, as I have some bread and butter in the house, I can make this last two days." John Henry noted, "we were continually sending him money. I suppose he gave it away."[35] Aunt Newman, another relation who depended on the generosity of Francis and John Henry, wrote with better news; she had received a legacy of £500. "I consider it entirely yours and Francis's to pay (as far as it will go) the old debt...I should like to have a place named by you where it may be paid on your account."[36]

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29 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, JHN to FWN, 10 November 1840.

30 Ward, M. p. 359.

31 BO, *Holograph*, p. 99.

32 Member of Parliament and "treasurer and chief adviser" to the College "for over thirty-five years," Smith, p. 82.

33 MCO, MS Wood 34, FWN to GWW, 5 January 1841.

34 BO, *Holograph*, pp. 100-101, p. 201.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 202.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Charles evidently found John Henry more sympathetic to his needs than Francis. He complained in September, "Frank is insinuating I could do fifty things -- he is telling me to make bricks without straw."[37] Francis believed that his thirty-nine year old brother should support himself. On 19 October, he discussed their brother's prospects with John Henry:

> Some time back I urged him to change his occupation, as I saw strong difficulties in the way of his success either in a school or in private tuition; but he replied -- the most decisive way, that only a literary life would suit him, and to propose any other was mere mockery. I then urged that he ought to seek the stamp of some University to his literary talents. I therefore proposed to him to take a degree in Germany. I have heard from a young Englishman at Bonn, that his whole year's expenses there, including lectures, books, and clothes (without travelling) were £50. I said I do not know your view, but if you did not choose to help him to this, I alone would do my utmost to carry him through such a course. I urged that German Literature is every day more valued. Booksellers and others are constantly needing help in getting up works from persons who are at once acquainted with German & with Greek & Latin... I confess I think this is the only sort of literary work, in which he might get a permanent maintenance... Well, he was pleased with the proposal, but declined it because he could not count on his ability to study; and yet he clings to a literary life![38]

Charles was unsuitable for a clerk's place because of his "miserable hand-writing, which it seems hopeless to mend."[39] *Francis complained Charles rejected his suggestions, and* conceded:

> The 'problem' is necessarily one for himself: for he will not or cannot obey another's direction. To ask you 'whether or not he should read Aschylus.' [sic] appears to me trifling. At least, if he asked me, I should have nothing to say but that he must judge for himself. This only -- that to read Aschylus [sic], is not to choose a trade.[40]

Charles had received £59 from his brothers in the past year, as well as money from their sister Harriett, now a published novelist. *He wrote to John Henry on 20 October:*

> I read for six days at the rate of 200 lines a day of *Aschylus [sic].* In consequence yesterday I found myself ill...The idea of my competing with others is absurd. You cannot expect people affected as I am to act like the rest of the world. I hope you will leave off blaming me.[41]

In contrast, Francis' literary life proceeded well. A lecture on the existence of evil criticised the doctrine of Hell and used a nature metaphor to illustrate that moral growth was a slow process. He published a work on geometry and his *Introductory Lecture to the*

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37 BO, *Holograph*, p. 202.
38 *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 102.
40 *Ibid.*
41 *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

Classical Course at Manchester New College. The latter examined the controversy concerning which "topics of instruction are fittest for the information and education of the mind."[42] He began the discussion diplomatically:

> Avoiding the extravagant extremes of each argument, so much is to be said on both sides as to make it probable that neither is wrong; and that the question must be decided differently according to circumstances.[43]

Newman proposed that those leaving school at twelve should learn French or German instead of Latin and Greek, those leaving at fifteen should learn Latin, and those leaving at eighteen or nineteen should learn both.

This philosophy affected Newman's advice to Dr. John Nicholson[44] about his son's education:

> I hope you will not bother your little boy with any foreign language too soon. *Soak* him well and long in his native English, or he will never come to any good, I fear. If he sees a father in love with German, he will of himself quite early take to it. The great difficulty (I should expect) will be to secure that it may not be too early.[45]

However, this advice probably sounded strange on a Classical Professor's lips, as Newman noted in his *Introductory Lecture*:

> Perhaps from these remarks I may seem to have too little enthusiasm in behalf of the studies which I am called to superintend. To be a zealous and successful teacher, a certain measure of romance may seem so necessary, as to make it not venial only, but becoming....I do not really underrate the value of ancient literature...[46]

Newman looked back on ancient Greece with an evolutionary eye: he felt that modern England was superior, particularly due to its "Teutonic *sobriety*:" "The Ionic tribes in particular overflowed with poetical, musical, romantic feelings; and to them imagination seems to have some how supplied the place of religion."[47] Since early Greece, unlike England, did not have a divinely revealed religion, its legacy was "hereby a more instructive study, as showing the course and progress of the mind when let alone."[48] For Newman, the disciplined study of grammar was the beginning of logic and reason. Manchester New College had no students under the age of fifteen, and all their students already knew some Greek:

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42 *MNC Lecture*, p. 3.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

44 Physician and linguist, whose languages included Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Ethiopian, Gothic, Chaldean, Syriac, French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Danish. Some scholars, including Basil Willey and Lionel Trilling, confused by Sieveking's ambiguous use of pronouns, have assigned this list to Newman.

45 Sieveking, p. 132, FWN to JN, 17 February 1843.

46 *MNC Lecture*, p. 6.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

"Were it otherwise, we could not hope to accomplish our task of fitting them for the degrees at London University, to which all our regular students may aspire."[49]

Newman used the lecture to outline his lectures on the English language:

> ...to put the classical student into possession of the principles of etymology,...to habituate him to the application of such principles; to expound the philosophical principles of our grammar, not by a dry logical process, but by historical facts and by the contrasts or analogies discovered in other languages.[50]

Newman concluded the lecture with an explanation of the new relationship between Manchester New College and London University. This was not the London University College, which, like Manchester New College, was part of the University. The new University had been established with a royal charter, and was supported by Parliament. It existed to conduct examinations and confer degrees, and differed from the older Universities in three ways.

The first difference Newman called "ubiquity," as it was not necessary to reside in London. The second difference rested in the far greater choice of degree subjects, including Chemistry, Botany, Natural History, Mental Philosophy and Political Economy. The third difference, perhaps the most important difference to Newman's audience, was that it encompassed "a greater comprehensiveness of religious belief."[51] Affiliated Colleges did not have to adopt the University's creedlessness. Newman applauded

> ...the subordinate advantage of bringing about a certain friendly intercourse between those whose creeds are not in unison, [which] prevents a just zeal for truth from degenerating into an unkind personal feeling towards individuals.[52]

Whether or not the University of London's "friendly intercourse between those whose creeds are not in unison" became a model for Francis' intercourse with his brother, at this time the brothers resumed a correspondence on religious matters. At the beginning of November, Francis returned to the issue of private judgement in a letter to John Henry:

> The question I put was intended to elicit whether you did not (in some form, however hidden) admit the principle of Private Judgment [sic], not only as subordinate to Church Authority, but as its very basis. I cannot get rid of the belief that this is essential to all religion whatever, which has any principle for intelligent guidance, any guard against the wildest & most pernicious superstition.[53]

Others appealed to Francis to explain his brother's theology:

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49 *MNC Lecture*, p. 13.
50 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
51 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
53 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 6 November 1841.

> It would often be a satisfaction to me, if I could give a clear & positive statement of your fundamental positions, to persons who ask me what you mean: but those who are accustomed to see things from quite different points of view, find it all but impossible even to state one another's opinions fairly. A tinge of their own is thrown in, which the others would think injured the conception. In consequence I always say, 'probably this is not exactly what he would approve: it is only the nearest approximation I can make.'[54]

For Francis, the controversies debated by Christians derived from the issue of authority:

> I am indeed less & less interested in any of the controversies between Christians....I more & more feel that the real controversy which swallows up all others, is, whether there is any external authority given to us, any external word for deciding controversies, at all.[55]

John Henry qualified his answer by stating that he did not like the ambiguous term "private judgment [sic]." He noted, "we are at war with China by private judgment," and that both war and Christianity were modes of conduct, based on facts which could be believed or disbelieved:

> Now the difference between the parallel above instituted, is that the evidence of the war with China and the prudential measures which it involves are much more certain, or at least more impressive, than the proof and the duties with which Christianity comes to us. the difference is great in degree, though not one of kind. And it varies with individuals. But in proportion as a proof is obscure, or the practical inferences from a thing proved, so does a conscious exercise of the judgment [sic] necessarily come into operation -- and hence especially in our state of things, private judgment is continually, as an act of religious obedience, deliberate and conscious. But I suppose the happiest state of things, though perhaps not the most beneficial and improving, is when the Christian fact is so clear and impressive, that all conscious exercise is suspended. So it was, I conceive (for the most part) in primitive times within the Church.[56]

John Henry forwarded some letters from Charles to Francis, who commented:

> I am not able to discern in his letters which you sent a single symptom of either a wandering or a desperate mind...without unsoundness of mind in him, I easily believe he has what he calls 'diabolical' suggestions. I cannot to this day stand on the edge of a precipice, without a horrid thought of flinging myself over... This does not appear to me a part of the 'wretched pride' which he says you impute to him.[57]

Francis sent Charles information about study in Germany:

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54 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 6 November 1841.

55 *Ibid.*

56 *Ibid.*, and JHN to FWN, 15 November 1841.

57 BO, *Holograph*, p. 103, FWN to JHN, 16 November 1841.

> I have told him I did not propose Germany &c but said that he must propose, and we approve that or any thing else....If he goes, the sooner the better, because to acquire the language enough to hear lectures, is a matter of time.[58]

Charles worried about his sanity; he craved society, but his ideal society was built on justice:

> I cannot keep my mental health without society, even in the poor degree in which I now have it. Now conventional society, or very religious society is no society to me. I would as soon live among the Caribs, as among persons who do not aim at least among themselves at justice as a means towards well being in this life for themselves and others. You may think this perverse, nevertheless I state it as a fact. I have often wished I could find some religious party of similar aim...[59]

Charles claimed to be considering "going to Germany" as "an experiment worth trying", but he attributed the idea to a German he had met and not to his brothers' influence: "Frank from difference of mind, and you from difference of opinion, could not introduce me."[60]

In January 1842, Charles left for Germany. The German system emphasised attendance at lectures with meticulous note taking and the production of a thesis exhibiting "substantial learning" rather than "elegance of Composition." No time limit was placed on the production of the thesis: a student could labour on it for twenty years and then submit it for a degree.

Meanwhile, academic matters continued to occupy Francis at Manchester New College: he designed a programme of "Modern Instruction" for students whose parents disapproved of classical education, and reported on the binding and dusting of books, and prizes. He explained to the College Principal:

> It seems that in Martineau's classes the prizes are most needed, owing to the unpopularity of his subject. We do not wish to forbid them to Mr. Kenrick; but I think we wished to hint that History is so interesting as seldom to need the stimulus.[61]

Martineau's unpopular subject was Mental and Moral Philosophy.[62].

Newman's concern for his students led him to inquire about a particular student:

> ...whether I am right in thinking he is troubled with a certain measure of deafness. It is either deafness, or an occasional absence of mind, which gives him now and then the ear of an unintelligent person....he has gained my good opinion in the short period that he has been with us.[63]

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58 BO, *Holograph*, p. 104, FWN to JHN, no date.
59 *Ibid.*, p. 106, CRN to JHN, 3 December 1841.
60 *Ibid.*
61 MCO, S. D. Darbishire 113-115, FWN to SDD, 9 November 1842.
62 *Ibid.*, 16 January 1843.
63 MCO, MS Wood 36 1843 3, FWN to GWW, 7 January 1843.

In 1843, Newman edited an abridged translation of Huber's *English Universities*. V. A. Huber was the Professor of Western Literature at Marburg University. This abridged translation in three volumes treated the "internal and moral" histories of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham and London. The project was initiated by James Heywood,[64] translated by John Palgrave Simpson[65] and illustrated by Roger William Buss.[66] Newman commented:

> ...without some study of the original, no one will easily conceive how arduous was Mr. Simpson's task. The whole has since been recast by me, with immense abridgment [sic] of the earlier chapters, and considerable condensation...[67]

Newman also contributed his comments on university reform; when he sent the completed translation to the author for approval, the resulting correspondence forced Newman to alter his preface:

> For while on the one hand there is now less need of explaining in detail the liberties which have been taken with the <u>form</u> of the work, -- (for of these the Author does not appear to complain,) -- it has become, on the other hand, necessary for the Editor to enter somewhat more at large into his own views; since he finds that the tendency of his remarks, (contained in the <u>bracketed</u> foot-notes,) has been altogether misconceived.[68]

According to Newman, Huber viewed reform sympathetically when the initiative came from within the universities, but not when the impetus came from outside. Newman argued that "popular outcry [could] be unreasonable in its letter, and just in its spirit."[69] Newman pointed out that those with vested interest in maintenance of the status quo were unlikely reformers: "The Reformers must always be as isolated units, who seem to the rest eccentric and unreasonable."[70] Newman hoped that the publication of *The English Universities* would stimulate discussion of reform:

> To be severe on human failure, is the fault of those who are wanting in self-knowledge; but severity is, I think, well directed against those, who set their own standard of excellence low, and busily exert themselves to hinder others from raising it. Nothing will be effected worth having, either by an individual or by a body of men, unless there is a constant aspiration after higher and higher perfection; unless, therefore, there is a keen sense of our own failings, utterly excluding self-complacency....in my apprehension, England needs her Universities to assume a place of intellectual, moral, and spiritual superiority, such as shall lift them entirely above the dense clouds of Party.[71]

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64 Unitarian benefactor of Manchester New College.

65 [1807-1887], M.A. Corpus Christi, Cambridge, dramatist and novelist.

66 [1804-1875], painter of theatrical, historical and humorous subjects.

67 *English Universities*, p. vi.

68 *Ibid*

69 *Ibid.*, p. viii.

70 *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

71 *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

Newman did not want people of "all religious sentiments" admitted into the ancient universities; he argued for the formation of separate universities and colleges for Dissenters. Newman believed that laity should not be required to subscribe to the XXXIX Articles: it should be sufficient for members of Oxford and Cambridge to declare that they were genuine members of the Church of England. Huber connected desire for repeal of the XXXIX Articles with desire to change the political or religious nature of the institution. Newman demurred:

> For myself, I must protest, that if I possessed despotic authority in this matter, I would neither put-out nor put-in any individual, nor put-in any party, religious or political: and I entreat that no reader will imagine that I want to enact measures for making the Universities a transcript of my own mind. But I cannot have the slightest sympathy with an argument, which really (however unconsciously) postpones the interests of truth to those of power: which acknowledges that the subscriptions are not believed, in any vital or practical sense; which attacks the universities as not diffusing an evangelical savor [sic] through their instructions; which predicts that the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles could not be repealed without producing the widest spread of avowed unbelief in them among those who are at present bound by them; -- and therefore vehemently opposes the repeal. If the facts are true, I cannot conceive a stronger proof that an immediate repeal is absolutely necessary: for at present a mere hollow hypocrisy is fostered (according to this admission) in the heart of those institutions to which we ought to look for Truth, and the Love of Truth.[72]

Newman based his argument on his own experience: "I once felt the corrupting tendency within my own heart exerted by the subscription, -- from the time, indeed, that I began to doubt one article of very secondary importance."[73]

Newman perceived hypocrisy in the College attitudes toward founders' wills, particularly in matter of poverty and wealth, and proposed possible changes: conducting Convocation in English, admitting outsiders to Convocation, allowing members of Convocation to originate measures without the Board of Heads, involving professors and College tutors in the selection of Fellowships, and replacing the "unmeaning and hurtful law of celibacy" for Fellows with a time limit for the Fellowship, unless it was held in conjunction with some other university post.[74] Perhaps influenced by his mother and sisters, Newman also questioned the lack of "educated female society" in the university community:

> It is hardly requisite to argue and prove, that the company of educated and amiable females tends to soften the boisterous spirits of youth, and to sustain in them the same modesty and discretion, which they observe in the presence of their mothers and sisters: to have alluded to the topic is sufficient.[75]

Huber criticised English ignorance of the German system:

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72 *English Universities*, pp. xiv-xv.
73 *Ibid.*, p. xv.
74 *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.
75 *Ibid.*, p. 520.

> Until the English know better what German learning is and means, they are incompetent to judge of our comparative pretensions, or to derive self-knowledge from the survey. As long as they continue to speak on the subject, as blind men would speak of colors [sic], and to proclaim their ignorance in expressions of coarse contempt, so long are we authorised to lay claim to a notorious superiority....That part of our temperament which leads to hard, persevering, unrequited labor [sic], from love of knowledge and truth for their own sakes, the English so little understand, as to turn it into reproach, under the title of Plodding German. How far we are indebted to our poverty for our virtue, I do not say; but certainly Englishmen of learning live far too much in the world to be in danger of professional monomania. Their standard [of professional eminence] is different from ours; it is taken not from the matter itself, but from the opinions of the circle to which they belong.[76]

Newman responded:

> As an Englishman, I desire to add my belief, that the term Plodding German is, as often as not, used in the way of admiration; but if it ever indicates censure, from persons who do not speak at random, it is directed, not against the laboriousness of the Germans, but against their flat and tedious style, -- against their tendency to give to details an undue prominence, and generally, their little care to compress their erudition into a shape pleasing to read and easy to remember. These defects may be falsely imputed to them perhaps; (that is another question;) but this is what the English mean.[77]

The second volume of *English Universities* contained a comment by Newman on the Oxford Movement:

> Certainly the phenomena which have accompanied the religious movement to which the name of Dr. Pusey has been attached, strongly indicates, that if the University-youths were previously careless to such topics, it was because they had not seen among the seniors any such union of learning and station with generous and enthusiastic piety, as was calculated to attract them; and I am confident that scores of Fellows from both Universities could testify, how susceptible to all such influences are the natures of our aristocratic youth. But that to which they are pertinaciously unimpressible, and which has exasperated tenfold the moral disease of our Universities, is, the system of technical rule which has fixed its roots so deeply there.[78]

Due to the difficulties in revising the work to distinguish between Newman's ideas and Huber's, publication was delayed five months.

In April, Francis sent news of Charles and Harriett to John Henry. Charles involved himself in German academic life with his usual flair, denouncing Kant as a quack, writing to the newspaper in German, and entering a nose-pulling fight with another student. However

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76 *English Universities*, p. 369.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 369.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 516.

he appeared to approach his studies seriously, and that was good news.[79] More troubling were the reports of Harriett's ill health, which Francis attributed to insomnia:

> I have myself experienced the great danger of inducing sleeplessness by too great mental excitement, especially from dwelling too much on one train of thought. I should think that writing fictitious stories is particularly dangerous in this respect -- and considering the result of sleeplessness in the case of our dear mother, I hope Harriett will give it up. I am obliged to be most vigilant and decided against the disease of sleeplessness. I feel satisfied that I might easily lose my intellects by allowing myself to be immersed unduly in any overpowering interest.[80]

Charles also complained to John Henry of insomnia: "During the last two months, however, a deficiency of sleep has obliged me to take double my usual exercise."[81] He added:

> My whole malady...has received its nourishment from social causes. The state of society in England either makes people mad naturally, or gives them an artificial madness from their efforts to escape from that natural madness. The family of the Newmans is as mad a family as perhaps can be found in that mad country, Frank the moment he gets out of his line, is the maddest person I am acquainted with. Next to him I rate either you, or I, or Owen of Lanark. Frank gave me a capital introduction here, in which he stated that my manner of thinking was so peculiar that he could not well introduce me to any of the Professors with whom he was slightly acquainted. Frank was surprised that I should show this to the Rector; but I would tell him that my best chance of succeeding is to be known; and if it is to be tacitly assumed that I am like him and his circles, I am at once put in a false position. Frank has a friend here, and he has picked out a respectable student, who yet is to me the most disagreeable person I have met among the more educated classes. To look at him makes me half ill; Such persons are suits of clothes, and not men; and, as for Frank, I never felt in his company as if I was in the company of a man. Half a man is the utmost I can concede him. Of you my criticism would be different. I should say you were a whole man, prevented by privileges from proper operation.[82]

Charles seemed to revel in the eccentricity which he felt made him a man, not a mere suit of clothes.

In June, Francis Newman was working on a Berber manuscript for the Royal Asiatic Society, sent to him by William Jowett, Superintendent of the Bible Society, at the request of Bunsen[83] and ethnologist James Cowles Prichard.[84] Newman believed this work affected his health:

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79 BO, *Holograph*, p. 113.
80 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
81 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
82 *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.
83 Prussian Chevalier Charles Christian Bunsen.
84 Sieveking, p. 133, FWN to JN, June 1843.

> I have been suffering indisposition which was aggravated in reality by overrating its importance. My medical adviser said it was organic affection of the heart; in spite of my great incredulity...I took other advice afterwards in Derby, where I went to see [Harriett], and am now assured that it was nothing but 'the great sympathetic' that disordered the heart. I was nearly three weeks in the country and in idleness, and gained much benefit from it. I spent much indoors time in learning to use water-colours, and got a nice pony to ride, and was a great deal in the air, and very early to go to bed; and took no medicines but tonics and a colocynth pill on occasion. Myself and wife both return much better. I believe I knocked myself up by the excitement of mind over the Berber and working at my dictionary.[85]

Newman "rested" from Berber in November, as he had heard M. d'Avézac[86] in Paris was also working on a Berber dictionary. Instead he found himself explaining the uproar over Tract 90 to his friends:

> ...the *Record* has been making a fuss this last month about the Bishop of Oxford's public declaration that he never requested my brother to suppress Tract 90. All he did was to suggest that 'the publication of the Tracts be discontinued,' which meant that there was to be no No. 91. The Bishop indignantly disclaims the idea that my brother had been disobedient.[87]

Newman wrote many political articles in this period,[88] and spoke on the starvation of Irish cottiers for the Friends of Ireland:

> [I] have sent to the *Guardian* newspaper here, in reply to their demand that I would specify some plan, a paper on *Fixity of Tenure* for the cottiers of Ireland. I feel no doubt that this must ere long become the great Irish question, of even more interest than the ecclesiastical one...[89]

In 1844, Newman had seventeen students at Manchester New College, as well as private pupils. He resumed his investigations into Berber in March, after communication with D'Avézac. Newman explained to Jowett that he had gone through the Berber Gospels, which he was editing for the Bible Society, but that several words were only used once, and so he hoped to borrow the society's manuscript of Venture's Berber dictionary. Newman's aim in producing a new version of the Bible in Berber was to "fix" the language, purifying it by limiting the use of Arabic vocabulary and constructions.[90]

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85 Sieveking, pp. 132-133, FWN to JN, October 1843.

86 Marie-Armand-Pascal d'Avézac de Castera-Macaya [1800-1875] was named Archivist of the Ministère de la Marine in 1843. A scholar of historical geography and associated studies, he wrote three important studies of Africa.

87 Sieveking, p. 135, FWN to JN, November 1843.

88 See Bibliography.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 136, FWN to JN, November 1843.

90 CU, Bible Society Letters FC 1844 112, FWN to Rev. W. Jowett, 2 March 1844.

In June, Charles again became the subject of correspondence between his brothers. Francis noted to John Henry:

> I do think a degree is of importance to him -- perhaps more important if he had not been in Germany -- for I fear that he may have the discredit of seeming unable to take it. On that ground, if you approve of his going to Heidelberg, I will make an effort to meet this demand. What he means by my 'clique' I cannot tell. I did not call him a barbarian....I have suffered much from sleeplessness the last six weeks.[91]

This sleeplessness disappeared in September when Newman and his wife visited Nicholson in Penrith, and then his wife's family in Devon: "I have had no bad nights since I left Manchester, except two which I attribute to an excitement on meeting my sister, whom I had not seen for eight years."[92] The sister in question was Jemima, who had given birth to a baby girl in June. Her estrangement from Francis occurred when he did not attend their mother's funeral, due to his wife's illness. Ironically, the death of one family member severed their relationship, and the birth of another repaired it. Jemima's next child, born in 1846, would be named Francis.

Meanwhile Newman anticipated the prospect of fatherhood in another way, as guardian to Edward Sterling, son of John Sterling:

> Since I left you an important change of prospect in my domestic economy has occurred. I have accepted the responsible office of guardian to the eldest son (thirteen years old) of my dear dying friend Sterling, whom I went to see at Ventnor, Isle of Wight.....The lad will come to Manchester next week, and in future live in our house, and I trust I shall love him as a son....He seems a very affectionate boy. His mother died about eighteen months ago. I found my poor friend on the whole stronger than I had expected, yet steadily declining: long since convinced that his case was hopeless (and indeed expecting his end sooner than those around him), yet thoroughly calm and resigned to the gracious will of Him Who had so ordained it. Not to mourn over talents so high and a will so upright thus prematurely to be lost to us were impossible, even did I not know how truly brotherly in affection is his heart to us. He will leave six orphan children. Yet this calamity is relieved by the tenderness of his brother to them, and by the existence of adequate supplies for all reasonable wants...[93]

Newman prepared for Edward's arrival:

> Edward Sterling will probably come to us to-day; his trunk is here already....Sterling's will is like himself. He has so strong a feeling of the wrong and absurdity of laying responsibility on people, and yet fettering their discretion, that he has left the fullest powers possible both to his brother as executor to manage his property and the other children, and to me over Edward. He has directed £300 a year to be paid me for Edward....He was

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91 BO, *Holograph*, p. 132, FWN to JHN, 15 June 1844.

92 Sieveking, p. 137, FWN to JN, September 1844.

93 *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

> indeed a noble soul, and few know what a loss it is; but those few rate it high. As Captain Sterling (his brother) said, he had been accumulating wisdom all his life, and could he have lived twenty years more to pour it out he would indeed have left behind him a precious legacy....Thomas Carlyle wrote a beautiful letter over him. His little son knows not at all what a father he has lost; and as for me, I want to tell him, but feel how hard it is.[94]

Sterling's choice of Newman as guardian to Edward upset some of his orthodox friends. F. D. Maurice[95] wrote to R. C. Trench:[96]

> One point I feel very strongly and my wife, who saw more of him, still more strongly than I: that his arrangement of sending Edward to Newman had nothing whatever to do with any sympathy which he might feel with him in some of his opinions, but solely in the very great perplexities which he felt about the boy, in his sense of the friendship and kindness of Newman's offer to take the charge of him, and in his conviction of his honest and earnestness, and especially of his being likely to cultivate in him self-denying and severe habits. I need not say that the determination was painful to us; but the motives which led him to it were, I believe, most pure and right.[97]

Maurice did not anticipate the impact of Edward's arrival in the Newman household. Newman began to attend Anglican worship: "I became a re attender on the Anglican Service for the sake of a ward, while I did not wish to profess myself anything."[98] For a short time, Edward's five and a half year old brother Johnny also lived with the Newmans. Harriett noticed another, less tangible, result of Edward's presence when she wrote to John Henry: "It was a great delight to me to see Frank so like what he was always meant to be. I never expected any thing so satisfactory and happy."[99]

Paradoxically, Newman found serenity by embracing his role of opposition. At the end of December 1844, he wrote to Nicholson:

> I shall be more at rest whenever circumstances put me into that direct conflict with current opinion, which I dare not go out of my way to provoke, and yet feel it to be my natural element. My antagonism to 'things as they are' -- politically, scientifically, and theologically -- grows with my growth; and I believe that every year that delays change more and more endangers destruction to our social framework.[100]

Matters in Oxford continued to interest Newman, who watched from the sidelines and noted:

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94 Sieveking, p. 140, FWN to JN, 7 October 1844.
95 Anglican theologian, son of a Unitarian minister.
96 Richard Chevinix Trench, later Archbishop of Dublin.
97 Maurice, p. 381.
98 HU, bMS 416/2, FWN to JHA, 1891.
99 BO, *Holograph*, HNM to JHN, 16 December 1844.
100 Sieveking, p. 139, FWN to JN, 30 December 1844.

> ...the Liberals at Oxford are likely to side with Ward[101] against the Heads. I do not see what else they can do; and I devoutly hope that the tangle will be irremovable except by abolishing subscriptions. Price of Rugby is all in a bristle about it. I much admire his spirit. Baden Powell[102] protests *in toto* against the statute.[103]

Francis followed public opinion about John Henry:

> ...(as I think and as some others also think who were in Oxford through the crisis) it omits the most cardinal cause, viz. his moral inability to resist the public opinion which hissed him out of Oxford and beckoned him in to Rome, the pupils who had preceded him to Rome calling to him: 'You are bound in honesty to follow us.' That was in 1844-5. He is now honoured in Oxford, as being the least Catholic of Catholics, as well as an honourable opponent. But in 1844 it was notorious (what I had seen 20 years earlier) that within the Anglican Church, he was an enemy in disguise.[104]

In January 1845 Charles wrote to John Henry outlining his difficulties in Bonn. He had been in five lodgings in four months, carried a weapon to use against other students, and had been arrested by the police and put in manacles. All his possessions were sold to pay his debts. The family worried about Charles' sanity. Francis commented in February:

> I do not think Charles has, or is likely to have, any symptoms of insanity such as the Law would take cognizance [sic] of. It seems to me all along to have been what Dr Pritchard & others call Moral Insanity. I see no prospect myself of our being able to claim and keep any legal controul [sic] over him. Still, it would be a great thing to get him under good medical treatment.[105]

Harriett remembered earlier information:

> [Dr. Tuckwell] told Mama a great deal about Charles. he [sic] said his constitution was such that he could not fight against it -- that, when he got out of health, he was 'bowed to the ground' -- he mentioned, quite of himself, that C. would have a difficulty 'in looking people in the face.' and he used strong expressions as to his sufferings. One I remember -- that he (Mr T.) pitied Charles from the bottom of his heart.'....I have been glad lately to hear him spoken of by two or three different persons who saw and knew him at Boulogne as a 'quiet and agreeable', and 'interesting person,' as though there was nothing unusual about him... While his illnesses last, he cannot exert himself, or do or even feel, like other people, -- or like himself at his best.[106]

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101 William George Ward, Tractarian Romanizer. In February 1845, he was censured by the Convocation of Oxford and deprived of his degrees. Gilley, p. 227.

102 [1796-1860] Savilian Professor of Geometry and latitudinarian opponent of the Tractarians.

103 Sieveking, pp. 140-141.

104 BO, F. Newman '70- '90, FWN to Mrs William Thompson, 16 December 1883.

105 BO, *Holograph*, p. 140, FWN to JHN, 26 February 1845.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 140, HNM to JHN, 28 February 1845.

In April the Newmans lost track of Charles, who turned up in May, back in London. He explained to Francis that the best prop for his sanity was society:

> I believe almost the whole family is in a false position from not finding proper society; only, I am more aware of this than the others; and I am less mad because I admit I am mad. (1) my madness takes a different turn from yours and John's; (2) You always misunderstand me: I spoke of my 'alienation of mind'; (3) You must take me in the sense I mean, and I have explained what I mean, till I am tired.[107]

Charles claimed he did not depend on his family for support:

> I am not dependent on my relatives; you can withdraw any payments to me; only give me due notice, and act in such a way that I may feel you are in earnest, as John did. You call this 'bullying' you. Then you do not catch my animus; you never have done so. -- never did; I continually looked to John to interpose to hinder those eternal and heart-wearing equivoques, but he looked on and did nothing. No one but a Newman would have acted so. You are instinct [sic] with misapprehensions of me; this is my experience for twenty years. You talk of my 'ill conduct;' now you ought to set out from the assumption that it is impossible I should be guilty of ill conduct, and that it must be a misapprehension on your part. I have not the slightest chance of getting employment through your means, while you think so of me....Send this to John. He and Harriett have it in them to apprehend my animus much more than you have, though vastly inferior to you in other points.[108]

Charles may have considered himself to be mad, but he was not legally insane according to his doctors. At the end of April the Newmans deliberated how much money to give Charles. John Henry explained that he did not know "whether [he might himself] have £70 a year before long." Francis interpreted this comment to refer to the "Oxford controversy," and responded with generosity and warmth:

> ...you feel you may be called to make sacrifices for conscience-sake. I am sure that you do not need exhortation from me to make conscience every thing -- and I only notice it to say, that I trust you need feel no distress about Aunt, any more than about Charles....I hope I shall feel no difficulty in relieving you of the whole of what you pay to her any moment that you will tell me that it is desirable. If from following your conscience you were ever entirely destitute, (suppose by becoming a Roman Catholic, as any thing else for which, as a system, I have no sympathy) be assured it would be a <u>true happiness</u> to me to feel that you counted on my purse and my house, as long as I have either, as if it were that of a most congenial and united brother. It would be a privilege to me to think that you would feel <u>at liberty</u>, whenever you found it convenient from motives of economy or any other motives to come and take up your abode with me for any time that you please. I know you have friends, whom in many ways you justly value more than me; but often the friendship would be

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107 BO, *Holograph*, pp. 147-148.

108 *Ibid.* p. 148.

> spoilt, if you made a personal convenience of them. Do not be afraid of this as to me; but take this as it is meant.[109]

May found Francis experimenting with pleasant pursuits:

> I venture to enclose two tunes for the Sapphic metre, Greek and Latin, to which my sister, at my request, has added an accompaniment. Will you be so kind as to get Mrs. Nicholson to play the piano while you sing it, and tell me what is to be said to it? While dabbling in some of these tunes, I have translated divers scraps of English poetry into Greek, experimentally, especially to test the *possibility* of retaining any Greek accent, such as the books mark, in singing. It seems to me a clear impossibility, whether emphasis or sharpness of note predominated in the accent. I have translated 'Flow on, thou shining river' to Moore's own tune, so as to retain Greek accent *as well as* quantity in exact agreement to the music...the commonest metres puzzle me most.[110]

Newman kept busy in June with Manchester New College business, reporting on the "discipline and attention and conduct" of the divinity students,[111] as well as the library.[112] In August, Francis enquired about John Henry's conversion to Roman Catholicism, concerned that he had chosen this step from "the negative argument that nothing <u>better</u> is to be found." Francis wondered whether his brother's previous hesitation to join the Roman Catholic church indicated reservations. Hence Francis urged John Henry to form his own church:

> ...<u>not</u> to join Rome, <u>but</u> to stay unconnected with any thing, until you can form and join some independent Episcopal system similar to that of Scotland or New York, if you were a young man, you might find a valuable career <u>in</u> the Church of Rome, perhaps: but now, your attainments and your acquired influence do not fit you for that, but fit you for a service for which that would at once incapacitate you. How vehement is the English repugnance to real and avowed Romanism, I need not tell you. I am but a sample of thousands, with whom it would be a clear reductio ad absurdum of Christianity, if Christianity logically led to Romanism. Hundreds of thousands, who have never presented the thought to themselves in this light, yet would feel certain there must be some most grave error in principles which terminated in such a practical conclusion. Hence by such a step you would <u>unteach</u> to multitudes these church principles which they have learned from those who have hitherto in the main felt and acted with you. Your name would at once lose all influence with nine tenths of those who were used to respect you, and among Romanists you would be received with condescending pity, as a novice who had yet much to learn and to unlearn.[113]

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109 BO, *Holograph*, pp. 149-150.

110 Sieveking, p. 134, FWN to JN, 12 May 1845.

111 MCO, MS. Wood 35 25, FWN to Chairmen of the General Meeting of the Trustees of Manchester New College, 27 June 1845.

112 MCO, MNC Library Report, p. 167, FWN & Rev. Robert Wallace, 21 June 1845.

113 BO, *Holograph*, pp. 151-152.

Francis admitted that in "the cause of conscience, this and far more ought to be ventured and endured," but he argued that the establishment of a new church was a more expedient means of achieving John Henry's aims. By establishing a new church with Bishops ordained by Americans, thus still an Apostolic system, John Henry would act to sever the link between church and state. After this had been done, union with the Roman Catholic Church would still be possible, "In such a Church you would have an immediate sphere of useful action -- and, if you succeeded, you would by it prepare materials for a future union, such as you desire; and this would be work enough surely for one life."[114]

This letter offended John Henry with its imputation of personal ambition, and he commented: "N B. That I could be contemplating questions of Truth & Falsehood never entered into his imagination!"[115] John Henry expounded his position for Francis:

> It is from no idea of the Roman system being the most bearable of existing forms of religion that I contemplate accepting it. I have always resisted, and do heartily resist, the notion of choosing a religion according to my fancy. I have no desire at all to leave the English Church. I feel the utmost disgust at the thought of forming a new sect. I have no temptation that way at all. My reason for going to Rome is this: -- I think the English Church in schism. I think the faith of the Roman Church the only true religion. I do not think there is salvation out of the Church of Rome.[116]

Francis appreciated his brother's message, and expressed his own feelings about John Henry's conversion:

> I am pleased with the confidence in me which your letter shows, and this reconciles me to having obtruded on you a thought which you must almost resent as a temptation....I have no new feeling towards or concerning you, except a lamentation that you are now so in the power of others as to lose no small part of your personality. Perhaps you will not admit this. I never foresaw it as I now feel it; but I cannot get over the conviction that it is so. A convert so important...will be bound by all the claims which the experience of confession teaches them how to use towards those whose conscience they see to be devoted to the Church....It only remains for me earnestly to hope that, whether you now find a final rest for opinion, or be further driven out by new conscientious difficulties, you may enjoy that pure peace with God, and be able to exercise that wide charity towards man, which has undoubtedly been the happiness and the honour of thousands born in the Romish Church.[117]

Charles claimed not to be surprised by John Henry's conversion:

> ...Charles wrote, or said, to me that it was just the thing *to be* expected (or, which *he had* expected) from that Ealing affair, for John evidently coveted to be a *Grand Master* of some *Order*,

114 BO, *Holograph*,, pp. 152-153.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 155, FWN to JHN, 14 August 1845.

> but authority for such a post could only be got *from Rome*. I *by no* means give credit to Charles for any long-sightedness, but it was a curious coincidence.[118]

In October John Henry apologised to Francis for his behaviour toward him. Francis considered this unnecessary, and accepted some responsibility for their "collision:"

> Yet I should not be happy to make any other reply than that I am utterly unaware of any such confessions or apologies being needed. I do not remember any 'cruelties at school.' It is credible that like other elder brothers you may have expected and enforced more obedience than the younger was always willing to yield; but I am certain that for one act of cruelty there were ten of protection, affection, and generosity. The collision between us when we were at College arose to the very full as much, as far more, from my harsh, blunt, inexperienced and heartless mode of following out dogmas which I received as axioms, than from any fault in you. You have ever had a far more refined and tender heart than I....If in any thing I have improved, it is by the grace of God acting by experience and by suffering. I must say I feel you were always a most affectionate and generous brother. I fully felt this, when I most rudely jarred against you; and, if I could think I had acted as well as you as you to me, it would lessen many pangs of secret sorrow.[119]

Jemima referred to Francis' pleasure in receiving this letter when she wrote to John Henry to discuss their aunt. Francis, Harriett, and Jemima wanted to take over the responsibility of supplementing their aunt's income:

> Frank talked very nicely to me about it, when he was here. He said that he felt that, at a time when he ought to have done something to relieve your burdens, he went abroad, & abandoned his home duties -- that it has weighed greatly on his mind since, and that it would be quite a relief to him to be allowed to take your place; that he is better off than I imagine, & that he can do it very easily, a literary man having so many ways of increasing his income. As to T. and H. they are really well off now, if Tom does not give all his money away -- & Harriett has always a little independence of her own. For ourselves we have quite enough to spare for all we want at present, I am thankful to say, and it will be a great pleasure and comfort to add our share.[120]

In 1846, Newman contributed several mathematical papers to the Cambridge Mathematical Journal. In May he informed the Manchester New College Executive Committee that he was the candidate for Latin Professor at University College, London. Newman wrote one last library report, and tendered his resignation, promising to "confer at leisure with my successor" and be present at the beginning of term "with a view to take leave of the students."[121]

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118 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 5.

119 BO, *Holograph*, p. 158.

120 *Ibid*, p. 187, JNM to JHN, 23 October 1845.

121 MCO, G. W. Wood 115, FWN to J. Aspindall Turner, Chairman of the Committee, 7 July 1846.

Newman left Manchester for London, but what else had he left behind? After casting off the Bible and second hand faith, Newman asked himself, what remained: was it Christianity? This question would travel with Newman for the rest of his life.

Chapter Five:

History Discovered to be No Part of Religion

In July 1846, Francis met with his brother John Henry for the second time since 1833.[1] John Henry light-heartedly dismissed Francis' motive for the visit as voyeuristic curiosity, "[[Why should he come?]] I think he has some obscure idea he can decide whether there are thumbscrews and the like at Maryvale."[2] The visit itself, on Tuesday 21 July, earned only this brief note in John Henry's journal: "F W N came, dined, and returned."[3]

After resigning from Manchester New College, Newman joined James Martineau and his family in Park Nook, the house built two years earlier by Martineau in Prince's Park, Liverpool. Martineau described Newman as "so delightful a companion and so lovable [sic] a friend as to enhance rather than spoil" his family's time together.[4]

Newman's reputation preceded him in London, where he succeeded George Long.[5] Caroline Fox recorded in her journal that Dean Trench[6] "spoke of the two Newmans, who are alike in person, and he sees a likeness in their intellectual results,"[7] while F. D. Maurice "thinks John Henry has far more imagination than Frank."[8] When she met Francis, Fox found him "a thin, acute-looking man, oddly simple, almost quaint in his manner, but with a sweetness in his expression which I had not at all expected. He was as cordial as possible, but in a curiously measured way."[9]

University College, London was founded in 1826 "by what Bentham called 'an association of liberals'"[10] led by Thomas Campbell,[11] Henry Brougham,[12] and George Birkbeck.[13] The College was modelled on the universities of Bonn, Virginia, and Edinburgh, and combined a system of lectures with written examinations. It granted its first degrees in 1839, after receiving a Royal Charter for the University of London in 1836.

Newman's philosophy of university reform put him in sympathy with the College's guiding principle: that religion should not be an entry requirement or a subject of study. Among Newman's colleagues were Robert E. Grant,[14] Augustus De Morgan,[15] William

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1 *L&D*, vol. XI, p. 203, JHN to Richard Stanton, 10 July 1846.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 204, JHN to Ambrose St. John, 11 July 1846.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
4 Drummond and Upton, vol. I, p. 129.
5 [1800-1879] classical scholar.
6 Richard Chevinix Trench [1807-1886], then professor of divinity at King's College, London.
7 Pym, p. 253, 17 May 1846.
8 *Ibid*, p. 254, 19 May 1846.
9 *Ibid*, p. 273, 22 May 1847.
10 Harte, Negley and North, p. 10.
11 [1777-1844] poet.
12 [1778-1868] lord chancellor.
13 [1776-1841] founder of mechanics' institutions.
14 [1793-1874] professor of Comparative Anatomy.
15 [1806-1871] professor of Mathematics.

Sharpey,[16] Eaton Hodgkinson,[17] Bennet Woodcroft,[18] Thomas Graham,[19] George Fownes,[20] and Richard Potter.[21] It was said that the professors of University College were a modern version of the ancient Greek Sophists, but journalist Richard Holt Hutton disagreed, "it would be hard to imagine men more severe in exposing pretentious conceits and dispelling dreams of theoretic omniscience."[22]

Punch claimed that University of London students rivalled those at Oxford and Cambridge for "vulgarity," but when Newman arrived they were trying another ancient university tradition for size: wearing academic gowns.[23] Newman attracted notice for not restricting his gown wearing to the classroom. In true Oxford tradition, he wore his cap and gown from his residence to the College.[24]

Sir Alfred Wills[25] entered University College in October 1846, and recorded this impression of Newman, his professor:

> He was of middle stature, very well made, with a face that always reminded me of the type of the North American Indian...His complexion was dark, his hair very black and with no tendency to curl, and he wore it long, and his nose was aquiline. He differed from the Indian type, however, in that his face was rather narrow than broad....His voice was particularly clear and 'carrying' and every syllable could be heard...his eyes were blue, bright, very expressive, and his smile, not very often seen, peculiarly sweet and engaging. He was decidedly eccentric.[26]

Newman's eccentricity did not detract from his lectures. Wills reported:

> During the whole of the session 1846-7, Newman's lectures were the wonder of all who heard him. We read with him some of Cicero's letters to Atticus, and his stores of information of every description -- antiquarian, philological, historical, and literary -- were absolutely marvellous. I have never destroyed or lost my notes of them, and I feel sure that they would justify all that I have said. We all felt that we had secured for the college an intellectual giant....It seemed as if no trouble were to great for him to take in preparing for them and as if nothing which could throw any light upon a set of letters, which are often obscure and difficult, ever escaped his eagle eye or his profound research.[27]

This ability was confirmed elsewhere:

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16 [1802-1880] professor of Anatomy and Physiology.
17 [1789-1861] professor of Mechanical Engineering.
18 [1803-1879] professor of Machinery.
19 [1805-1869] professor of Chemistry.
20 [1815-1849] professor of Practical Chemistry.
21 [1799-1886] professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy.
22 Barrington, vol. I, p. 5.
23 Harte, Negley and North, p. 65.
24 Sieveking, p. 104.
25 Knighted in 1884, he was a justice of the High Court.
26 Sieveking, p. 106.
27 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

> ...he succeeded in awaking interest in his subject rather than in promoting depth of study; his prelections, always without notes, were bright and vivid. He introduced the Italian method of pronouncing Latin. Two of his favourite books for class translation were turned into Latin by himself, 'Hiawatha'...and 'Robinson Crusoe'...[28]

Newman invited students to meet in his study for conversation in Latin, at his house for breakfast; he was generous with his help. Yet his students complained that they did not know him well, as one remarked:

> I forbear to touch upon his private character. That impressed itself insensibly upon us as worthy of the highest respect. But it was simply from the natural effluence of a noble character, for we came rarely into anything like personal intimacy with him. He was reserved and even shy, and I doubt if any of us knew much more of him privately than I did -- which was not much.[29]

William De Morgan,[30] the son of Mathematics Professor Augustus De Morgan, felt that discipline in Newman's classes suffered because of Newman's tendency to treat the boys as "human creatures" instead of as the "mischievous monkeys" they were. Confronted with their mischief, Newman remained serene, as illustrated by the younger De Morgan:

> The weather was bad, and bad colds abounded. One day Newman ventured to remonstrate gently with the victims of catarrh -- indeed the noise was awful. But he had the indiscretion to add: 'Gentlemen, if you cannot wipe your noses, I must really ask you to blow them outside the door. Of course the results were awful! The young imps rushed out incessantly into the passage, and made noises like motor-cars. If the Professor committed an error of judgment [sic] in his first edict, he certainly made up for it by the way he kept his temper. In this he was really perfect. But the boys presumed on it, of course. I remember that one of them, instead of attending to his *Juvenal*, wrote a long poem about this nose incident, which passed from hand to hand.[31]

In December, William's father advised Newman to send his paper on "Logarithmic Integrals of the Second Order" for publication in the Cambridge Mathematical Journal.[32]

Newman's friendship with Augustus De Morgan survived their different opinions on spiritualism. Newman and two other professors from University College attended a séance at the De Morgans' house. De Morgan and his wife insisted that they saw a chair rise to the ceiling; the three guests did not observe this. Asked by an American believer in spiritualism, "What would you say if you had seen the chair mount to the ceiling?," Newman replied:

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28 DNB.

29 Sieveking, p. 109.

30 [1839-1917] artist, inventor, and author.

31 Sieveking, p. 111.

32 CU, Lord Kelvin Papers N20 Add 7342, FWN to William Thomson, 7 December 1846.

> There is proverbially much in an If: but the question does not set aside my fact, ('Either the 2 De Morgans, or we 3, were grossly deceived') and the fact to me is a warning, not to suppose that a lady is to be believed because she tells me that she saw & heard a table play beautiful tunes on a piano.[33]

Newman countered another spiritualist argument, saying:

> It is replied that one may be deceived, but several simultaneously cannot be. I partially, but only partially, admit this. In a séance, artificial means are used to weary out & weaken the senses: many together are brought into an unsound state, prepared to be deluded. All cannot see the very same dream of fancy; but whatever one vehemently declares he sees, may by his definite assertion be so far impressed on others that they afterwards confirm him.[34]

Newman connected the spiritualists' reports with the miracles in the New Testament:

> There is nothing new in all this. Paul declares that 500 brethren at once saw the risen Jesus. Commentators who do not believe Paul to write by dictation of the Holy Ghost and feel free to criticize [sic], with one voice declare that such a fact, if a fact, must have been alluded to & made much of by others; and as it is not, it is not to be believed, though Paul, accustomed to marvellous stories, hastily believed it.[35]

For Newman, spiritualism, like Christianity, failed by requiring others to believe through what he called "faith at second hand." The fact that Sargent considered Spiritualism to be a religion did not recommend it to Newman, though he conceded that spiritualism "spread" like a religion, and had the same "excitement." If Spiritualism were a religion, Newman insisted it had the same duty as other religions in regard to interpretation. It is not enough to record mysterious raps and moving tables; to be religious these signs must have meaning.[36]

Newman's correspondence with James Martineau in December 1846 did not enter such fantastic realms; instead Newman restricted himself to political questions: Ireland, taxation, and Prussia. In the thaw after a severe winter, in January 1847, Newman leavened his political observations with these affectionate words:

> As to the regard which [you express] for me, -- not for the first time, -- I perhaps ought to say, that it pleases me perhaps too much. Even in making or returning compliments, I am very clumsy; and when my feelings are really touched, I am peculiarly wanting in expression. I do not know whether your own heart has found out what I cannot half say, the loving admiration which I have for you.[37]

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33 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to Epes Sargent, 9 September 1874.
34 *Ibid.*
35 *Ibid.*
36 *Ibid.*
37 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 4 January 1847.

In April, Newman met Thomas Carlyle, and

> ...was exceedingly grieved at his talk. I fear to say all I felt or thought: this only, that he rants out his threadbare hobbies & most questionable opinions, without letting any body else speak, if he can help it, or attending to what they do say. It has made me once more feel what has been many times strongly impressed on me, that a certain forward school of this day is engaged in not merely apologizing [sic] for, but extolling the persecutions of past ages....I used to argue with Sterling against his esteeming the actors more highly than the sufferers of persecution, when the former were men of genius & generally well intentioned: but this seems to me magnified in Carlyle to a horrid pitch.[38]

Newman's empathy for those sufferers resulted in part from his own experience of persecution by the Plymouth Brethren. He was about to attract more widespread criticism for his latest work:

> I have nearly finished an important work, at which I look with trembling, on the Hebrew Monarchy. I cannot help telling you, although it will be anonymous, & I desire it not to be authoritatively known that I am the author: though I cannot expect not to be detected.[39]

When Newman was "a boy at school" he tried "to incorporate all four [gospels] into one history." In his spiritual autobiography, *Phases of Faith*, he remembered "the dismay with which I had found the insoluble character of the problem, -- the endless discrepancies and perpetual uncertainties."[40] A similar impulse prompted the adult to write *A History of the Hebrew Monarchy from the Administration of Samuel to the Babylonish Captivity.* In this book, Newman compared several books of the Old Testament for internal consistency, as well as with historical accounts, including Herodotus and Josephus.

Incidentally to this he worked out the chronology of the Hebrew monarchy, examined the political economy, discounted miracles, and established to *his* satisfaction, if not to that all of his reviewers, that the Old Testament prophecies were either fulfilled or meant to be fulfilled during the Old Testament period. This type of exploration, conducted with painstaking and persistent logic, could easily be tedious reading, but Newman's reworking of Old Testament history is exciting, compassionate, and occasionally amusing. Its clarity presented the texture of Hebrew geography, sociology, politics, and religion as threads woven into an historical tapestry.

Newman cited four principles for this work in its preface. The first was that strange events demand greater proof than ordinary ones, and so miracles should be subjected to strict historical analysis. The second was that, for Newman, all history was divine, because "God is in Nature and in Man." Thirdly, truth demanded "the work of refuting error, and last, since

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38 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 17 April 1847.

39 *Ibid.*

40 *Phases of Faith*, p. 67.

morality is both constant and consistent, ancient acts must meet the standards of modern morality."[41]

Newman credited two brief conversations with "the late excellent Dr. Arnold at Rugby" with changing his attitude toward the inconsistencies of the Old and New Testaments. At the time of their meeting, Newman disagreed with Arnold's mythical and poetic interpretation: it "staggered" him, "but to see a vigorous mind, deeply involved with Christian devoutness, so convinced, both reassured me that I need not fear moral mischiefs from free inquiry, and indeed laid that inquiry upon me as a duty."[42] Significantly, Arnold and Newman discussed the superiority of the gospel of John which

> Arnold regarded...as abounding with smaller touches which marked the eye-witness, and altogether, to be the vivid and simple picture of a divine reality, undeformed by credulous legend. In this view, I was gratified to repose, in spite of a few partial misgivings, and returned to investigations concerning the Old Testament.[43]

In the course of these investigations, Newman identified for himself the "*duplicate* or even *triplicate narratives*;" he did not know about the Elohistic and Jehovistic discriminations made by French Biblical scholarship.[44] Newman determined that Deuteronomy was a fairly recent addition to the Pentateuch, and he assessed Chronicles as unreliabile. As a result of his inquiry, Newman decided "[not] one of the historical books of the Old Testament could approve itself to me as of any high antiquity or of any spiritual authority."[45] He concluded, "The Jewish faith was eminently grand and pure; but there is nothing in this history which we can adduce in proof of preternatural and miraculous agency."[46]

In the preface to the third edition of the *Hebrew Monarchy*, Newman warned: "I have omitted many controversial notes, which no longer seem needful."[47] Even with this editing, much of the most controversial material and observations in the book are contained within the footnotes.

Newman, as a classicist, felt that three ancient civilisations have given the most to modern culture: the Roman, the Greek, and the Hebrew. Whereas the Romans bestowed law and government, and the Greeks contributed art, philosophy, beauty and science, Newman attributed "religious wisdom" to the Jews, who taught "the Holiness of God and his Sympathy with his chosen servants."[48] All this analysis of the Old Testament did not detract from its spiritual value for Newman. On the contrary, he claimed:

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41 *Hebrew Monarchy*, p. v.
42 *Phases of Faith*, pp. 67-68.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
44 These were first identified by Jean Astruc in 1753. Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, p. 14.
45 *Phases of Faith*, p. 86.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
47 *Hebrew Monarchy*, p. v.
48 *Ibid*, p. 347.

> The Bible is pervaded by a sentiment, which is implied everywhere -- viz. *the intimate sympathy of the Pure and Perfect God with the heart of each faithful worshipper*....Accordingly, though I saw more and more of moral and spiritual imperfection in the Bible, I by no means ceased to regard it as a quarry whence I might dig precious metal, though the ore needed a refining analysis: and I regard this as the truest essence and the most vital point in Christianity, -- to sympathize [sic] with the great souls from whom its spiritual eminence has flowed; -- to love, to hope, to rejoice, to trust with them; -- and *not*, to form the same interpretations of an ancient book and to take the same views of critical argument.[49]

This retreat from literal interpretation, in order to perceive the spirit of the Bible more clearly, marked Newman's transition from evangelical to liberal religion.

Newman contrasted polytheism, as a tolerant religion, with intolerant monotheism, but added that the Hebrew faith was not monotheistic, "in the sense of denying the *existence* of other gods. It rather degraded them into devils...than exploded them as utterly fabulous."[50]

This view of the ancient Hebrew faith is more or less accepted today: different strands within the text combine monotheism, henotheism and polytheism.[51] However, it was controversial in Newman's day, as were other items he discussed. He was attacked by some orthodox critics for referring to prophets who "walked naked;" they informed him that "naked" in this sense meant "without one's jacket." Newman contended that his allusion was to Isaiah 20:2-4, "Loose the sackcloth from off thy loins," "which, I confess, suggests to me nakedness of the most shameful kind."[52] The pettiness of this argument is typical of the controversies provoked by Newman's scholarship, and confirmed its importance.

Newman's attention extended to those marginalised in the Biblical narrative. After a sympathetic discussion of Solomon's slaves, Newman remarked: "No Moses arose to rescue them; and no modern writer can express sympathy for them without exciting indignation." In a footnote, Newman expatiated:

> In my first edition I gave great offence by the following words: 'Their persons, being reduced to slavery, formed the hapless multitude, whose unnoticed groans supplied the raw material of Solomon's glory.' Perhaps I should have said *serfdom*, not *slavery*. I withdraw the words from the text, chiefly because I find I am supposed to intend a personal and peculiar blame against Solomon more than other ancient kings.[53]

Although this "personal and peculiar blame" might seem to be an over-interpretation of Newman's empathy for the oppressed, his discussion of Solomon adopted a disapproving tone in general. He contemplated Solomon's 700 wives and 300 concubines and hypothesised that

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49 *Phases of Faith*, p. 125.
50 *Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 28.
51 Rogerson, pp. 72-8.
52 *Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 32.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

this might indicate a love for the pageantry of royal weddings, or a "depraved taste for perpetual novelty in the partners of his bed."[54] This type of speculation was bound to distress admirers of Solomon. Another example of empathy considered misplaced by his critics was his analysis of Manasseh's rebellion against his father's piety: "it is not wonderful that a youthful monarch, disgusted with the religion which fenced him round, resolved to break it down."[55]

Newman dismissed Elijah and Elisha "whose adventures and exploits have come down to us in such a halo of romance, not unmingled with poetry of a high genius, that it is impossible to disentangle the truth."[56] He noted in contrast that more recent history, recorded by an age that was no longer illiterate, lacked any record of miracles against the impious Manasseh.[57] Some of his interpretations of the kings' actions were abrupt, as when he noted that Hezekiah received a prophecy "with a false resignation which combines selfishness with silliness."[58] Perhaps Newman's most controversial statement was his consideration of the "discovery" of the book of the law during the reign of Manasseh. Newman insisted that no culture would lose a sacred book and then forget all about it: to "allege a discovery is to confess an invention."[59]

One orthodox critic was "displeased" that Newman believed Chronicles' account that Jehoash was assassinated by two priests. Newman countered that he learned "from the wicked Gibbon" to believe "evil which men tell of their own party, and to believe all the good which they tell of their adversaries."[60] Newman used Gibbon's historiography as a corrective lens through which to view the Old Testament, treating it as any other ancient document.

In *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany*, Rogerson comments that the *Hebrew Monarchy* "displays deep historical insight and is beautifully written."[61] He evaluates its importance:

> Nothing as radical and far-reaching as this was to come from an English writer until the appearance of the later parts of Colenso's *The Pentateuch and Joshua* in 1871 and 1879. Meanwhile, Newman's views proved to be unacceptable even to a liberal such as F. D. Maurice.[62]

In a footnote to this, Rogerson explores this rejection of Newman by the liberals:

> We, today, are tempted to ask why Newman and Maurice cannot both have been right; why it is not possible to reconstruct the history of Israel critically from the biblical material and to

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54 *Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 131.
55 *Ibid.*, p. 292.
56 *Ibid.*, p. 168.
57 *Ibid.*, p. 294.
58 *Ibid.*, p. 286.
59 *Ibid.* p. 309.
60 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
61 Rogerson, p. 193.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

> preach on the basis of the particular witness which the narratives in their final form possess. It seems that in the mid-nineteenth century, these alternatives were mutually exclusive, even to some liberals.[63]

After completing this Old Testament criticism, Newman turned his attention to linguistic and mathematical matters. At the end of April, he prepared a translation of chapter three of the Gospel of Matthew for the Bible Society in the Ghadami dialect and in the Kabail, or Algiers, dialect of Berber. Newman wrestled with Arabic ambiguity in his translation, and found it difficult to express the concept of baptism in Ghadami. Newman also addressed a more pragmatic concern about printing methods: he wanted the translation printed, not lithographed, because of the illegibility of lithographs.[64]

Printing methods made writing mathematical papers a challenge; Newman needed to find unique symbols[65] for his formulae, but not so unique that the printer could not reproduce them. He sent three papers to the Cambridge Mathematical Journal, saying, "Whenever you have corners in the Cambridge & Dublin MJ not filled up, they are at your disposal."[66]

In September, Walter Bagehot wrote to Richard Holt Hutton with a comparison of the Newman brothers and James Martineau:

> I do not know exactly how far to agree with you about [John Henry's] personal character. *I rather doubt his having less than* the average of self-consciousness. Do not you unconsciously take Martineau as the standard whose self-consciousness is many million sizes above that of ordinary mortals? I do not think [Francis'] much, if at all, below the average: he (and his brother perhaps also) has quite enough to make him a much better metaphysician than he is: but it seems to me, that perhaps owing to over-activity and *restlessness of mind both the* Newmans combine with a great facility of analysing to a certain extent, a great disinclination (and almost an inability) to analyse further.[67]

Bagehot and his friend Richard Holt Hutton thought John Henry lacked "precise moral convictions." Hutton attributed this to his lack of self-consciousness; Bagehot argued that John Henry's "intellect is more subtle than his sense in discriminating: he can conceive finer shades of feeling and motive than his conscience will confidently estimate."[68] Bagehot's analysis accorded with Francis' persistent conviction that the brothers drew different moral conclusions from similar intellectual foundations.

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63 Rogerson, pp. 195-196.

64 CU, Bible Society Letters, FWN to James Richardson, 24 April 1847.

65 De Morgan characterised the *CMJ* as "done by the younger men," and "as is natural in the doings of young mathematicians, very full of symbols." De Morgan, p. 151 letter from ADM to Sir John Herschel, 28 May 1845.

66 CU, Lord Kelvin Papers, N24 Add 7342, FWN to William Thomson, 5 October 1847.

67 Barrington, vol. X, p. 166, 20 September 1847.

68 *Ibid.*

Francis read a volume of Martineau's sermons, and commented that what Martineau called "lyrical effusions" he preferred to call "didactic poetry."[69] He sympathised with Martineau about his critics, "But our Evangelicals go round like a Squirrel in a cage; It is shocking to hear many boast that they hold fast to a precise round of doctrine which they received on their first conversion, as if perfection consisted in receiving no new light."[70]

Newman believed that Martineau's historical approach could only serve as a bridge for others: it marked a transition, not "a permanent structure." He discussed some of his own difficulties and doubts concerning Christ, his precepts and miracles, at the risk of seeming profane, and observed:

> Suffice it to add, that in my retrospect of much in my own conduct, which now pains me greatly, I deliberately think that I was led astray by simple hearted & blind obedience to certain precepts of Christ. I also know other individuals with whom it has been the same to their acute suffering. Many of his harsh commands (generally explained as hyperbolical) now appear to me to be snares for simple souls.[71]

Martineau commented that Newman analysed New Testament parables "with a curious rational literalness."[72] For Newman, literal analysis of the Bible was a hallmark of the susceptible "simple souls."

On 13 October 1847, Newman delivered a lecture at University College entitled *On the Relations of Free Knowledge to Moral Sentiment*. In it, he described how the pursuit of truth encouraged moral development, although "right sympathies" cannot be taught. A climate of justice and religious toleration was fundamental to the development of individual moral sentiment. Newman suggested replacing the Baconian maxim that knowledge is power with "knowledge is love." He expressed his optimism for human progress:

> ...by the adorable wisdom of God, all good things have an affinity for one another, and in the long run tend to coincide....whatever the deficiency of mankind in power of self-sacrifice for apprehended duty, their deficiency in information and in wisdom is still greater; and that whatever diffuses intellectual light, will ultimately tend to union and harmony.[73]

This sentiment may seem innocuous enough, but its publication involved Newman in combat with poet Arthur Hugh Clough,[74] described by Stafford Northcote,[75] Gladstone's private secretary, as:

> ...a very favourable specimen of a class, growing in numbers and importance among the younger Oxford men, a friend of Carlyle's,

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69 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, October 1847.
70 *Ibid.*
71 *Ibid.*
72 *Ibid.*
73 *On the Relations of Free Knowledge*, pp. 9-10.
74 [1819-1861].
75 [1818-1887] a barrister and the first earl of Iddesleigh.

> Frank Newman's, and others of that stamp; well read in German literature and an admirer of German intellect, but also a still deeper admirer of Dante; just now busily taking all his opinions to pieces and not beginning to put them together again; but so earnest and good that he might be trusted to work them into something better than his friends are inclined to fear.[76]

Clough's ambivalent relationship with Newman reflected the waxing and waning of his faith. He used the pseudonym "Alpha" to attack Newman's lecture in letters to *The Spectator*. The lecture, reported in *The Times*,[77] criticised "the old universities" "not only for requiring subscription but for following wrong principles in assuming that morality could be taught by coerced observance, 'public instruction,' and 'precept.'"[78] Clough protested that, although theological beliefs should not be externally imposed, the type of disciplined community life available at Oxford was morally beneficial.[79]

After learning Alpha's identity, Newman wrote to "my dear Clough" on 6 December 1847:

> Your two letters have both at once reached me today, and I hasten to reply. So soon as I knew who Alpha was, his writing in many respects became modified to my understanding; for we inevitably interpret words by our previous knowledge of friends. But words, as you say, are words, and we may both learn from this a little lesson, to consider well how our printed words will be understood, not only by our friends, who have a key to our spirit, but by strangers, who have none.[80]

Newman reproached Clough for the "rather sarcastic" tone of his letter. Clough gave too much credit to Oxford University for its "moral training;" Newman attributed his own moral training to his mother, grandmother and sisters, and the spiritual influence of "a certain clerical friend:"[81] "I am unconscious of any good of this sort I got from my college tutors, though two of them were highly respectable men, and with one I often had religious talk."[82]

Clough believed that residence in a College was a necessary part of university education. Newman explained that this presented special difficulties when all the residents did not share a creed. Unitarians had subscribed £9000 toward building a hall of residence for University College:

> ...in which all shall be admissible without respect of creed, but where they shall be under the moral superintendence of a Principal; where there shall be domestic worship, but not compulsory, and lectures on Ecclesiastical History and other subjects which are inadmissible into the general course. Money,

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76 Chorley, p. 126.
77 *The Times* 19, 631, 15 October 1847.
78 Greenberger, p. 114.
79 Biswas, p. 192.
80 Clough, pp. 187 - 190.
81 Walter Mayers.
82 Clough, pp. 187-190.

> you see, is one great want for such Halls; but that is not the greatest impediment: religious variance is still greater.[83]

Cynically Newman noted, "The great reason why bigots deprecate worldly cooperation [sic] with heretics, is, *because* such cooperation softens animosity and begets friendly feeling."[84]

Newman's tone was very nearly parental: "we may both learn from this a little lesson." He gently pointed out to Clough that his critical "words" appeared not just to friends, but also to strangers, and that Clough's sarcastic tone aligned him with those who disparaged University College as "The Gower Street Lecture Rooms." Newman reminded Clough that College residence does not have the same effect on everyone, and accused him of turning his personal preference into a mandate. In this Newman was unintentionally ironic: it was at Oxford that Clough experienced the erosion of his faith. Clough's protest probably combined nostalgia with wishful thinking.

Newman explained the difficulties in providing religious guidance within a diverse academic community. At University College, these difficulties were no longer entirely hypothetical, as a result of a favourable decision in the 1844 Dissenters' Chapel Act.[85] It is interesting to note that this was probably the first that Clough, its first Principal, heard of University Hall.

Newman believed that ultimately these difficulties would resolve themselves. In conclusion, he stated that he was not proposing University College as a model, except in its abolition of test articles. He ended the letter, not as a parent or a teacher would, but as a colleague, addressing Clough as "a University Reformer." Newman reiterated his conviction that right knowledge leads to right action, in the pursuit of truth.

Richard Holt Hutton felt that the pursuit of truth inspired Clough's poetry:

> ...he had as a poet in some measure rediscovered, at all events realised, as few ever realised before, the enormous difficulty of finding truth -- a difficulty which he somewhat paradoxically held to be enhanced rather than diminished by the intensity of the truest modern passion for it.[86]

Meanwhile a different concern preoccupied Newman: his health. In November he consulted John Henry's doctor, Benjamin Guy Babington,[87] about "many ailments, assuming a more fixed form, and discomfort mounting into pain, with a weakness of heart quite prostrating, though my muscular system is in full energy." Newman traced his troubles to a fever in Aleppo:

> A medical friend who saw me in it, predicted, that if I recovered, a heart disease would be left behind; and he ever after persisted in saying (without examining me) that I had one,

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83 Clough, pp. 187 - 190.

84 *Ibid.*

85 This enabled Unitarians to retain assets that had been theirs historically, despite theological changes. Holt, p. 331.

86 Barrington, vol. I, p. 22.

87 [1794-1866] physician and linguist.

> when we met again in England, though I laughed at him as a false prophet. Four years back a Manchester doctor pronounced that I had hypertrophy of the heart; but the only known remedies were too shocking to be endured, & I knew would kill me presently; and as others denied that I had any disease here, I gave it up in despair, & gradually persuaded myself that the stomach was alone in fault. It seems now clear that the Manchester man hit on the right organ, though he did not rightly ascertain its state. It is a real comfort to me to be able to think, that the hand of God is upon me and not my own folly, however I may have encreased [sic] the evil by my ignorance.[88]

Babington, "a celebrated surgeon," diagnosed "incipient atrophy of the heart:" "The heart itself, he says, is thinned & distended; and he will not hold out any hope of its ever regaining a natural state."[89]

Babington's prescription required Newman to become

> ...a lazy, apathetic, gormandizing [sic] creature. As I understand, if I could get the place of hall porter to some nobleman, eat meat thrice a day, with abundance of ale & porter, do nothing but snooze in a chair or stare outside the hall door, I might earn a euthanasia by apoplexy at 90, instead of lingering away by dropsy before 45. He bids me eat two breakfasts, with plenty of coffee and meat, taking digestive pills with meat, and firmly hoping that the more I eat, the more I shall be able to eat! I am also to drink wine & porter or ale as freely as my brain will allow; and must impress on myself that a fuddled brain and surfeited stomach are to me slight evils in comparison with a starved heart. The only limit to my eating is to be my power of digestion. All this is a most humiliating and laughable prescription. Edward[90] can scarcely make out that I am seriously unwell, and says it will be good fun to see me a red, jolly, punch man. It is most true that I have long found great relief from wine, to my heart, -- though brain & throat hate it -- but dreaded it was a mere stimulus which would leave me worse: great lumps of meat also have had a strange charm for me at sly times; but I have taken them only exceptively, through fear of gorging my system. I am really amazed, in the few days I have been obeying Babington, what quantities of food I can get through with comfort & advantage. It would be shocking for Ireland & the empire, if many of us had atrophied hearts.[91]

Newman thought this regime would do him good, for "I was in excellent health for a week with the [British Association] at Oxford last summer, where, I now remember, I dined at dinner parties every day, & many days had 2 breakfasts."[92]

Newman's theological changes affected his attitude towards his health:

> I fully expected to die 16 years ago, & resigned myself, tranquilly though not joyfully, into the bosom of our God. But I have since

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88 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 10 November 1847.

89 *Ibid*

90 Edward Sterling, Newman's ward.

91 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 10 November 1847.

92 *Ibid*

> enjoyed 16 years of mercy, instruction and high delight; not without one or two sharp sorrows, but with absolutely nothing to be called affliction. In hope that as I grow older, I may grow wiser too, I am willing to accept a lingering & rather inactive life as better than an active, painful and short one, and quite see the duty of submitting to my physician, especially as I have no such urgent duties as could force me to forget consequences.[93]

Newman recommended the regimen to his friend, Martineau:

> Everybody who has an organic ailment is apt to fancy others like himself; so I venture to prescribe for you, not only change & rest of the heart, but more generous living: you certainly are as thin-faced as I.[94]

One of Martineau's nephews had arrived at University College, and reminded Newman of his uncle:

> Young Greenhow is *the image of you; & I loved him at first sight* for your sake. I much desire I could periodically have the youths in turn to breakfast or tea with me. I made some attempts last session, but ill endure the fatigue of talking when I have to introduce the subjects & bear the brunt. On retrospect I perceive that my laziness in talk has long been constitutional. I need to be excited by the mind of an equal & by new thoughts or argument, before I willingly open.[95]

Newman continued to worry about his health, and its impact on his work. He no longer "worked on" when he was tired, but would take a "sharp walk" in the fresh air. Although he worked hard "to convert my intellectual property into ready cash," he paid more attention to his well-being:

> I now do not fight but strike my colours as soon as I feel pain or even uneasiness. I speak of private study &c. In public lecturing I cannot avoid being distressed whenever continued exertion of the voice is necessary: (this is a very odd symptom:) I now take more pains to avoid this, & more also to *fortify myself by soup or meat* before lecture, water during it, and if requisite, wine after it! Unless I am to *throw up my position, I know not what more to do.* Mr. Babington said I should take wine in the midst of lecturing, if fatigue of the heart was felt, but I cannot bring myself to this.[96]

Current "ready cash" projects included writing on Latin, on the Oxford and Cambridge test oaths, and the compilation of a Berber dictionary.

Martineau suggested that Newman seek another medical opinion. Newman explained that he had consulted doctors in Bristol and Manchester over the years, and, if the present regimen did him good, he was content. Although others had tried to convince him

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93 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 10 November 1847.

94 *Ibid*

95 *Ibid*

96 *Ibid.*, 30 November 1847.

that the problem was his stomach, he believed those doctors who diagnosed his heart: "I have been increasingly unable to lie on my left side from feeling the heart unpleasantly strike the ribs." Mr. Babington addressed this confusion about the source of Newman's pain directly:

> Mr. B. said that some people maintain that it comes from the stomach....But I do not believe this in my own case, because not a muscle is shrunk or softened. I appear to be remarkably vigorous, if my limbs are examined; yet inordinate action of the heart & the necessity of breathing by voluntary respiration is induced by trifling exertions. I have observed the last phenomenon since my Bristol illness, but never till now understood it.[97]

Newman reassured Martineau:

> ...I have not made up my mind to die, but to study by all means that I may live. I have one at my side far too dear, & to whom my life is too precious to be lightly, and knowingly risked....but I see enough reason for gathering up my loose traps in preparation for removal before the natural term; & desire cheerfully & contentedly to wait the blessed Lord's decree --[98]

Perhaps it was this intimation of his mortality that made Newman contemplate Jesus. Newman read Strauss' *Leben Jesu*,[99] and decided that the question was not

> ...whether a certain historical character is a good man, a great man, an excellent & admirable man; but whether he is the perfect moral image of God. Now the slightest falling short of our highest idea of perfection is fatal to the latter claim.[100]

Newman explained, "our highest moral ideal need [not] be an individual person," and added, "Nor do I see any future stagnation of virtue to be feared from a want of pattern men." Believers projected their own moral qualities onto Jesus:

> ...a great deal of the excellence which pious minds see in Christ is a hue of their own, I think, superadded to the narrative...The greater part of his life appears to me singularly unfitted to be an example to us. He was a carpenter; he left his trade, & wandered about , living on the substance of others': it would be positively wrong in me to do the same. He fiercely attacked the rulers of his land, in language calculated to excite the multitude against them: this must not be imitated. But we must imitate the spirit in which he did these things? True: but the spirit is not down in the narrative: it comes out of the piety of the reader's own heart.[101]

Newman acknowledged the guiding principle of Victorian biography, the moral influence of the lives of good men and women upon those who read them:

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97 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 30 November 1847.
98 *Ibid.*
99 Probably the translation by George Eliot published in 1846.
100 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 15 November 1847.
101 *Ibid.*

> If I had a daughter, I should, I think, much more value for her a narrative of my own mother's life. That she had faults, especially of omission, I am sure, because she was a human being; but I cannot charge my memory with a single fault of commission: and if I could write her life, I think it would be, as far as facts go, far more profitable than the eccentric virtues, if virtues they so certainly always were, of Jesus of Nazareth. As far as the telling of the story went, I of course might make a great daub of it, far worse a one than the Evangelists.[102]

"Book heroes" were easily endowed with "theoretic perfection," but less easily emulated; Newman observed, "I agree with you, & with the Unitarians in general, that to believe the physical soul of Jesus to be divine or angelic lessens the obligation on the conscience to be as pure & self denying as he."[103] He did not find Jesus' parables superior to Bunyan's, and confessed, "Such an outline of a man makes it right to honor [sic] his memory, as that of Alfred the Great or St. Louis; but gives us no more to imitate then do the lives of those two kings; for royal life does not differ from ours more than that of Jesus did."[104]

In December 1847, Bagehot attended a "queer party at Newman's" and proceeded to complain about his host:

> He manages a party worse than anybody I ever saw. A good many ladies and a good many gentlemen, but none of the gentlemen knew any of the ladies except Mr. Newman, and one gentleman who, being married, vigorously fought shy of his own wife. All the ladies worked dismally in a meek way; and the men talked politics and metaphysics in another room, Newman peering through the folding doors at the ladies, being afraid, I suppose, they would make a rush and swamp his proof 'that all philosophy began in nonsense'. I have been there once or twice before; but none of the parties were so queer as this one.[105]

Newman's distress in social situations paralleled his distress with English social systems. He worried about England's financial situation: rent, taxation, suffrage, banking, the Chartist repudiation scheme, and the National Debt; these led him to publish *An Appeal to the Middle Classes on the Urgent Necessity of Numerous Radical Reforms, Financial & Organic*. Meanwhile, Newman began to receive reactions to his book *The Hebrew Monarchy*. Newman wrote to Martineau:

> The Hebrew Mon.y is not meant for such as you. You will find nothing new in it. The Athenaeum has grossly misrepresented it, & refuses to admit my letter of reply: at least I so infer, as it does not appear.[106]

Newman knew that Martineau was receptive to German scholarship: at that time, Martineau was preparing to travel to Germany.

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102 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 15 November 1847.

103 *Ibid.*

104 *Ibid.*

105 Barrington, vol. X, p. 177.

106 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 19 January 1848.

Newman had been appointed Principal of University Hall, the new Hall of Residence at University College. John James Tayler congratulated him on the appointment:

> The announcement of your acceptance of the Headship of University Hall took many of your friends here [at Manchester New College] quite by surprise. I was aware what the friends and promoters of the Institution were aiming at; but I had great fears whether they would be able to secure an appointment in every way so advantageous and honourable to themselves. *Them* I most heartily congratulate on their success: I trust the ensuing arrangements and final result may be such as to enable us equally to congratulate *you* I am full of hope that it will be so.[107]

The appointment was surprising, according to Tayler, because there was no precedent for a lay head of an academic institution. Tayler viewed this change as "in harmony with the altered spirit of the times:

> Exercised with high moral aims and a reverential spirit, *Lay* Presidency must, in the present state of opinion in this country, be necessarily less sectarian, more catholic, and therefore, in every sense of the word, more *religious*, though less *theological* than *clerical* could well be. The influence of such a Head, for religious and moral purposes, on the minds of *Lay*-Students must be greater than any which even the wisest and most judicious Minister of Religion could directly exercise.[108]

Mindful of his religious moral influence as Principal, Newman turned his attention to a theological task with a practical application: the development of a prayer book for use in University Hall. He explained:

> My great desire is to destroy the painful abuse which turns prayers into creeds. I want in the prayer the maximum of spiritual aspiration & adoration with the minimum of theological or historical theory.[109]

Newman originally planned a book with four sections: general prayers, morning prayers, evening prayers, and formulas of conclusion.[110] He wrote, "I have no objection to have printed in the book such formulas as I never mean to read," although, "I propose to strike off" the prayer ending "through Jesus Xt our Lord." Newman asked others to contribute some prayers for the book, promising not to change them. He explained that since he would not be the only one to conduct worship at University Hall, others might be able to read contributions that he could not.[111]

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107 Thom, vol. I, pp. 260-261.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 261.

109 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, no date, early 1848.

110 Newman revised his plan to have three sections: the first containing morning, evening and Sunday prayers; the second containing general prayers; and the third containing conclusions. One prayer would be read from each section at each service.

111 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, no date, early 1848.

Martineau "gently expressed apprehension as to the embarrassment" which Newman's prayer book might cause, which Newman professed in reply:

> ...alarms me the more from its coming from one so favourably disposed; and induces me to obtrude upon you a specimen of what I have actually done, so that you may candidly tell me whether it is better for me to abandon the attempt & cut away so very calamitous a result as a new sect within University Hall.[112]

Newman believed it was necessary to develop a prayer book for a residential academic community:

> My sense of the essential importance of having family prayers is it is not so keen as that of the mischief of not having them; and perhaps the pain to my own mind, for which I can imperfectly give my reasons, would be greater still. I have satisfied my judgement, that the deprivation to my spirit would be such, that a morbid conscience as to mere phraseology ought to be treated as not merely a weakness, but a sin; and I am prepared to admit & use ambiguous language up to the limit of what might perhaps be charged on me as insincerity....I truly feel that it is a high calling which I hereby received, & it has been a noble prize. I just mention this, to show you that I do not wish to have all my own way, without reaping a sense of hypocrisy destructive to all real devotion.[113]

Others also misunderstood Newman's purpose: Dr. Hutton "thought my object was hypocritical, & though he expressed this with the greatest delicacy, it deters my applying to any whom I do not know intimately." However, Tayler promised to contribute to the prayer book, "if you will allow me a little time, for I shall be much occupied till the end of Sesssion."[114]

Newman scolded Martineau for refusing to help him with this project: "I am much displeased that you seem to abandon the idea of helping me, when I want it most eminently in the point as to which you mark me deficient." If all the prayers were written by one person, Newman feared repetition, "spiritual poverty...and perhaps a mannerism which becomes tedious." He did not intend "mutilating" the prayers, once printed, but would select them for worship in a random way: he did not want his liturgy to be "a fixed product." At this point he wondered "Is it well to have a book at all?" If there would be public prayer, and if a book would be used in the public worship, Newman felt it was better to publish it, to prevent suspicion and misrepresentation: "will it not be reported, that I do not use the phraseology of others; & inferred that I am engaged in a crusade against Christianity?" If Newman relinquished the leadership of their worship to someone else, he argued, his post still commanded "spiritual influence." Extemporaneous prayers would not resolve the dilemma:

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112 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, no date, perhaps February 1848.

113 *Ibid.*

114 Thom, p. 262.

> ...the longer I live, the less disposed I am to ordinary & periodical extempore prayer in the presence of others: the more I dread that my own barrenness of heart should spoil the devotions of those present. But shall I then decline to conduct the prayers? (I have reserved myself a right to refuse:) then I am open to the charge of indifference, & indeed, for young men to live together without any common religion appears to me an evil of no small magnitude.[115]

When the position of Principal was first offered to Newman, he declined it "on the very ground of the inextricable difficulty which the question of prayers would involve."[116]

In general, Newman preferred not to create difficulties, but he worried how the issue of public prayer would reflect on the institution. Mathematics was more straight forward: in May Newman sent the Cambridge Mathematical Journal a paper which developed an easier process than those of Ellis, Legendre or Adel, treating elliptic integrals. Newman had been told that the journal was interested in "anything which gave to teachers hints for processes more easily intelligible to learners, & leading them on towards what is more arduous." He added, "To originate any thing really new to mathematics is beyond my pretensions," and urged the editor, "If you have still some feeling that the paper, as I send it you, is still below the dignity of your Journal, pray destroy it unceremoniously."[117]

Having discussed Christology, Biblical criticism, and the role of prayer with Newman, Martineau next introduced the subject of immortality. Newman responded, "Now as to the immortal prospects of each of us! I dare say you have long perceived a great defect in me." Newman stated he had "never received the doctrine of immortality except dogmatically," on the authority of Paul and Christ. Ironically, he noted that books which tried to prove immortality made him disbelieve the notion. Ever since he had lost conviction in the

> ...authoritative infallibility of the doctrine of the N. T, I proportionately lost all confidence in a future state. Confidence is long since gone in toto -- without any other pain or sorrow, than that it isolates me from other minds & hearts -- & I see not how I am ever likely to recover it. I have not active disbelief: I look on the thing as possible...[118]

Newman viewed immortality as a matter of aspiration and conjecture, rather than incontrovertible fact. He anticipated others' reactions to his lack of conviction, asking:

> Is it then rather a moral or spiritual deficiency? perhaps so: yet I seem to myself not to want the elementary material, -- i.e. a desire for a state in which the good should meet each other, should know & love God, & improve in holiness; -- & I discern the great value thus given to the human soul; a doctrine, which

115 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 27 May 1848.
116 *Ibid.*
117 CU, Lord Kelvin Papers, N25 Add 7342, FWN to William Thomson, 12 May 1848.
118 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 27 May 1848.

> (though entangled with endless perplexities) adds a hundredfold force to all moral exhortation.[119]

Newman ended this investigation with an affirmation of the influence of Martineau's religious expressions on him: "yet I feel an a priori conviction that what is breathed concerning it from your heart will find some response in mine."[120]

Martineau asked Newman whether he intended to take up religious work; Newman replied, "As for myself, whether God has intended any religious action for me in this country, I know not." He continued:

> Perhaps I may die after a life of preparing for some future work. This has been the case with thousands better than me; & were it not so, the world would have no spare strength in exigencies. It is (in the moral world) what the Malthusians call superfertility in the organic.[121]

If Newman were to start a new sect, "I suppose it must take its chance with the rest, doing commensurate good & harm."[122] He dreamed of devotion without dogma, which led him back to thoughts of the academic community he would lead in *University Hall*:

> ...this is a result for which I should be happy to dwell in a half empty building for some years, provided only that it does not incur debt: & the Council will not be able to blame me, who have showed anything but desire for the post.[123]

Devotion without dogma provided freedom to seek truth, wherever it led. Previously Newman had determined two types of truth in the Bible. Now he described two types of doctrine: spiritual truth, which depended on inward witness, and external history, which must be subjected to analysis and criticism.[124] He conceded that he might have concluded this earlier if he had realised "that since the religious faculties of the poor and half-educated cannot investigate Historical and Literary questions, *therefore* these questions cannot constitute an essential part of religion."[125] Newman relinquished history as part of religion, but continued his pursuit of spiritual truth.

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119 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4, fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 27 May 1848.
120 *Ibid.*,
121 *Ibid.*
122 *Ibid.*
123 *Ibid.*
124 *Phases of Faith*, p. 132.
125 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Chapter Six:

On Bigotry and Progress

In June 1848 Newman prepared an appeal to the middle classes for reform, and an article on the National Debt for the *Prospective Review.* In July he visited the Sterlings in Surrey for a few days, and read John Stuart Mill's[1] new book on the Political Economy "with pleasure." He qualified his praise, however:

> I cannot overcome my moral repugnance to some of his proposals; & am displeased to think that what he thinks the unreasoning bigotry of opponents (I forget his phrases) often means this, that modestly forbids that so catering the topic as would be necessary for an effective reply; hence, as the world at large is with them, they poohpooh him. I cannot remember whether he is a married man; but I almost think he cannot be.[2]

The dedication of University Hall took place on 20 July; Newman delivered a speech. Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire, the Secretary of Manchester New College, was present at the dedication dinner, and they drank the health of Manchester New College. Darbishire responded with "a very friendly speech."[3]

In September Francis defended to John Henry his fraternisation with "unbelievers" whom he considered to be "morally good men:"

> I have precisely the same kind of evidence...that A B C is a good holy pious man, as I could have had that Jesus or Paul was such. If I find him to differ from me on a theological question, I feel it to be a *sin against the Holy Spirit* to condemn him. Suppose, *for instance*, that he acknowledges the excellence of most of the sentiments attributed to Jesus in the Gospels, but *doubts whether such a man as Jesus ever lived. Historical fact* cannot be made known to us by the conscience, or by the devotional sense.[4]

For Francis, to deny that an unbeliever may be good in God's sight was "blasphemy against the Holy Spirit."[5] In the Ottoman Empire, he had learned that it was possible to be religious, and yet not be Christian. Thus his experience of "unbelievers" was not restricted, like John Henry's, to those who had heard of Christ and yet denied his sovereignty.

John Henry described his brother as a zealous evangelical in his *approach.* For Francis, evangelicalism was a matter of temperament more than doctrine; the temperament remained as a fossil after the vestiges of dogma were eroded by his investigations.

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1 [1806-1873].

2 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 25 July 1848. Mill married three years later.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *L&D*, vol. XII, p. 272 , JHN to Catherine Ward, 25 September 1848.

5 *Ibid.* p. 356 JHN to Henry Wilberforce, 30 November 1848.

In September, while in Devonshire for two months, Newman gave Martineau some letters of introduction for Germany. Newman recommended Heinrich von Ewald[6] for temporalities, and Gottlieb Lukas Friedrich Tafel[7] for spiritualities. He commented "Nicholson however is chiefly in hope that you will form Ewald's friendship, for he says 'it will do Ewald good to know such an Englishman.'" On a more personal note, he added that Isabella Rankin[8] informed him that Martineau's mother had died. Newman commiserated, "Until we have lost such a one, we do not know how sacred every remembrance will be."[9]

A holiday in the country had improved Newman's health:

> I am (sensibly) very well as long as I abstain from exertion of body or mind: I look fat in face (& am complimented!) after 2 months of change & country air; but I cannot walk a mile too much, or compose half an hour too long, without unpleasant reminiscences. I think however that I can lie on my left side with less discomfort.[10]

Perhaps it was a combination of concern about his health and outside projects that distracted Newman from his lectures at University College. His students noticed a change. Sir Alfred Wills remarked:

> When I returned to college in 1848, I met with a profound disappointment. I have been asked for my recollections, and I must make them truthful. Professor Newman was at that time much engrossed with his theological and religious works....the lectures of that session presented a marked contrast to those of the earlier session, and I don't think I am exaggerating when I say that they were dry and jejune to the last extent. And I felt throughout that session that much the best thing I got from it was the practice in writing Latin, which was always an important part of his teaching, and in which he was a master himself. I am sure it is true that days often passed without there being anything in the lectures which I cared to preserve or even to note. I had that year, however, the privilege of reading the Nicomachean ethics with him as a private pupil, and found him as good in Greek and as interesting in illustration as I had previously found him in his Latin lectures.[11]

Sir Edward Fry described Newman as "somewhat nervous, perhaps even a little irritable, and he was not exactly popular as a professor. But his lectures were very interesting and stimulating."[12] His description contrasted with Wills':

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6 [1803-1875] "one of the greatest critical Old Testament scholars of all time." Rogerson, p. 91.

7 [1787-1860] philologist and orientalist. He retired as Professor of Ancient Literature in 1846, due to his health. At his funeral, the Lutheran pastor claimed that although Tafel lived as a pagan and a sinner, he was converted to Christianity at the eleventh hour. One of the mourners contradicted him. *Allegemeine Deutsche Biografie*, volume XXXVI, Leipzig: 1894, pp. 342-346.

8 Martineau's cousin.

9 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 28 September 1848.

10 *Ibid.*

11 Sieveking, pp. 108-109.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

> I attended Professor Newman's senior class on Latin literature for two or three sessions in 1848, and I have a very vivid remembrance of him....His lectures were very interesting and stimulating. If I may venture to express an opinion on the point, I should describe him as a very brilliant scholar, with a tendency towards eccentricity....We read whilst I was with him some three or four of the early works of Livy, and some of the histories of Tacitus; and his expansion of the Constitution of Rome, both at the early and later date, was of very unusual excellence. Such was my memory, and this has been confirmed....I think his estimate of character did not always agree with that of Tacitus. Other subjects which I recollect as having been expounded were the relation of Latin to the Celtic group of languages, and that everlasting question, the relation of Etruscans and the Pelasgi....Once a week Newman used to give out a piece of English prose to be rendered into Latin; these he corrected, reading also to us his own version.[13]

In 1848 Newman expanded his professorial domain to Bedford College, recently founded by Mrs. Elizabeth Reid. Reid was "a widow lady of property, whose father had been an influential Nonconformist, and who had long sought for coadjutors in her design of establishing a model ladies' College."[14] Professor De Morgan's wife remembered:

> Mrs. Reid took the house in Bedford Square, paid the rent and much of the expense during the first years, and otherwise endowed the Institution. She was among our friends, and we were able to interest many friends of education in the undertaking....Mr. Francis Newman took the Professorship of Latin, and my husband gave lectures or lessons on arithmetic and algebra for one year, to give as good a start as possible to the new college, which opened at the end of 1848.[15]

Bedford College joined Queen's College, established for women who were members of the Church of England, in pioneering university education for women.

Ironically, Clough's defence of Oxford's requirement of subscription to the XXXIX Articles led him down a similar path to that taken by Newman when he resigned his Balliol Fellowship in 1830. Edward Hawkins,[16] Provost of Oriel College, recorded this conversation with Clough on 18 October 1848,

> I...inquired whether, as indicated in his last letter, he was not afraid that he could not honestly pursue Truth, whilst under the fetters of Subscription to articles....He confessed it was so -- though he knew it ought not to be so. I think I gathered that his difficulties went to the foundation. I suspect he doubted about the O[ld] T[estament]; had been reading Hebr[ew] Monarchy.. I suggested that whilst he was *honestly* seeking the resolution of his difficulties he was not bound to retire. I would not counsel dishonesty, but thought that till a person was satisfied that he

13 Sieveking, p. 112.
14 De Morgan, p. 173.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 174.
16 [1789-1882].

had examined the questions thoroughly he should go on to do so, and not retire.[17]

This entry establishes Newman's direct influence on Clough's quandary. Hawkins was reluctant to encourage Clough to resign his Fellowship, because he argued that religious questions were not inconsistent with subscription to the XXXIX Articles.

Clough's resignation of his Fellowship "linked him" with F. W. Newman for the novelist William Makepeace Thackeray. He applauded Clough's response to conscience, and described Clough and Newman as "thinking men, who I daresay will begin to speak out before many years are over, and protest against Gothic Xtianity."[18]

Newman's ideas about religion and morality certainly influenced Walter Bagehot: "Bagehot's and Mr. Hutton's endeavours at this time to thresh out various points in theology and morals, were often started by the views held by Newman and Martineau."[19] Bagehot had put time and money into establishing University Hall, and when Newman resigned the position of Principal in November of 1848, Bagehot wanted Clough appointed as a replacement. Newman's resignation was due to an architectural defect in the building's plan, not theological difficulties. The architect designed the Principal's residence in University Hall without a private entrance. Newman explained to John James Tayler that "he cannot think of asking Mrs. Newman to reside in such a house."[20]

In December a sub-committee was appointed to interview Clough for the position, to establish what his "elusive religious opinions were."[21] The members of the committee wanted to determine Clough's attitude towards public prayer and worship at University Hall; Newman's efforts to produce a prayer book probably reflected this pressure from the committee. The Council initially rejected Clough, but since an influential member of the Council, Crabb Robinson,[22] was away in the Lake District, Bagehot persuaded the Council to wait a week to make its decision.[23]

Bagehot coached Clough to be "a little more explicit and conciliatory" in presenting his religious views to the Council.[24] Clough wrote again to the Council, and presented letters of recommendation, including one from James Martineau, who was in Berlin. The Council decided to appoint Clough, but supplement him by appointing a chaplain for the daily worship services and any theological instruction. Crabb Robinson was glad to appoint a Principal who was not a Unitarian, because "he did not want the Hall branded as exclusively Unitarian." He recorded in his diary, "I am therefore glad to have such a man as Clough

17 Mulhauser, vol. I, p. 221.
18 Thorpe, p. 30, 26 November 1848.
19 Barrington, vol. X, p. 180.
20 Thom, p. 272, JJT to C. Wicksteed, 10 November 1848.
21 Chorley, p.171.
22 [1775-1867] diarist and founder of University College, London.
23 Chorley, p. 172.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

who professes to have *strong convictions of the truth of Christianity, but to be unfixed on* points of doctrine."[25]

Newman thanked Martineau for recommending Clough, and added, "I have lately had the pleasure of making acquaintance with a friend of his, Froude of Exeter College, a younger brother of the celebrated R. H. Froude, but an extremely different man." James Anthony Froude, [26] author of the novel *Shadows of the Clouds*,[27] was a candidate for a teaching post in Van Diemen's Land. The official judges asked the University College professors for assistance. Newman had heard, from a source he considered reliable,

> ...that he had written a book of morally sceptical tendency, outside of which a liberal clergyman wrote the word Poison in sending it back. Having said this, I further saw I must needs read the book myself. I got it, & was delighted with it; & felt that I quite loved the writer, both for his own sake, & for the illiberality & misrepresentation he endured; and as he was about to be summoned officially to town, I wrote & told him my case, & begged him to sleep at my house. He stayed two whole days, & it exceedingly rejoiced me to know him.....I find he thinks Theodore Parker[28] not merely flippant (which I allow) but irreverent, which I cannot.[29]

The publication of Froude's second book, *Nemesis of Faith*, changed Froude's situation in Oxford:

> I was *preached* against Sunday in Chapel, denounced in Hall, and yesterday *burnt* publicly...before two Lectures....The Board it is said are also on the move. I have trod on tender points too of F. Newman, who first wrote me a passionate letter and has followed it by a softer one.[30]

In a letter to Charles Kingsley on 27 February 1849, Froude explained: "My first book won me the regard of Frank Newman. My second has forfeited it, or nearly so. Strange he most resents my admiration of his brother."[31] Despite Newman's dislike of Froude's *Nemesis*, he tried to obtain the editorship of *The Manchester Guardian* for him.[32]

A terrible fever struck Martineau's eldest daughter, Isabella, in Berlin; Martineau described her illness:

> ...[she] was prostrated with nervous fever, the issue of which trembled for weeks between life and death; the danger being enhanced by brutal behaviour on the part of our landlord and his wife, which drove us from his house in the middle of the illness. At last when she had been gone three weeks without closing her eyes and hope was almost gone, an experiment was tried which it

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25 Chorley, p. 173.
26 Younger brother of Richard Hurrell Froude; historian.
27 Published in 1847.
28 [1810-1860] Unitarian clergyman and theologian.
29 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 17 January 1849.
30 Mulhauser, vol. I, p. 247.
31 Dunn, p. 134.
32 *Ibid*, p. 157.

> terrified me to administer. After lifting her into a hot medicated bath, I poured, according to my instructions, an ice-cold douche from a considerable height on the crown of her head. The shock was severe and alarming; but, on being replaced in bed, she fell asleep; and from that time the constant strain was exchanged for alternations of repose with excitement gradually declining.[33]

Newman sympathised with Isabella's anxious parent, and reflected on his own barrenness:

> I always feel what a mutilated man I am, in a spiritual sense, from not having children. By it I evade so much sorrow & lose so much joy, that I seem to lose half the depths of human nature, & to be most imperfectly able to sympathize [sic]. Did it ever strike you forcibly how great a defect it was in the Greek notion of Virtue, that they did not see how essential Sorrow is to it?[34]

Newman's view that sorrow was essential to virtue was not that far removed from his youthful Evangelical conviction that his troubles would sanctify him.

Newman channelled his religious investigations into a book which he considered "the work of my life:" *The Soul: her sorrows and her aspirations; an essay towards the natural history of the soul, as the true basis of Theology.* He hoped the title would give "fair warning to those who dislike such books; and at the same time sufficiently well [explain] the end in view."[35] Written in 1849, only four years after his brother John Henry converted to Roman Catholicism, the book contained this aspiration in the preface to the first edition:

> If these pages shall save any persons from the desolating negations which are abroad, and show those who know not on what to rest their faith, to what quarter they must look for solid ground; and still more, if I shall have stimulated independent thought in men of holy feeling and devout practice, and shall have made them meditate solemnly on the insufficiency of our present Theology to evangelize [sic] any portion of the professedly unbelieving world; -- I ought to regard this as recompensing me for the very serious moral effort, which it has cost me to publish this book.[36]

Composing *The Soul* brought Newman both "deep anxiety" and "high joy:" he worried that "I seem to be assuming so high a position & making high pretensions to holiness." Newman hoped "to save the spiritual side of Christianity, though the formal side is clearly incapable of being saved," by demonstrating that religious doctrines "flow out of first principles discerned by the moral sense, in connection with the experiences of the Soul." Newman expected Martineau to agree with his exposition, except for his treatment of immortality. Since Newman was not convinced that there was life after death, he noted, "I make light of all Physical & Metaphysical arguments, & can see nothing but <u>that</u> Hope, which essentially goes along with the Soul's conscious moral union with God." Newman

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33 Drummond & Upton, vol. I, p. 184.

34 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, 26 February 1849.

35 *The Soul*, p. 35.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

predicted good sales, "if men's hates will make the book circulate, I think I shall get a reading." In that event, Newman hoped to claim authorship of the *Hebrew Monarchy* publicly, "for after this, that cannot perhaps do harm to my colleagues."[37]

The Soul was a different sort of book to the *Hebrew Monarchy*, "experimental" or "devotional," not historical. Newman explained, "It was impossible not to put my name to this, for a name is wanted to guarantee so many things which I cooly [sic] call facts of the soul. Besides an anonymous man cannot 'exhort & reprove.'"[38]

Newman urged Martineau to follow his example and begin original work:

> I am not pleased with your study of German philosophy....You have quite enough learning as to other men's views -- Do follow out your own genius now -- You are old enough for it to have taken shape.[39]

For Francis, "The business of Religion is to glorify Morality."[40] After printing *The Soul*, Newman confessed, "I felt a load off my heart, as if I should not die without having told the secret which long lay there."[41] *The Soul's* six chapters treated the "Sense of the Infinite Without Us," "Sense of Sin," "Sense of Personal Relation to God," "Spiritual Progress," "Hopes Concerning Future Life," and the "Prospects of Christianity." In *More Nineteenth Century Studies*, Willey claimed that chapters four and six alone:

> ...would justify us giving Newman a high place amongst the writers of the nineteenth century. No one saw more clearly into the causes of the widening gulf between the theology and the science of the day; no one declared more roundly that insofar as theologians were without genuine conviction, and insofar as scientists spoke of what they knew to be truth, it was the theologians who must yield.[42]

Newman wrote *The Soul* to prove once and for all that religion should not be a matter for the intellect. God is apprehended by the soul through poetic processes of metaphor and analogy, not by syllogisms: "It is to me axiomatic, that man can no more fully comprehend the mind of God, than a dog that of his master."[43] Acting like a sense organ, the soul perceives God, and its evidence about external phenomenon is equally to be trusted or doubted. Atheists lacked this sense,: an octogenarian atheist told Holyoake, "Ah, and he is right, too. Faith is another sense. There is no mistake about it. Faith is that sense which enables a man to see what is not."[44]

Newman argued that too much of theology had explored what he called the "pathology" of the soul. He examined the Soul's healthy development, as well as some of its

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37 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, 26 February 1849.
38 *Ibid.*
39 *Ibid.*
40 *Ibid*, no date, probably 4 December 1849.
41 *Ibid.*
42 Willey, p. 38.
43 *The Soul*, p. 181.
44 Holyoake, *Philosophic Type*, p. 20.

diseases and susceptibilities, by tracing a sort of archetypal faith development, a paradigm of the Soul's Natural History. Newman identified eight stages in the soul's progression toward holiness: awe, wonder, admiration (especially of natural beauty), sense of order, sense of design, sense of goodness, sense of wisdom, and reverence.

He distinguished between the Conscience and the Soul. The Conscience, the seat of morality, is an organ of discrimination on a very low level; it understands Duty, Law, right and wrong by rational techniques. The Soul is more complex; it operates on the affections. Newman countered the confusing parallels inherent in this distinction with specific examples, contrasting shame, which was moral, with remorse, which was of the soul. The former occurs before the eyes of men, the latter before the eyes of God.

Newman complicated this by comparing the Will to the Affections. Newman connected Will with Duty or Conscience, the Affections with the Soul. As might be expected, the Will has no power over the Affections. Yet Newman identified the Affections with the diseased, corrupt, old nature "for which (nowadays) Adam is made to bear the blame."[45] A well-developed Soul presupposes a Conscience, but the reverse does not need to be true. That is why Newman believed it is possible to be an ethical person without a belief in God.

Worship, unlike obedience to social laws, cannot be commanded. Newman maintained that as long as worship was directed at a being believed to be perfect, it was not idolatry, for "a man can but adore his own highest Ideal."[46] He stated that it is better to worship "mistakenly" than not at all, for like children's absolute love for their parents, any worship of an ideal prepares the soul for Divine knowledge.

Newman believed there are two types of souls: the once-born, and the twice-born. This distinction was amplified by William James[47] in his 1902 Gifford Lectures on *The Varieties of Religious Experience*.[48] Both James and Newman believed neither type to be superior, but merely different temperaments. For Newman, the two types were complementary; he warned: "Let neither despise the other, but let each learn his own weakness, and the other's strength."[49] The once-born are negative, formal, critical, conservative, and oriented toward Conscience and Law. The once-born respond to ritual, and their religious role is that of the Priest. The twice-born are positive, instinctive, creative, progressive, and oriented toward Affection and the Gospel. Social action interests the twice-born, and their religious role is that of the Prophet.[50] Martineau commented that Newman seemed to prefer the twice-born; Newman replied that he felt that the twice-born, as "regenerate minds," had a "double experience," and thus "(other things being equal) a wider discernment of hearts."[51] Newman described the twice-born more sympathetically than the

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45 *The Soul*, p. 142.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
47 [1842-1910] philosopher and psychologist.
48 *The Soul*, p. 20.
49 *Ibid.*, p. 203.
50 *Ibid.*, p. 204.
51 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, no date, probably 4 December 1849.

once-born, and certainly he would have placed himself in this category, but he defended his perspective:

> But that it <u>is</u> a higher development is to attain a sense of moral union with God, & a hatred of all evil because it impedes that union with him, & a positive love of him as supreme goodness, & so go to cleave to him for pleasure & delight, -- than merely to obey him reverentially as a superior, & rest on him with trust & allegiance in times of danger, -- am I really unfair in assuming?[52]

The once-born and the twice-born were "parallel streams, neither of which can stop, -- nor their distinctions be wholly obliterated, -- until, blending gradually, they become one in the bosom of God; who is neither male nor female, but feminine in soul and masculine in action."[53] Newman recognised the possibility of "intermediate characters," but divided the world into masculine and feminine souls. The type of soul was not biologically determined, although Newman's descriptions seem fairly typical of the Victorian understanding of gender differences. The Man-Soul is active, overbearing and hasty, with coarse passions, and "more prominence of the idea of Duty, high ambition to achieve Right; warm and rich love, of gushing impetuosity." The Woman-Soul is passive, gentle and pure, with "a heart that guides to Duty and to Right, but thinking of it not as Duty and as Right but as that which is lovely; finally, a love which is tender, transparent, and steady." The two types approach religion differently as well. The Man-Soul's strong passions draw him to the notion of "abstract Justice," whereas Woman-Souls, "very susceptible to natural beauty," "appear to approach religion altogether on its sunny side. They see God...as the animating Spirit of a beautiful harmonious world..."[54]

Newman suggested that the true aim of the Soul is not to become a little Child, but a Woman, which is the highest type: "Many persons of masculine soul, nevertheless, by severe sorrows, especially from the deaths of those whom they love, are in great measure moulded into the feminine type; and possibly this is the most perfect character."[55]

Any natural history must consider its subject's natural enemies. Newman thought selfishness the "direct antagonist to the sense of the Infinite."[56] The essence of spirituality is being lifted out of one's self. When two possible actions, one self-interested and one disinterested, do not conflict, choosing self-interest is considered prudent. When they do conflict, the same choice is considered selfish. Newman condemned the selfishness of those religious people who

> ...not only regard themselves as Heaven's sole concern, but count a doctrine to be *good news*, which simultaneously proclaims everlasting glory to them, and everlasting, ever-torturing Sin to the vast majority of the human race, -- the common heart of the world boils up with horror at the apparent intensity of

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52 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4, fols. 10152, no date, probably 4 December 1849.
53 *The Soul*, p. 205.
54 *Ibid.* p. 186.
55 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
56 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

> selfishness in those, in whom Self ought to be swallowed up by divine Love. When upon this comes an anathema against all who differ from them on intellectual questions, men turn away in despair superadded to disgust.[57]

For Newman, selfishness, and sin in general, did not evince depravity, but human imperfection.

Another liability of the soul is self-righteousness. Newman equated this with spiritual stagnation, with not trying to improve the self. He also cautioned against confession (which he considered "grievously corrupting"),[58] "carnal homage to outward miracles,"[59] and mediation.[60] The corrective to all these is love: love reconciles the passions and the will and brings the soul into harmony with the Infinite. Newman painted this divine love

> ...not as a torch blazing and smoky at intervals, but as a pure serene ever-burning flame, pervading all our nature, animating all our acts, consuming our evil principles, and kindling us to everything good, great, and useful.[61]

In May, Froude described *The Soul as "a book which you had better read."*[62] *By* September it was already in its second edition. One thousand books were printed in the first edition; two hundred and fifty of these were sold in America. Thus, over 700 copies were sold in England in three months, a figure that amazed and delighted Newman. He commented:

> It amuses me to think, that when I began to write, I called it...'the work of my life,' and fully intended to mature it at my leisure and take years about it, if I had years to live: yet no sooner had I got warm in it, then I became impatient of every day's delay, and hurried thro' it most strangely! I believe it would have lost its unity of parts, had I done otherwise. The second edition has more to exasperate the orthodox, they have provoked me into it, by calling my less expanded remarks superficial &c.[63]

Newman posted a copy of the second edition of *The Soul* to Martineau in Germany, who responded exuberantly:

> Now I have read 'The Soul,' and shall bless you for it, with thanks I cannot speak, so long as I have a soul that lives. Nothing that I have ever read -- unless it be some scattered thought of Pascal's -- has come so close to me, and so strengthened a deep but too shrinking faith....Your book is not one that I can

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57 *The Soul,* pp. 220-221.
58 *Ibid.,* p. 162.
59 *Ibid.,* p. 220.
60 Praying to anyone other than to God.
61 *The Soul,* p. 233.
62 Dunn, p. 159, JAF to Mrs. Long, 7 May 1849.
63 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, 14 September 1849.

> criticize [sic], and where I cannot heartily assent I feel more inclined to doubt myself than it.[64]

Mary Ann Evans[65] read *The Soul* in May 1849, despite the "never-ceasing headaches" which presented "unspeakable moments." Evans hailed the book as "the book she has long wished to see written and [Newman] is the man to write it." She called Newman "our blessed Saint Francis:" "There is no imaginable moment in which the thought of such a being could be an intrusion. His soul is a blessed *yea*. There is a sort of blasphemy in that proverbial phrase 'too good to be true.'" Evans expanded on Newman's vision of Christianity:

> The highest inspiration of the purest, noblest human soul is the nearest expression of the truth. Those extinct volcanos [sic] of one's spiritual life, those eruptions of the intellect and the passions which have scattered the lava of doubt and negation over our early faith are only a glorious Himmalayan [sic] chain beneath which new vallies [sic] of undreamed richness and beauty will spread themselves. Shall we poor earthworms have sublimer thoughts than the universe of which we are poor chips -- mere effluvia of mind -- shall we have sublimer thoughts than that universe can furnish out into reality?[66]

The eruption of *The Soul* covered a vaster landscape than Newman had hoped. As a student at Oxford University, the positivist Frederic Harrison considered himself "perhaps Theist of the school of F. Newman and Dr. Martineau."[67] The Secularist George Jacob Holyoake,[68] who had attended Newman's Gower Street lectures in 1849, claimed *The Soul* was "the first religious book I have been able to read for years."[69] Holyoake found his tone elevating:

> We indeed admire the modest and reverent bravery with which the whole book is conducted from beginning to end. All the efforts of mankind to explain the mystery of spiritual things are treated with respect, and yet none are exempt from that manly criticism which comes so gracefully from the brother of the great Puseyite leader.[70]

William Ewart Gladstone[71] took detailed notes on reading *The Soul*.[72] Elizabeth Gaskell's first conversation with Charlotte Brönte discussed "Newman's soul." As guests of the Kay-Shuttleworths in August 1850, Gaskell reported:

> ...an old jolly Mr. Moseley Inspector of Schools came to breakfast, who abused our Mr. Newman soundly for having tried \to acquire/ various branches of knowledge which 'savoured of vanity, & was a temptation of the D' 'literal.' After breakfast

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64 *The Soul*, p. 24.
65 [1819-1880] novelist George Eliot.
66 Haight, vol. I, p. 282.
67 Cashdollar, p. 67.
68 [1817-1906].
69 Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, p. 158.
70 Holyoake, *Philosophic Type*, p. 16.
71 [1809-1898].
72 British Library, Add MSS 44737, f. 200.

> we \4/ went on the Lake; and Miss B.[73] and I agreed in thinking Mr. Moseley a good goose; in liking Mr. Newman's soul, -- in liking Modern Painters, and the idea of the seven Lamps, and she told me about Father Newman's lectures in a very quiet concise graphic way.[74]

Edward Fry concurred with Jowett who said that Newman's book *The Soul* "contained more religion than the writings of his Cardinal brother." Fry found it "a most spiritual book, [which] contains passages of great and lofty beauty -- far nobler than anything which I have ever found in the sermons or writings of the Cardinal, which have, I think, been greatly over-estimated by some of my friends."[75] Thackeray commented on *The Soul*, "There speaks a very pious loving humble soul I think, with an ascetical [sic] continence too -- and a beautiful love and reverence -- I'm a publican and sinner; but I believe those men are on the true track."[76]

On the other side of the Atlantic, Theodore Parker collected all of Newman's books, and annotated his copy of *The Soul* in Hebrew as well as in English. Another American struck by the power of *The Soul* was Moncure Conway. [77] As a circuit-riding Methodist minister in the American South, Conway carried two books in his saddle bags: the Bible and *The Soul*. Conway explained, "I took this book to heart before I was conscious of my unorthodoxy, nothing in it then suggesting to me that the author was an unbeliever in supernaturalism."[78] Reading Newman, Emerson, and Coleridge influenced Conway's decision to leave the Methodist Church in order to train as a Unitarian minister at Harvard.

Not everyone who commented on *The Soul* had read it. Richard Whately[79] wrote to Thomas Arnold's widow:[80]

> F. Newman, however, we are told, is a very pious man. And so he is, in a certain way of his own. As far as I can judge, from what I have read of him (for I have not gone through his book), his piety seems to consist mainly of a sort of self-adoration. His system seems to be that of 'every man his own apostle.' But he possesses two qualities which, to a large proportion of persons in the present day, are high recommendations -- inordinate self-confidence and mystical obscurity. To me, I must confess, cautious modesty and perspicuity are greatly preferable. But there are many who give their admiration, as they would give money to a highwayman, on loud and vehement demands.[81]

John Henry did not read *The Soul* either; he did not, however, permit this fact to prevent him from bemoaning the book to Maria Giberne:

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73 Charlotte Brontë.
74 Chapple and Pollard, p. 124.
75 Robbins, W. p. 179.
76 Ray, p. 581.
77 [1832-1907].
78 Conway, vol. I, p. 101.
79 [1787-1863] archbishop of Dublin.
80 Mary Penrose Arnold.
81 Whately, vol. II, pp. 153-154.

> My dear brother Frank has published a dreadful work, as I am told it is -- denying Scripture as *a whole* to be true, denying dogmatic truth in toto, railing at some doctrines etc etc. I can't be surprised -- he must, with his independent mind, work out his principles, and they tend to atheism. God grant he may be arrested in his course![82]

Despite his compliments to the author, Martineau reviewed *The Soul* unsympathetically in the *Prospective Review*. This left Newman unsure about how to behave toward his old friend. He worried that if he wrote to Martineau, Martineau might interpret this as "a tacit reproach." Instead, Newman insisted, "my heart has again & again gone out after you."[83] Newman explained that Martineau's critique of *The Soul* was the first he considered "practically useful." It was "the first which makes me wish to alter anything in a new edition." Yet, he confessed, "I do not know that I am able to alter. So to alter as to meet your objections might be to destroy."[84]

Newman answered some of Martineau's objections; he had not meant to imply that the soul operated independently from the conscience: "We think of God as the centre of goodness & all other moral excellence: such words would be unmeaning to him who had no Conscience."[85] He compared the workings of conscience and the soul to the workings of the mind and imagination:

> I suppose that in every act of mind the whole mind in some sense acts. If imagination were totally annihilated, I doubt whether I could demonstrate a proposition of mathematics or remember the series of the kings of England. Yet Imagination, Ratiocination & Memory entering different acts of mind in different proportions, force us to speak of themselves as separable faculties. It is only in the same way that I wish to speak of the Conscience & the Soul. They must coalesce for human perfection; yet they admit of separate cultivation & attain different expansion in different men.[86]

Newman's appeal to the role of imagination in acts involving the mind is a partial refutation of the many critics who alleged that he had a defective imagination, relative to John Henry.

In 1849, through the formation of the Hungarian Committee, Newman began a friendship with Joshua Toulmin Smith.[87] Both Newman and Toulmin Smith hoped for decentralisation of English government, which Toulmin Smith based in his study of Anglo-Saxon traditions; they were both agitators for freedom for Hungary.[88]

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82 *L&D*, vol. XIII, p. 415, JHN to MRG, 7 February 1850.

83 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, no date, probably 4 December 1849.

84 *Ibid.*

85 *Ibid.*

86 *Ibid.*

87 [1816-1869] constitutional lawyer, "author, antiquarian student, and political reformer." In addition he was a linguist, whose speciality in Icelandic and Norse languages complemented Newman's philology. Sieveking, pp. 364-366.

88 Sieveking, p. 365.

Newman's Hungarian association led to the infamous Bactrian camel incident, beloved by Lionel Trilling and many John Henry Newman biographers, as the definitive display of Newman's eccentricity. This anecdote is reported in Sieveking, from the memoir by Sir Alfred Wills, who complained:

> It was in singularly gloomy and bitter weather in the winter or very early spring of 1849. We were rather a large party. There was no fire either in the room in which we assembled or in the breakfast room; and I have not often been colder. There was only one guest who was not a student, and he was a certain Herr Vukovich[89] (that was how the name was pronounced) who had been Hungarian Minister of Justice during the short period when Kossuth was supreme in Hungary.[90]
>
> When he came in, Professor Newman said: 'Gentlemen, this is Herr Vukovich, lately Minister of Justice in Hungary,' and then turning to Herr V., he added, 'I shall not introduce these gentlemen to you by name, as it would be of no interest to you; and besides, you would forget their names at once;' and then he went off at score with, 'I have never been able to understand Herr Vukovich, how it is that you have never introduced the Bactrian camel into Hungary,' and then proceeded to enlarge upon the admirable suitability of the Bactrian camel to the climate, soil, roads, conditions of Hungary. *Herr V. looked very much as if he* had never heard of the Bactrian camel.[91]

Basil Willey sympathetically deconstructed the scene this way:

> [Newman] was ill at ease on such occasions, and his hospitable intentions were not sufficient to break the ice. At one such breakfast...the social frigidity was matched by the temperature, and conversation must have been a hollow mockery....Picture the scene: a group of embarrassed boys, blue with cold, and with nothing much to say to each other and less still to say to this strange and rather sinister exotic. In comes Newman, hoping by brisk action to save the situation: "'Gentlemen, says he, "this is Herr Vukovich, lately Minister of Justice in Hungary."' He turns to Vukovich, and goes on, with mounting desperation, "'I shall not introduce these gentlemen to you by name, as it would be of no interest to you; and besides, you would forget their names at once."' This little piece of vivacity flutters to the ground like a wounded bird; there is a pause of incomprehension, a tightening of the breast. Something must be done at all costs; and Newman plunges blindly....Any don who has ever been in Newman's predicament, even after dinner and in reasonable warmth, will interpret the Bactrian camel correctly...[92]

This interpretation recalls Newman's confession that "[I] ill endure the fatigue of talking when I have to introduce the subjects & bear the brunt."[93] Newman has, over the years, acquired a reputation for humourlessness. In fact his sense of humour relied on irony, and his

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89 S. Vukovics, see HL, DU 4073, SV to FWN, 9 May 1864.

90 Sieveking, p. 106.

91 *Ibid.*

92 Willey, p. 48.

93 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 10 November 1847.

favourite target was himself. Comments that Newman made in jest, for example, that he was "anti-everything," have been repeated by seriously by others. Contemporary accounts of this statement, however, describe the twinkle in Newman's eye, and the effect upon the party at dinner: dissolution into laughter.[94] Some historians, including William Robbins, repeat Newman anecdote after Newman anecdote, wondering how someone so humourless could produce something so amusing, without realising the fallacy in their hypothesis.[95]

The plight of Hungary exasperated Newman and made him "heartsick:"

> I never felt any public events so painfully....I feel inexpressibly humbled at the conduct of England: & yet I do not think our people are much to blame; for they have not time & mind to compare the opposite accounts & disentangle the facts. It is ministers that ought to have enlightened & stirred us up.[96]

Newman protested, "Surely we have no longer any excuse for not disarming; if that followed, I could feel a ray of comfort."[97]

Martineau disagreed with Newman's analysis of Austrian oppression, and his remarks on Hungary "afflicted" Newman, who felt that Martineau had been swayed by Austrian propaganda. Newman hoped this difference of opinion would not interfere with their friendship, and he urged Martineau to visit the Newmans in London:

> My wife, I can see, thinks of you differently from other Unitarian ministers; (though she thinks she has no right to do so!) and it is very clear to me that I am more & more myself an instructive phenomenon to her. She has, I believe, regarded me, as a proof only how lasting the spiritual effect of her doctrines is on one who has ceased to believe them: but since my book has been out, I have received letters of thanks from one or two Unitarians & Deists which have amazed her, I perceive, as indicating that spiritual life is not confined to one creed. I believe she would give you a kind welcome, & it would do her good, & give me pleasure so great that if you knew it you would not despise my invitation.[98]

Newman's wife, Maria, had remained a member of the Plymouth Brethren after her husband had been "excommunicated." Newman's assertion that his wife would welcome Martineau disagreed with one of Holyoake's Newman anecdotes. Holyoake reported that Maria left the room by the window, rather than remain after James Martineau had been announced.[99] Perhaps Newman was disappointed by his wife's reaction.

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94 Sieveking, p. 139.

95 Bennett, p. 11.

96 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, 14 September 1849.

97 *Ibid.*

98 *Ibid.*, 25 September 1849.

99 Holyoake, *Bygones*, vol. I, p. 197. In *The Worm in the Bud*, Pearsall corrupted this anecdote to suggest that *Francis* Newman jumped out a window to avoid *Harriet* Martineau. Pearsall gives no reference to support this, and there is no evidence to suggest that this was Francis' relationship to Harriet. Pearsall, p. 100.

In October 1849 University Hall officially opened. Yet another result of the Dissenter's Chapel Act was the construction of a new chapel for Martineau's congregation in Liverpool. Newman took a playful interest in this, referring to this building as "your new Chapel (Church? Steeple house!!)," he noted:

> I hear your friends, or their architects, have been resolved to 'take the shine out' of the Puseyites by the splendour of your ornaments. Poor old church! On the other side they complain that I have tried to rob her of her spiritual glories. Nothing in which she boasts can be identified with the nucleus of her intellectual system! Her suffering must be that of an empire undergoing dismemberment.[100]

Newman asked Martineau for help with a manuscript on the reform of church worship, explaining, "It must not be published, unless it can bear very rough & faithful handling -- & I should send it solely to have its faults laid open..."[101] He had started to write a book called *Extracts from the History of my Creed*,[102] but seemed unconcerned about whether it would be published: "I less care about it, now I have printed the other; after which I felt a load off my heart, as if I should not die without having told the secret which long lay there."[103]

Newman had some constructive criticism for Martineau as well. He felt that Martineau's sermons were too intellectual, more suitable to study than to hear from the pulpit. Newman enjoyed reading Martineau's sermons because they proved that they were essentially in agreement intellectually. They clarified Newman's thoughts on the issues discussed:

> Let me say, especially as to Mediation, I observe that though you are in flat contradiction to me according the letter, you strengthen admirably all that I meant to say. Your protest against a glaring watery ghost is but a translation of my claim of metaphorical language. I accept of every good man as an aid to our imagination to 'represent' God: I only see not the propriety of your limiting it to one, nor any historical certainty that that one was so unapproachably superior to all others. Your rejection of Mediation as vulgarly conceived of, is exactly what I would have wished to write: & while evidently coming from your direct perceptions, strengthens & verifies mine.[104]

Newman attached these words of encouragement and advice for Martineau:

> You have a noble work before you. The times are ripening, & your heart & experience ripens faster than the public. I have constant testimonies how men's hearts & understandings are gaining to that which God is putting into our souls to tell. England wants religion, with dogma & superstition rather than none at all; but she will embrace the higher when the choice is given. Try to

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100 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, 20 November 1849.

101 *Ibid*, no date, probably 4 December 1849.

102 *Phases of Faith*

103 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, no date, probably 4 December 1849.

104 *Ibid*

> preach a little more popularly, so as not to strain the attention too painfully. Forgive this hint. I have greatly profited by you but doubt whether persons of less education can understand you -- & I wish all to have like profit.[105]

There is no evidence that Martineau adopted Newman's advice. On the contrary, one of the anecdotes still repeated about Martineau's congregation mentions their praise for their minister's obscurity, as evidence that he believed that everyone was as good as he was.

By the end of December the issue of Newman's relationship to Martineau had apparently not been resolved to Newman's liking. Newman sent this tentative letter to his friend:

> Very numerous occupations arising partly out of my wife's dimness of sight (from which she but slowly recovers, & cannot yet read or write) -- partly also out of the changes of Professors in our Ladies' College, have hindered my writing to you, & to many others. I however am not sure that there is not another cause which a little embarrasses my writing, viz. a fear of striking some string that may jar. I seem to hanker after meeting you in person, & getting you to pour out your thoughts in freedom. Is not that foolish? I seem to assume, that I cannot be hurt or pained at anything you might say, yet that you may be pained by me. Perhaps this is an illusion, & an improper assumption. But I seem to be out of joint with you in the two highest interests of man, Religion and Politics.[106]

One of the political issues Newman and Martineau disagreed on was slavery. Martineau shocked American abolitionists, who had anticipated his support, by writing "shamefully proslavery" pronouncements. The Americans considered this "true heresy" -- "and from Harriet Martineau's brother too!"[107] Martineau was a Whig; Newman was more liberal. This had something to do with their primary motivations: Martineau's ethics and theology derived from a sense of "Duty," as expressed by Kant's "Categorical Imperative." In this sense, Martineau resembled John Henry, with his sense of constant obedience to the divine will. Newman's politics emanated from his notion of "Justice," which grew out of his empathy with the oppressed. This contrasted with what Craufurd called Martineau's "rather defective sympathy with suffering."[108] Whereas Martineau and John Henry had an individualistic understanding of the divine will, Francis' understanding was more communal, with social implications.

Newman's approach to Martineau was reminiscent of his 1840 letters to John Henry. Newman seemed determined to make his opinions absolutely explicit, so that there could be no possibility of misunderstanding them, and he challenged Martineau to accept him anyhow:

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105 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, no date, probably 4 December 1849.
106 *Ibid.*
107 BPL, MS.A.9.2.24, Mr. Webb to Miss Perkins, 11 December 1849.
108 Craufurd, p. 170.

> You see I am dosing you with some of my most pungent stuff, in proof that I trust your strength & stomach. I cannot believe, my dear friend, that we should feel any moral collision, if we could closely compare ideas, (here, or in religion,) though from having acquaintance with different groups of facts, our auguries may differ.[109]

Martineau accepted Newman's challenge. Nearly fifty years later Martineau wrote to a friend that he believed Newman had revered Martineau's "tender look towards orthodoxy," while Martineau could forgive Newman's "involuntary shade of heresy."[110]

Phases of Faith, or Passages from the History of My Creed, published in 1850, provided a practical illustration for the spiritual development outlined in *The Soul*. In *The Soul*, Newman explored the psychological basis for religion, urging direct religious experience of God's immanence rather than rational understanding. He noted that sometimes the best way to help others is to focus on individual personal development: "a majority of us will ordinarily best promote the edification of others as well as our own by concentrating effort on our own personal improvement."[111]

Phases of Faith focused on Newman's spiritual experience with laser beam accuracy: even individuals vital to his spiritual development appeared as shadowy, peripheral figures. In the first six chapters of *Phases of Faith*, Newman delineated six phases in his faith development, extending over thirty-four years. The two concluding chapters explore "The Moral Perfection of Jesus" and "Bigotry and Progress." Newman demonstrated how he bombed the structure of his childhood faith to reveal its enduring foundation in the bedrock of God's perfection and relationship with humanity. He did not anticipate the shock waves set off by this blast, or the counterattacks from his expected allies: Unitarians, theists, Low Church Evangelicals, and Broad Churchmen.

Newman advanced the front of theological inquiry by drafting "Historians," "Linguists," "Physiologists," "Philosophers," and "men of cultivated understanding" into his army.[112] It is important to note that a large part of what was controversial, even heretical, in 1850, is more widely accepted today. "Yet," as Willey remarked, "it remains an interesting and touching spectacle to watch a pioneer winning, inch by painful inch, the vantage-ground we now occupy."[113] Inch by inch, phase by phase, this is the territory Newman explored and conquered.

The first phase, "My Youthful Creed," lasted ten years, from the age of eleven until the receipt of his double first degree at Oxford. In this period, changes to his faith began externally, mostly through dialogue with others. In this phase Newman appreciated "the unapproachable greatness of the New Testament."[114] While he became increasingly

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109 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 27 December 1849.
110 Craufurd, p. 233.
111 *The Soul*, p. 253.
112 *Ibid.*, p. 174.
113 Willey, p. 18.
114 *Phases of Faith*, p. 16.

Evangelical, his attitude toward the XXXIX Articles developed from unquestioning subscription when he arrived at Oxford to uneasiness about infant baptism when he received his degree. He signed the XXXIX Articles for a second time, reasoning that he had "no active *dis*-belief" in them, and that they had no "practical meaning" for him, since he was neither a minister of religion, or a father.[115] He also realised that he could not be a minister of religion, as he had hoped as a boy.

Newman remembered feeling at Oxford that no one he knew, including his older brother, was very superior to him, and so he turned to God: "This solemn engagement I made in early youth, and neither the frowns nor the grief of my brethren can make me ashamed of it in my manhood."[116]

Newman's second phase, "Strivings After a More Primitive Christianity," lasted seven years, from the time of his Fellowship at Balliol to his return from Baghdad in 1833. There were two major influences on Newman at this time: John Nelson Darby and Newman's missionary experience. Of Darby, Newman stated, "I for the first time in my life found myself under the dominion of a superior.... Indeed, but for a few weaknesses which warned me that he might err, I could have accepted him as an apostle commissioned to reveal the mind of God."[117] He editorialised that although it is dangerous for young men not to meet any more superior mind, it is also dangerous to believe they have found it.

At this time Newman's brother John Henry severed their relations because Francis was speaking at religious meetings. This "mischief" cut him off from his family, as his mother and sisters were living in John Henry's home.[118] As a result of the break with Darby, he experienced "social persecution:"[119] "But now I am alone in the world: I can trust no one."[120] Francis pleaded "Give me men that will love me when I differ from them and contradict them."[121] He wished "to creep into some obscure congregation, and there wait till my mind had ripened as to the right path."[122]

At the end of his second phase, Newman accounted for the changing moral standards of the Old Testament by positing that morality changes by God's command. His "ideal of a spiritual Church" exploded, Newman "[decided] on total inaction as to all ecclesiastical questions." Hurt by the rejection of his "brethren," Newman wanted to recover, to lick his wounds. At this stage in the battle, he could not imagine re-entering the fray.

Newman did not indicate how long his last three phases lasted, and the last four phases added together take the same amount of time as the first two do. His third period, "Calvinism Abandoned," seems to have been less than seven years, beginning in 1834. The fourth phase, "The Religion of the Letter Renounced" also straddled an indeterminate period

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115 *Phases of Faith*, p. 9.
116 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
117 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
118 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
119 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
120 *Ibid.*, p. 37.
121 *Ibid.*
122 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

of time, although Newman became reconciled with his brother during this time, in autumn 1840. In this period, Newman grappled with the Bible's inconsistencies, using German scholars, including Michaelis,[123] Ewald, De Wette, [124]Hitzig, and Neander[125] as his guides. Ultimately, Newman rejected the Bible as authoritative.

The fifth phase, "Faith at Second Hand Found to be Vain," began with Newman's abandonment of the "canon." The repudiation of "second hand faith" effectively eliminated the "Romish" argument alluded to in Phase Three: Newman no longer sought an "infallible interpreter."

The final phase, "History Discovered to be No Part of Religion," brought Newman into his age at the time of writing *Phases of Faith*. Newman criticised Christianity on moral grounds: its failure to raise the status of women, its devaluation of marriage,[126] its sanction of slavery, its unconcern for the rights of individuals or nations, and its failure to promote religious toleration.[127]

Newman predicted that his Evangelical critics would accuse him of never having been a Christian. Ironically he suggested that if he had died after being stoned by Mussulmans for selling New Testaments, he would have been "an eminent saint and martyr." He did not mean to condemn all Evangelicals, however: "there are Christians and Evangelical Christians...who love their creed, only because they believe it to be true, but love truth, as such, and truthfulness, more than any creed: with those I claim fellowship."[128]

He diagnosed several moral improvements in his faith: from "narrow" affections, selfishness and self-righteousness, apocalypticism, and Bibliolatry.[129] In the early phases of his development, he read the Bible as a lawyer reads a document, looking not for loopholes, but for precedent and law. Newman disparaged the Evangelical tendency to use the Bible as a crutch for the moral sense with the inevitable atrophy of this spiritual power.

After receiving criticism on the first edition of *Phases of Faith*, Newman added two chapters: "On the Moral Perfection of Jesus," and "On Bigotry and Progress." The introduction to the American edition of *A Defence of The Eclipse of Faith* called the chapter on Jesus "the most offensive, tortuous, and unfair piece from the pen of a Christian scholar that we have ever encountered."[130] Newman explained at the beginning of this chapter that he addressed the Unitarian notion of Christianity that he "fell in with" at the end of his sixth phase. He stated that Unitarians believed Christianity to be founded on evidence:

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123 J. D. Michaelis was one of the founders of Neologism, and Old Testament Professor at Göttingen.

124 [1780-1849] W. M. L. de Wette produced "the first work of Old Testament scholarship to use the critical method in order to present a view of the history of Israelite religion that is radically at variance with the view implied in the Old Testament itself." Rogerson, p. 29.

125 J. A. W. Neander was the early nineteenth century church historian.

126 As legitimating mere sexual release.

127 Benn, vol. two, pp. 23-24.

128 *Phases of Faith*, p. 134.

129 *Ibid.*, pp. 135-137.

130 Rogers, p. v.

> ...essentially popular and spiritual, consisting in the Life of Christ, who is a perfect man and the absolute moral image of God, -- therefore fitly called 'God manifest in the flesh,' and, as such, Moral Head of the human race.[131]

Newman then dissected this statement: man is imperfect, and if Jesus is perfect, than he cannot be a man. Martineau objected to this "prosaic and embittered view of human nature" and countered that Jesus was imperfect, but possessed a perfect morality. Newman protested, why should Jesus' morality be perfect if he was otherwise imperfect?[132]

Unitarians admitted the fallibility of the Gospels as a record of Jesus' life, yet they clung to tradition by insisting that the witness that many people believed Jesus to be perfect was reliable. Newman insisted on independent witnesses with evidence for their belief.[133]

In addressing the issue of Jesus' morality, Newman warned: "I have risked to be tedious, because I find that when I speak concisely, I am enormously misapprehended."[134] Newman found serious defects in the moral character of Jesus, as shown by the Gospels. He felt that Jesus was pretentious, "*preaching of himself.*" Jesus:

> ...assumed the authoritative dogmatic tone of one who was a universal Teacher in moral and spiritual matters, and enunciated as a primary duty...to learn submissively of his wisdom and acknowledge his supremacy.[135]

Newman argued that Jesus was determined to die, and "exasperated the rulers into a great crime...taking his life from personal resentment"[136]

For Newman, it was moral suicide to set someone up as an absolute guide, and then refuse to criticise that guide. He objected to the obscurity of Jesus' parables, remarking "[e]nigma and mist seem to be his element."[137]

In chapter eight, "On Bigotry and Progress," Newman asked whether it was possible "to love and embrace Christianity without trying to ascertain whether it be true or false?"[138] Newman found two problems inherent in Christianity: the bigotry of individual Christians, and the reluctance of others to state their convictions.[139] Newman called "Progress" "the law of God's moral universe,"[140] which occurred when inward and outward forces worked together. These forces are Spirit and Word, Reason and Church, and Conscience and Authority:[141]

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131 *Phases of Faith* p. 139.
132 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
133 *Ibid.*, p. 143.
134 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
135 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
136 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
137 *Ibid.* p. 154.
138 *Ibid.*, p. 164.
139 *Ibid.*, p. 168.
140 *Ibid.*, p. 169.
141 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

> Religion was created by the inward instincts of the soul: it had afterwards to be pruned and chastened by the sceptical understanding. For its perfection, the co-operation of these two parts of man is essential. While religious persons dread critical and searching thought, and critics despise instinctive religion, each side remains imperfect and curtailed.[142]

Newman concluded by urging co-operation and tolerance:

> Practical Devoutness and Free Thought stand apart in unnatural schism. But surely the age is ripe for something better; -- for a religion which shall combine the tenderness, humility, and disinterestedness, that are the glory of the purest Christianity with that activity of intellect, untiring pursuit of truth, and strict adherence to impartial principle, which the schools of modern science embody.[143]

In 1906, Benn gave great prominence to Newman's writing for the development of English rationalism:

> ...as Evangelicalism had given the Oxford Movement its leader, so now rationalism drew its most prominent champion from the same school and from the same gifted family. Hardly had the elder Newman vanished into the temporary obscurity of the Roman priesthood, when the paler star of his brother Francis rose above the horizon in the opposite quarter of the English theological heaven. For years to come the great issue between reason and faith almost resolved itself into a personal controversy between Francis Newman and the Evangelical party.[144]

There were three major attacks on *Phases of Faith*. The first, *Some Reply to the 'Phases of Faith,'* written by David Walther, appeared in 1851. John Nelson Darby, the man whom Newman had idolised in his second phase, published *The Irrationalism of Infidelity* in 1853, calling *Phases of Faith* a "a mass of nature's ruins and filth."[145] The most damaging criticism, however, came from Henry Rogers:[146] *The Eclipse of Faith* (1852), and the *Defence of the Eclipse of Faith* (1854). Bennett writes that Rogers:

> ...characterized [sic] Newman as a shallow, inconsistent, and absurd infidel. He ridiculed Newman's reverent sincerity by comparing his 'inspiration' to that of the inventor of Lucifer matches. He derided Newman's hatred of slavery and despotism by suggesting that it was directed 'where such magnanimity is perfectly safe and perfectly superfluous.' But perhaps his most damaging technique was his constant rephrasing of Newman's words to make Newman himself appear to be the flippant scoffer.[147]

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142 *Phases of Faith*, pp. 174-175.

143 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

144 Benn, vol. II, p. 17.

145 Robbins, W. p. 112.

146 [1806-1877]*Edinburgh* reviewer and Christian apologist; professor of English, mathematics and mental philosophy at Spring Hill College in Birmingham.

147 Bennett, pp. 5-6.

Rogers quoted Newman out of context and rearranged Newman's words in the quotations until the sense was garbled. Some saw through Rogers' techniques; the *Prospective Review* complained: "there is not an art discreditable in controversy to which recourse is not freely had in *The Eclipse of Faith*, and the *Defence* of it."[148] Bennett noted that since the *Prospective Review* had disliked *Phases of Faith*, this was "convincing evidence of Rogers' unscrupulosity."[149]

Emerson said that to be great is to be misunderstood. Newman found himself misunderstood by his friends as well as his critics. Newman wrote about Martineau:

> While I have an exceedingly high love for him and estimate of him, mentally and morally, I feel my differences from him instructive. He has misunderstood and perverted my *Phases* almost as badly as my most inveterate calumniators.[150]

However, these controversies stimulated sales, both of Newman's book and those of his critics.[151]

Although Newman's Evangelical contemporaries disowned him, Newman was in many ways still Evangelical. The very exercise of writing this book accorded with the Evangelical duty of self-examination. Newman proclaimed that although Jesus "had receded out of my practical religion"[152] his faith had been through the fire of critical investigation, and emerged purified. Robbins contrasted John Henry Newman's belief through a series of cumulative possibilities, the illative sense, with Francis' "argument for *disbelief* from cumulative *improbabilities*."[153]

It is tempting to compare Francis' *Phases of Faith* with John Henry's *Apologia*. The *Apologia*, however, was published in 1864. In 1850, John Henry had published *Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans*. Although the two books map similar territory in a similar fashion, they chart different journeys. John Henry, hoping for converts, directed his readers to Rome. Francis did not dictate a destination, but referred his readers to their moral compass, oriented toward a loving and just God.

Later readers would be unable to read Francis Newman's books without being influenced by his eccentricity, his many interests, and political crusades. The 1907 reprint of *Phases of Faith* by the Rationalist Press association warned its readers:

> I have said that Professor Newman was a gentleman and a scholar....I may add that his saintly character left no room for the vulgar insinuation against unbelievers that they find the restraints of religion too galling to be endured. There remained only the taunt that he was 'peculiar,' which certainly has been worked for all it is worth. It must be confessed that the author of

148 Bennett, p. 16.

149 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

150 McCabe, p. 222.

151 By the sixth edition of *Phases of Faith*, Henry Rogers' response, *Eclipse of Faith*, was in its ninth edition.

152 *Phases of Faith*, p. 125.

153 Robbins, W. p. 137.

> *Phases of Faith* was a vegetarian, an anti-vaccinationist, a total abstainer, and a supporter of woman's suffrage. The candid reader must therefore take the book and its arguments subject to the drawbacks entailed by these admissions.[154]

Despite the drawbacks which make *The Soul* and *Phases of Faith* so clearly relics of the Victorian age, they still captivate modern readers. Both books remain as testimony and monument to Newman's spiritual struggle, and the sincerity of his devotion to God.

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154 *Phases of Faith*, 1907 edition, p. 13.

Chapter Seven:

All the World a Battle-field: and is its Carnage for Nothing?

In 1851, Mary Ann Evans chose to attend Newman's mathematical lectures despite the financial sacrifice required:

> I am attending Professor Newman's course of lectures on Geometry at the Ladies' College every Monday and Thursday. You will say that I can't afford this, which is 'dreadful true' -- but the fact is that I happened to say I should like to do so and good-natured Mr. Chapman[1] went straightway and bought me a ticket which he begged me to accept. I refused to accept it -- and have paid for it -- wherefore I must stint myself in some direction -- clearly in white gloves and probably in clean collars.[2]

Perhaps Evans should have attended Newman's lectures series on Political Economy, also delivered in the Bedford Square College, London. He believed that attention should be paid to political and moral considerations in Political Economy; he criticised other Political Economies for "hard heartedness."[3] Newman found an implicit class bias in public opinion:

> I am very strongly impressed by the [right or wrong] belief, that the first great want of the workmen is better morality & more thriftiness, <u>not</u> better masters or higher wages....[T]he moral deficiencies of the workmen are only in part their <u>fault</u>: they have wanted training, sympathy & example.[4]

As in the *Hebrew Monarchy*, where Newman's sympathy belonged to the slaves who built up Solomon's empire, he sided with the underdog.

Newman had became reconciled to one aspect of the status quo, the union of Church and State. Paradoxically, this resulted through his rejection of the authority of Christianity:

> It is only since I have ceased to regard Christianity as having any particle of authority over me I have been reconciled to any union of Church & State....[N]o sooner did Christians come to believe that Apostles & Prophets spoke with living mouth the will of God, then they believed Traditions & Bishops & an Infallible Written Word, the relative authority of the 3 not indeed being defined, but one or other or all giving an Infallible Truth inaccessible to statesmen & impious to compromise. The Reformation has not, I think, at all undone this, but has only concentrated the faith on the Bible.[5]

His thoughts on this issue would gestate until 1854, when he published *Catholic Union: essays towards a Church of the future, as the organization [sic] of philanthropy.*

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1 [1822-1899] physician, author and publisher.

2 Haight, vol. I, p. 343.

3 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4, fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 7 March 1851.

4 *Ibid.*, 12 September 1851.

5 *Ibid.*, 7 March 1851.

In May 1851, Martineau reviewed *Letters on the Laws of Man's Social Nature and Development* for the *Prospective Review*, a work written by H. G. Atkinson and Martineau's sister, Harriet.[6] They claimed that the proper method for understanding mental science was phrenology, and that mesmerism was the best approach to phrenology. A "scathing notice," the review estranged the two Martineaus, although James claimed the alienation was one-sided.[7] Martineau's review confirmed Newman's thinking on mesmerism and phrenology; Newman observed, he could only "undervalue the good sense & the common sense" of those who "devoted so much time & effort" to these spurious sciences.[8]

Newman also appreciated Martineau's explication of the relation between Theism and morality, which he "fancied to be a sort of discovery of my own, viz. that the arguments against Theism are arguments against Moral Distinctions. In short, Morality, Free Will, & Theism, all three fall or stand together."[9]

Newman's investigation into the common foundations of morality and Theism was provoked by Secularist G. J. Holyoake. For Newman, the position that Holyoake labelled "atheism" was not antipathetic to Newman's "Theism:"

> ...I do not feel much alarm at an atheism which is spread by such agencies. It surely can only be a transition towards a new & better religion. Where the heart retains a love & reverence for goodness, it is essentially a worshipper, & will find its God in due time.[10]

Newman thanked Holyoake for sending him a copy of *The Reasoner*, but remonstrated against its illustrations:

> ...if you knew how the pictures in it trouble me, you would not send it me. Rather perhaps you would not insert them. Those hideous devils & flames &c. would rouse intense horror & hatred, not against the doctrine, but against the impiety which so attacked the doctrine, in the mind of one who believed it. Converts are not to be made thus. You will but intensify bigotry.[11]

Newman seized the opportunity to make some changes in response to Holyoake's critique, when his publisher, the radical John Chapman, wanted to print a cheap edition of *The Soul*. However, he warned Holyoake:

> I cannot answer you rightly, without writing a treatise on Metaphysics and the foundation of Morals. You appear to me to treat it as something bold & strange & unreliable in me (though frank & manly) to avow that I have no logical proof of my first principles. But this is a mere axiomatic truism. If a principle

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6 [1802-1876] miscellaneous writer, economist.

7 Drummond & Upton, vol. I, pp. 220-229.

8 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, May 1851.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 MCS, GJHCC 395, FWN to GJH, no date.

> had a logical proof, it would be only a secondary tertiary, & not a first principle.[12]

Newman forwarded this new section on metaphysics and morals to Martineau for corrections, claiming that he had been misunderstood by Holyoake and Martineau's sister. Newman protested that Holyoake quoted his *Phases of Faith* to make a point more extreme than that intended:

> I do not say that Christianity has done no moral service: far from it: but, what it has done has been exaggerated, & is not so peculiar & unrivalled as to be any cumulative evidence of supernaturalism. It has done evil, as well as good; -- like most human things: -- but in my apprehension, far more of good.[13]

Holyoake admitted this, and a relieved Newman wrote to him:

> I begin to hope that the Atheism of those who retain any hearty moral sympathies must prove to differ less in fact than in appearance from Pantheism, & thereby to admit of degrees of approach to Theism.[14]

Newman assessed Holyoake for Martineau:

> ...do you know, I like him much -- I do not see how it is possible to doubt, that he heartily loves truth and goodness, & anxiously wishes to be on the right side, & has a profound conviction that wrong is wrong, & cannot be made right. I wish all Theists were as candid, & as sweettempered [sic] against violence & prejudice.[15]

In August Newman and his wife spent six weeks abroad: one month in Switzerland, "seeing the most splendid view with the least fatigue". In Germany they visited Basel, Freiburg and Heidelberg; the Newmans spent two nights in Belgium before returning by Calais. Uniformly rainy weather "so disgusted my wife," Newman declared, "that we did not remain so long as we ought....from Freiburg to Dover we had nothing but heavy rain & squally weather."[16]

In counterpoint to John Henry's life, Francis corresponded with reformer Charles Kingsley more than ten years before the controversy that would produce John Henry's *Apologia*. Francis reported Kingsley's "practical results & practical principles...gave me great pleasure." Some scholars, like Lionel Trilling, try to dismiss Newman by amassing long lists of his various causes, as if juxtaposition with his varied interests somehow diminishes the man. One cause invariably included on such lists is Newman's opposition to drains. However, the ground for his opposition was the pollution of the nation's rivers.[17]

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12 MCS, GJHCC 452, FWN to GJH, no date.
13 *Ibid.*
14 *Ibid*, 26 May 1852.
15 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 2 June 1852.
16 *Ibid.*, 12 September 1851.
17 *Ibid.*

On 23 October 1851, Newman met the exiled Hungarian leader Lajos Kossuth,[18] upon his arrival in England, in Southampton. An avid supporter of the Hungarian Nationalist cause, Newman enjoyed a close friendship with the exiled Hungarian politician and author, Franz Aurel Pulszky.[19] Newman described Kossuth as "ardent & impulsive," Pulszky as "keen & logical."[20] This association involved Newman in the expatriate Hungarian community, raising money as well as looking after individuals, including Van Ogilberg,[21] who claimed to be the son of a former ambassador to Sweden, and Janko,[22] who wanted to join a Roman Catholic religious community.

The legacy of the controversies surrounding Francis' *Phases of Faith* and John Henry's conversion to Roman Catholicism established the brothers as icons of the two likely outcomes of a crisis of faith. Perhaps it was the Victorian belief in progress which fuelled the notion that doubt somehow changed the doubter. Change captured the public imagination. In February 1852, the novelist William Makepeace Thackeray responded to a friend's faith crisis: "...I'm not going into Controversy be sure of that. I'm sure Newman's is a great honest heart. Well. So is Frank Newman's."[23]

In a letter to James Martineau in March, Francis exposed some of the workings of his "great honest heart:"

> I am struck by your words against those who imagine the sole use of money to be for necessity or charity. I am sure, & have long been, that in the abstract they are wrong; & ever since I have been married, I have felt that to provide comforts for my wife is more my duty than to hinder distant persons from starving -- I also see that Ingenuity & Beauty must be cultivated &c. Yet I am practically beset with great inward difficulty the moment I desire to bestow money on expensive works of art; -- even to a few pounds. I instantly think, it is so selfish of me to surround myself with enjoyment, when I might impart it --[24]

Newman's ambivalence toward luxury and art contained the last residue of his youthful Puritanism.

In the 1850s Newman contributed to John Chapman's radical journal, *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*,[25] and thus found himself socialising with Chapman and his editorial assistant, Mary Ann Evans.[26] On the 24 March 1852, Evans attended a meeting Newman chaired for the Society of the Friends of Italy. Giuseppe

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18 [1802-1894].

19 [1814-1897].

20 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 10 June 1856.

21 *Ibid*, 5 July 1854.

22 *L&D*, vol. XVI, pp. 393-394.

23 *Ibid*, vol. XV, p. 16.

24 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 17 March 1852.

25 Contributors included J. Martineau, J. A. Froude, and J. S. Mill. Evans commented, "since each can't have a periodical to himself, it is good that there should be one which is common to them -- id est, the Westminster." Haight, vol. II, p. 49.

26 Evans became assistant editor in 1851.

Mazzini[27] spoke out against the Papacy to the audience's enthusiastic approval, although Evans advised a friend, "Mazzini's speeches are better read than heard."[28] On 28 April Newman participated with Mazzini in a conversazione for the Friends of Italy, delivering a lecture on the "Place and Duty of England in Europe."

On 27 April 1852, Evans remarked, "We had quite a brilliant soirée yesterday evening. W. R. Greg,[29]...Francis Newman, the Ellises,[30] and Louis Blanc[31] were the stars of greatest magnitude."[32] Life was not all soirées and conversaziones, however. Sorrow dimmed Newman's star when two members of his family died in the summer of 1852: Harriett Newman Mozley on 17 July, and Aunt Elizabeth Newman on 10 August.

In 1852 Newman produced an historical overview called *Regal Rome: An Introduction to Roman History*. This is a well written and lively account which provides an insight to Newman as a teacher. He described the early Roman conquests thus:

> The received tale represents (what is every way likely) the mass of those who flocked to Rome as consisting of males; in consequence of which they resorted to violent means for carrying off young women from the neighbouring tribes. This, if not true, is well invented. No measure could be more natural on their part; none more intensely resented by the neighbours.[33]

This tendency has been immortalised in the rape of the Sabine women.

Meanwhile, reviews of Henry Rogers' *Eclipse of Faith* prompted Newman to rise again to the defence of his *Phases of Faith*. Rogers stated that Newman should not "so far [forget] himself as to say what he can hardly help knowing will be unspeakably painful." An exasperated Newman protested to Martineau:

> It is unspeakably painful to Trinitarians that any of you say that Jesus is not God. It is unspeakably painful to some others that I do not think the character of Jesus to be absolutely perfect. How can we help giving pain, if we do not shut our mouths entirely? If I merely hint at the first glimpses of apparent imperfection which came on me, I am told that my objections are feeble, & (if I do not mistake) I am thought to want courage to say boldly that the character is imperfect; and when I am thought to say it plainly, I am 'rightly rebuked' for being so very daring.[34]

Martineau himself had reviewed the book anonymously in *The Prospective Review*. Newman did not suspect this when he explained to Martineau that the reviewer's misunderstanding was doubly painful considering its context:

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27 [1805-1872] Italian patriot.

28 Haight, vol. II, p. 15.

29 William Rathbone Greg, [1804-1881] Unitarian essayist and mill owner.

30 Sarah Stickney Ellis [d. 1872] author interested in temperance and the education of women, and her husband, William Ellis [1794-1872] chief foreign secretary to the London Missionary Society.

31 Exiled French republican socialist.

32 Haight, vol. II, p. 21.

33 *Regal Rome*, p. 38.

34 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 11 August 1852.

> I expect such misinterpretation from the orthodox, who, I am persuaded, hate my pages too much to read them consecutively or patiently: but I do not expect to find their interpretations of false fact endorsed in the Prospective; which, writing of me as in a friendly way, must seem to the reader quite authoritative on a matter of fact.[35]

Martineau had conflated Newman's ideas with those of Theodore Parker, Newman noted, "it is very sophistical to talk of 'the school of Newman and Parker,' especially when dealing with a point on which we two are not agreed: but it matters not: people will do so."[36]

Newman detailed twelve points of clarification to Martineau in his capacity as editor of *The Prospective Review*, not realising that Martineau was the author. Martineau may have been thinking of his sister's reaction to his review of her book when he confessed to Newman. At any rate, Newman reassured Martineau in a personal letter on October 1852:

> Concerning your Review of my Phases I said enough... & am quite sorry I have been led on to say more; for though your affection is so deep, & generosity so wide, I fear your sensitiveness may be something so intense, that I may be unable to still your pain at the idea that you have committed an injury on me, or that I think you have. I am afraid that explanations are so apt to beget counterexplanations [sic], that a matter which would be easily & rightly forgotten, if we did not talk of it, frets me if we do. I think your affectionate note just received demands a response; but I will try that it shall not be a reply.[37]

Newman's perspective on theological differences of opinion might be summed up in this way: if he waited to walk with someone with whom he was agreed, he might never walk at all. He explained:

> In religious questions, are not the dearest separated? Do I not think many of my wife's notions deplorable errors? does she not think mine to be blasphemies? Have I five friends whose capacity & high attainments I respect, whom I imagine to accede to very important arguments which seem to me of decisive weight concerning the propriety of my calling myself a servant & follower of Jesus? I do not imagine that I have.... What 'aggrieves' or annoys & distresses (not necessarily even then offends) me, is, to have my sentiments & arguments & opinions erroneously stated, so that the reader believes I think or feel what I do not think or feel, or that I rest upon argument on which I do not rest.[38]

For Newman, misrepresentation, whether wilful or as the result of misunderstanding, was the problem, not differing opinions. Martineau's misunderstanding of *Phases of Faith* did not

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35 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 11 August 1852.
36 *Ibid.*
37 *Ibid.*, 29 October 1852.
38 *Ibid.*

tarnish Newman's opinion of Martineau. Instead, Newman wrote, "it has solely aided my charity towards others," by illustrating the difficulty of conveying a point of view.[39]

Evans also noticed that Newman had been misunderstood by Martineau, as she observed to Sara Hennell's[40] sister, Caroline:[41]

> ...tell Sara that if she feels inclined to abuse James Martineau I wish she would write me the worst she can say of him, for I am just now thoroughly disgusted with his article in the Prospective in reply to F. Newman's chapter on the Perfection of Jesus. I am angry with Mr. Lewes for having said a word of compliment about it.[42]

Haight demonstrates that Lewes' praise was for Martineau's "eloquence rather than his logic."[43]

Newman claimed not to worry about public opinion:

> I have nearly as much love from men as I know how to enjoy. My sorest trials of that sort are beyond being reached by favorable [sic] or hostile literature. And if I be made to be thought more of a fort than I am, yet while nobody assails my moral character, it really is not much of a calamity![44]

That summer Newman visited historian James Anthony Froude in Wales. Newman reported that the rainy weather nearly drowned them; the "cataract in Froude's grounds was tremendous."[45] Sad news summoned him from Wales to attend his aunt's funeral in Derby. The Newmans next travelled to Patterdale in the Lake District. Newman commented:

> My wife is so frantic with the beauty, that she asks whether I cannot resign my post here, & reside with her to die at the Lakes....I must suggest to her to try a winter there, before she wishes to live there on an income insufficient to travel much upon, if at all. I myself like a dry climate; but I also like a warm one; so I am not likely to be pleased in the British isles.

Meditation on the British climate produced this speculation:

> Material improvements in another century seem really likely to enable those who live for self, even if not very rich, to change their climate at pleasure. I believe the South of France would be my best chance of reconciling luxury & health.[46]

In 1853, the social climate and Newman's notoriety conduced to social invitations; Newman found himself in demand. Evans complained:

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39 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 29 October 1852.
40 [1812-1899] Unitarian theologian.
41 Wife of Charles Bray.
42 Haight, vol. II, pp. 129-130.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
44 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 29 October 1852.
45 *Ibid.*, 11 August 1852.
46 *Ibid.*, 20 September 1852.

> Francis Newman is likely to come once or twice in the season -- not more. He has, of course, a multitude of engagements, and many more attractive ones than a *soirée* in the Strand. Never mention me to him in the character of Editress. I think -- at least I am told -- that he has no high esteem of woman's powers and functions. But let that pass. He is a very pure, noble being, and it is good only to look at such.[47]

Newman's friendship and support of women including Anna Swanwick,[48] Frances Power Cobbe,[49] Mary Carpenter,[50] and Josephine Butler[51] contradicted Evans' impression of "no high esteem of women's powers and functions."

June brought the Newmans to Brighton, then in August to Eastbourne, where Newman read the New York Tribune and pondered "the Marriage question."[52] Evans' liaison with George Henry Lewes[53] may have contributed to this interest, although they did not live together until 1854. Newman continued to write mathematical papers as well as *The Crimes of the House of Hapsburg Against its own Liege Subjects*, and English versions of Horace's Odes. Chapman published the latter two volumes, and Newman gave Evans a presentation copy of the Odes.[54]

Back in London in the autumn, Newman gave Stamm's[55] plan for a "League for the Union of mankind" to Holyoake, who printed it in *The Reasoner*. Newman believed that the object of this society should be:

> ...to develop the true Spirituality which has its source in human nature, which impels and ennobles all Morality, which is grounded upon intelligent personal Conviction, and manifests itself in worth & noble Action, especially in the promotion of Truth, Justice, & Love.[56]

Newman outlined his theological position in relation to Holyoake's secularism:

> ...I desire a Moral Union less sharply limited than Secularism; and I hope to see a wider union of which Secularism shall only be one branch....I fully appreciate the importance of the Secularist movement, as one element; but I think there are other elements which ought to combine, and which it is my earnest hope will at length combine with it in friendly diversity, aiming at common

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47 Haight, vol. II, p. 85.

48 [1813-1899] author.

49 [1822-1904] writer, philanthropist, social reformer.

50 [1807-1877] philanthropist.

51 [1826-1906] social reformer.

52 MCS, GJHCC 585, FWN to GJH, 18 August 1853.

53 [1817-1878] miscellaneous writer, he met Mary Ann Evans in 1851.

54 Mulhauser, vol. II, p. 435.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 463, 9 October 1853: Clough wrote to R. W. Emerson, "I went first to Frank Newman, with whom a certain Dr. Stamm, abroad on a mission to form a new Religious Union or League -- he delivering himself of a sort of Anima Mundi Religion; Humanism I think they call it -- F. Newman fraternizing [sic] from a Theistic distance."

56 MCS, GJHCC 601, FWN to GJH, 11 October 1853.

> ends, although having also in part separate views & separate secondary action.[57]

Another issue for the society that Newman considered was that of authority:

> ...no authority but that of Nature...no methods but those of Science and Philosophy...no rule but that of the Conscience, illustrated by the Common Sense of mankind. [The Society] values the lessons of the past,...but it utterly disowns Tradition as a ground of belief, whether miracles & supernaturalism be claimed or not claimed on its side. (No Sacred Scripture nor Ancient Church can be made a basis of belief, for the obvious reason that their claims always need to be proved, and cannot without absurdity be assumed.) The Association leaves to its individual members to yield whatever respect their own good sense judges to be due to the opinions of great men, living or dead, spoken or written, as also to the practice of ancient communities, national or ecclesiastical. But it disowns all appeal to such authorities as final tests of truth.[58]

This emphasis on the individual's role as arbiter of the value of tradition, and the reliance on individual common sense, were typical of Newman's religious writings.

In November 1853, Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart[59] convinced Newman to join him in a delegation to urge Palmerston[60] to aid the sultan in the war against Russia. Newman recalled:

> My friend Pulszky soon after remarked to me that Lord Dudley Stuart was too simple-hearted a man to deal with the adroit Palmerston, who, as Foreign Secretary, had always amused him and made him a tool; but Lord Dudley was sure of a kind reception from Palmerston, and brought with him some zealous Marylebone tradesmen. Palmerston listened very graciously to all the speeches; but, in reply, represented the great military power of Russia and the immense uncertainty of a war against her on land; so far indeed was he from encouraging us to hope for aid to the sultan, that he let nothing escape from him to imply that he himself was in favour of it.[61]

The Crimean War "very well satisfied" Newman, who observed, "It is a great thing that the Turks make good their defence till the allies come up, & that the allies prove to the Turks their sincerity by the attack on Odessa."[62]

Newman published two books in 1854: a collection of Kossuth's speeches; and *Catholic Union: essays toward a Church of the future, as the organization* [sic] *of philanthropy*. Chapman chose the title *Catholic Union*, to add the book to a "Catholic" series; Newman would have preferred to call it *The Alliance of Philanthropy*. Newman

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57 MCS, GJHCC 611, FWN to GJH, 29 November 1853.

58 *Ibid.* 601, 11 October 1853.

59 [1803-1854] MP for Marylebone 1847-1854, advocate of independence for Poland.

60 [1784-1865] Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston.

61 *Two Exiles*, pp. 26-27.

62 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 8 May 1854.

summarised the book's aims, "Agreement of Theory is the end or goal, but cannot be made the starting place of practical Union. We must start from achieved agreement, i.e. practical morals, & go towards spiritual & metaphysical agreement."[63]

John Henry asked Francis about his music in June; Francis confessed, "As to the violoncello, I have not touched it since Maria returned to me, i.e. last December; so literally was it her substitute to me; & I dread to open the case, lest I see two strings broken."[64]

In July the Newmans travelled to the Lake District to visit the Nicholsons and the Martineaus. They left London in great haste because of "an invalid kinswoman desirous of suddenly occupying [their] house."[65] Once in the Lake District, Newman enjoyed a more leisurely pace, only taking a newspaper once a week, though he confided "in such a crisis [the Crimean War], [I] feel hungry for news as the week goes on."[66]

Other authors made demands on Newman's time. Holyoake forwarded to Newman a book on prophecy[67] by a "Mr. Omicron," with the author's request for Newman's opinion. Newman's reply stopped just short of exasperation:

> Omicron writes to ask me whether his book has been deservedly neglected, and entreats me to tell him plainly that he is a fool, if I think so. This is at once an invidious & a useless service to ask of a stranger, and the very request gives me no high idea of the writer's good sense. And while asking so very friendly a task of me, he does not trust me with his name; which seems to imply that he expects no flattering verdict from me. I am telling him that I take too little interest in expositions of prophecy, (which, as prediction, seems to me fundamentally delusive) to make me willing to assume such an office.[68]

Since Holyoake had expressed an interest in publishing Newman's political fragments, Newman presented him with various contributions to the Sheffield Free Press. Newman asked "to exercise a veto on selection:"

> ...i.e. I should not like paragraphs to be isolated so as to give the reader an erroneous idea of the prominence which a subject bears in my mind; nor do I wish articles against Louis Napoleon (for instance) reprinted at this moment. My mind is unchanged, yet I do not think such topics are timely.[69]

John Henry commented on the latest fashion for Maria Giberne in January 1854: "Every body is wearing moustache or beard now -- all the snobs in Birmingham -- people you must know, though I don't like to mention their names. Today I heard that my dear brother

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63 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 8 May 1854.
64 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 20 June 1854.
65 MCS, GJHCC 684, FWN to GJH, 27 July 1854.
66 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 5 July 1854.
67 *An Apology for Hebrew Prophecy*, 1854.
68 MCS, GJHCC 707, FWN to GJH, 11 November 1854.
69 *Ibid.*

Frank wears a moustache!"[70] Henry Wilberforce sent Thomas Mozley's account of Francis to John Henry in November:

> ...[Frank] is singularly little changed in appearance and not aged, but that of late he has taken to nourish a long beard and hair -- he has (as you know) by nature so very little beard that M. says each hair stands separate and distinct giving M. the idea as if it took a line of its own as independent of all the others as Frank's own, and his hair is brushed back from his forehead behind his back hanging down far below his collar. Mozley suspects (for he does not profess to know) that he has made some resolve not to cut them till he hears of the fall of the House of Hapsburgh [sic] against which he has a fanatical animosity.[71]

John Henry replied, "I heard of my poor Frank's absurd beard -- but I cannot believe his absurd vow -- to whom is it made? -- to what god or devil? Does he pray to Mazzini by rapping? or will he end by being a Jew?"[72] John Henry had good reason to disbelieve his brother's "absurd vow," for as Wilberforce reported in his letter, this was merely a fancy of Mozley's.

Francis' dress was also attracting attention. A "friend" told Sieveking that Newman "often dressed in the onion fashion -- three coats, one over the other, and the last one -- green! That he often wore trousers edged with a few inches of leather, and that his hats were not immaculate."[73] This "onion fashion," or as modern fashion calls it, "the layered look," was probably a reaction to Newman's sensitivity to the cold. Thomas Carlyle hinted that layering coat upon coat may have been more common in the 1840s. As Carlyle observed, "I have often wished I could get any people to join me in dressing in a rational way....instead of these layers of coats one over the other, I would have a light waistcoat."[74] Green coats, as noted by Mrs. Gaskell, were also fashionable in the early 1840's. Muddy London streets made leather edged trousers a practical innovation, because mud would simply wipe off the leather, whereas woollen trousers would be more difficult to clean.

Both Basil Willey and James Bennett defend Newman's reputation against Sieveking.[75] Bennett claims, "Miss Sieveking made public the henceforth often repeated stories of Newman the eccentric faddist."[76] He points out that the anecdotes repeated by Maisie Ward, Anne Tuell and Lionel Trilling, originated in childhood memories, and the memories of Newman's students, and are therefore not entirely reliable. Sieveking "too often allows these reminiscences by people who barely knew Newman to stand as true pictures,

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70 *L&D*, vol. XVI, p. 23, 22 January 1854.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 307.

72 *Ibid.*, pp. 306-307, 23 November 1854.

73 Sieveking, p. 104.

74 Pym, p. 256, 3 June 1846.

75 "Newman, ill-starred in several ways, has been especially unfortunate in his biographer (I. G. Sieveking)....it is difficult to see what impelled Miss Sieveking to write her book, except the fact that Newman was once in love with her aunt. She has no understanding of his ideas or sympathy with them...Her incomprehension of his religious views almost reaches sublimity." Willey, p. 51.

76 Bennett, p. 9.

without making a sufficient attempt to stress what was significant within the total perspective of Newman's life and thought."[77] Moreover, Sieveking's comment that Newman "often" dressed in this manner is taken by Trilling to mean that Newman was "always" eccentric in his dress.[78] Bennett argues:

> Sieveking's Memoir, quite possibly unintentionally, accomplished for Newman much the same thing that Strachey's debunking Eminent Victorians did for Thomas Arnold: by the juxtaposition of the absurd and the serious, all dignity was destroyed. And later critics tended to accept both Thomas Arnold and Newman on this level of caricature.[79]

This is not to deny that Newman had his crotchets, but biographers of John Henry and Matthew Arnold have exaggerated Francis Newman anecdotes for comic relief.

In February 1855 Newman was concerned about Harriet Martineau's health. Except for Harriet's fainting fits, her symptoms mirrored his own, which he attributed to an organically unsound heart. Harriet complained, "that every day she feels shot in the head." Newman declared:

> Now this is exactly the symptom I have for nine months been struggling to subdue, & as my wife knows, I am, week by week, balancing whether to put myself under a doctor for it. I dread their treatment as generally more dangerous than the disease. The spasm which distresses me comes at the crisis when I ought to go to sleep, & so wakes me up. I could not get rid of it even in the summer, on days in which I had least mental effort, & was in all other respects conscious of great vigour. I do not like to write to your sister again; I fear to obtrude & do mischief: but I cannot help saying this much to you. -- Like her, I went to a physician to complain of sleeplessness, & got the reply that it was my heart that was diseased. Now I say, I believe this; yet experience also tells me that sleep is the main matter, & that when it is well & other things favourable, the heart becomes a secondary affair.[80]

That summer, Newman experimented with cold hip baths: "I plunge in while still warm from bed. I think it has been serviceable to me, though I do not yet know whether it will be well to keep it up always. I am certainly on the whole growing stronger year by year."[81]

Martineau, whose son Russell[82] received a Master's degree from University College, London in 1854, had heard a rumour that as London University students "*cannot be got to prepare their work* the lessons *have come to be* mere prelections from the professors." He asked Newman about the College discipline. Newman's response took the question personally:

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77 Bennett, p. 10.
78 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
79 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
80 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 17 February 1855.
81 Sieveking, photograph opposite p. 149.
82 [1831-1898] orientalist.

> I am not aware of any change in the pupils since I have been here, except that my classes are smaller, in part owing to the removal of Coward College and the rivalry of the new institution in which it is now comprised; in part (I happen to know) from dread of my personal acquaintance & influence; in part, I suspect, from the working of London University, which I think bad; and others must add, whether worst of all is, my own want of judgment [sic] in selecting subjects, and the mode of the treatment. Undeniable it is that my classes are smaller, that my half-dozen best scholars are decidedly below the half-dozen best I had in the first year or two.[83]

Newman was "quite sick of going again and again over elementary books in mere school fashion;" to make his teaching more interesting, Newman devoted one day a week to lecturing on particular books, including Horace's Odes and the Epistles of Cicero. Candidates for honours in the London B. A. were examined in these; Newman guessed:

> I conjecture that somebody has seen this announcement of mine in our prospectus, and imputes it to a *relaxation of discipline* in my pupils (indeed there is little enough, and always was, in the majority of mine; they only want to scrape through their degree and the University kindly keeps its real demands to a minimum).[84]

Newman's stationary in March featured a dove with a banner in its beak, reading "Peace Brotherhood and Progress." He emended this to "Justice Brotherhood and Progress toward Peace,"[85] illustrating his ideals. For Newman, progress was not an end in itself, but a means.

Newman revealed more practical implications of his moral theism to Holyoake in April:

> I cannot have any thing to do with unchaste doctrine, any more than with a doctrine of falsehood, of cruelty or injustice. But the imminent danger is, that any attempt at a Catholic church will break up on that controversy. I have already quarrelled with Mr Rouge about it. He informed me that his present wife was divorced from her husband (by whom she had 5 or 6 children) solely because their religious opinions differed, and at her claim: which Rouge treated as an evidently sufficient ground of divorce, & justifying his marrying her...[86]

The idea that a married couple might divorce over a difference in religion was an abomination to Newman, who enjoyed a happy marriage with his wife despite their different theological positions. Newman continued:

> James Martineau says, that there is an intimate connexion [sic] between pure doctrine as to personal chastity & a belief in a

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83 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 17 February 1855.
84 *Ibid.*
85 MCS, GJHCC 742, FWN to GJH, 1 March 1855.
86 *Ibid.* 756, 11 April 1855.

> Personal God. I think there is much truth in this, though I do not receive it as absolutely true.[87]

In the article "Administrative Example of the United States,"[88] Newman called America "the pole star to which from all sides the eye of struggling nations turns. One great curse, indeed, pollutes the American republic -- slavery."[89] America's social mobility was due, Newman argued, to her political institutions: national education, a policy on territories which encouraged free-hold cultivation, her moral movements (abolition and temperance), her employment and education of females, the need for Congress' approval of presidential appointments, a small standing army supplemented by a voluntary militia, and open diplomacy. These policies appealed to Newman's sense of justice:

> What views purely political I may hold, are overruled by their moral elements. I mean to say, that I value forms of government in proportion as they develop moral results in individual man; and if I now am democratic for Europe it is not from any abstract & exclusive zeal for democracy, all the weaknesses of which I keenly feel, but because the dynasties, having first corrupted or destroyed the aristocracies, & next become hateful, hated, & incurable themselves, have left no government possible which shall have stability & morality except the democratic.[90]

Newman maintained that legislators must rank above ministers, foreign treaties should not be valid until ratified by Parliament, ministers should not have legislative duties in addition to executive power, and, as in America, high officers should receive their positions independently of their superior.[91]

Newman stated the "the known & received principle of Morality:"

> ...three classes of things are desirable, the Right, (which is supreme,) the Expedient (or profitable) which is second in value; and the Pleasant, which is lowest of the three. Such is the doctrine of all who may be called Spiritual Moralists. But many moderns, like the old Epicureans, resolve all into Pleasure; or at least, say that the Right is only Right because it is Expedient.[92]

Newman despaired over the contrast between the Victorian emphasis on individual morality, and public policy of expediency:

> ...while humanity, philanthropy, honour, high & robust principle abound in private life, (perhaps as never before,) the Law of Right & Wrong is nowhere dreamed of as the first & vital rule to a Statesman....To establish Justice as the primary

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87 MCS, GJHCC 756, FWN to GJH, 11 April 1855.
88 Reprinted in *Miscellanies*, vol. III.
89 *Miscellanies*, vol. III, p. 3.
90 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 14 June 1855.
91 *Miscellanies*, vol. III, pp. 22-25.
92 MCS, GJHCC 784, FWN to GJH, 25 August 1855.

> law of Policy, would seem to me the most glorious of all moral revolutions, worth of being bought by thousands of martyrdoms.[93]

Newman lamented that Christendom had not produced a religion capable of lifting the world's nations out of their present barbarism.[94] He continued on this theme in an article on "International Immorality,"[95] where he hoped, "Future moralists will perhaps decide that man should in no case use deadly violence against his fellowman [sic], except where the morality of it is so plain that the person attacked ought to know himself to be wrong."[96] Newman argued that Republicanism was not an end, but a means. The "many" craved national identity; their leaders wanted policy based on morality.[97] Newman's belief that nations had a right to their own language and customs clashed with the English Victorian faith in progress and imperialism. Undoubtedly his missionary trip to the Ottoman Empire enhanced his understanding of this issue.

Balancing his interests in religion and politics, Newman noted "Virtue must come from within: to this problem Religion and Morality must direct themselves. But Vice may come from without: to hinder this, is the care of the politician."[98] He identified one ultimate remedy:

> ...a faith in Truth, a resolve to find truth, to speak truth, to diffuse truth as we have found it. This will at length put down social injustices, prevent fraudulent trading, expose false diplomacy, and unite all free nations in good will.[99]

Newman "resolved to give up all extra and needless effort of the brain, until I can really get rid of certain morbid symptoms, quite chronic, which distress me."[100] He had finished a translation of Homer's *Iliad*

> ...I have had satisfactory approval of my *Iliad* from my brother, Dr. Newman, a fastidious critic and practical poet, as also from other private quarters which I count much on; but reviews as yet do not notice me...I have no high expectation of the very existence of the book becoming known, except slowly to many who might perhaps be glad of it if they knew it...[101]

In September the Newmans relaxed in Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight. After ten years of abstinence, Newman discovered, "I can swim as well as ever, and without discomfort to my heart. I am becoming quite zealous for my daily swim." In fact, his exercise emboldened him

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93 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 13 October 1857.
94 *Ibid.*
95 Reprinted in *Miscellanies*, vol. III.
96 *Miscellanies*, vol. III, p. 18.
97 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
98 *Prospects*, p. 13.
99 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
100 Sieveking, p. 154.
101 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

to suggest to Martineau, "If I could be with you at Derwentwater again, I think I should be less indisposed to try an oar."[102] Exercise agreed with Newman:

> Indigestion, or sleeplessness, not exertion, seems to be the chief enemy of my heart, which yet cannot bear exertion when so suffering. I am giving myself abundant ease & never enjoyed myself with so much 'abandon.'[103]

Newman questioned English attitudes about "the indecency of promiscuous bathing:"

> I cannot understand why they...insist on drawing people into solitude, & separations very inconvenient, instead of demanding that, as on the continent, both sexes be clad in the water. Last year I saw an article that expressed disgust at ladies bathing within reach of telescopes! There is here such a colony of foreigners, that I hope they may teach this lesson. Besides the Pulszkys, who are a family of 12 persons, there are 7 of Kossuth's household, a large family of Marras (Italian), three of Janza (Viennese), two or more Piatti's (Italian), who keep company together & very many of whom bathe statedly.[104]

Newman explained that in the previous year, Mrs. Pulszky had been swimming daily, "with her husband & an intimate male friend at her side. He will not let her swim in the sea without, & is amazed at English husbands consenting to abandon their wives as they do."[105]

Martineau asked Newman for some information for an article he was writing on John Henry. Newman protested:

> I certainly did not contemplate that I was speaking for the public ear on such a subject. I have a pain from it, (chiefly from a sense, perhaps, that I should not like my brother to know or suspect that the information came from me) yet I cannot blame your proceeding, or question your right, so carefully & tenderly as you guard against objection.[106]

Newman also entreated Martineau not to mention his brother Charles in the article. As requested, Martineau sent Newman the proof of the article, and Newman's reply contained more information about Charles:

> He is such an original, that no a priori argument enables you to fill up a sketch. You clearly conceive that he has abandoned all ideas of duty....while he is practically free from many base vices, his theory is so execrable, that you would expect him to be a monster of iniquity, & his real practice is so intolerable that many would wish (for his own sake & that of others) that he were rather immersed in commoner vice....He will do nothing but write a metaphysico-moral poem, to gibbet Noah as the source of conventional morals and praise up prostitution as of equal honour with marriage. He believes that he has a genius for moral

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102 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 8 September 1856.
103 *Ibid.*
104 *Ibid.*
105 *Ibid.*
106 *Ibid.*

> teaching, & that society is unjust in not rewarding him for it. All this is like madness.[107]

When Martineau's article "Personal Influences on our Present Theology: Newman, Coleridge, Carlyle" appeared in the October *National Review*, Newman responded with admiration:

> Your article concerning my brother amazes me by the inexhaustible fund of patience which you possess, still more than it interests me in all other respects. How you can read, on & on, disentangling such webs, I cannot conceive. As to Maurice, I am sure that you understand him, and on your testimony I believe that there is in him a noble & self consistent religious theory: but that will not enable me to suspect that it is my fault & not his that I find him obscure. If he will teach popular duty, it is his task to come within popular comprehension; and he does not.[108]

Newman had no patience for theological obscurity.

Nicholson's son Harry, who grew up to be Professor Alleyne Nicholson of Aberdeen, lived with the Newmans during term time while he studied at the University College School. Newman wrote to Harry's father:

> ...it will not do to be studying morning and night. What think you of giving a well defined time to *drawing* every evening? He has so much taste for drawing insects that he cannot fail in outline. We have a little room which we call 'the boy's room,' where he can put any of his Natural History collections..., but we have *no butterflies to catch*; -- few even in summer.[109]

Newman knew the Nicholson family from his visits to Penrith. Maria worried about Harry's spiritual needs: "My wife is cheered to learn that Harry will go to Mr. Bruce's on Sunday. A black spot had rested on her heart, I find, from fearing that he would go *nowhere* to church."[110]

Newman's ideas on the cultivation of genius may be glimpsed in his letters to Nicholson, where Newman reflected on his own education:

> I much dislike a boy having *both* his work at school and *then* evening work at home, when he is getting sleepy and ought to have relaxation. It is the nuisance of day schools, and quite hurtful to study, if there is nobody at home to answer questions. Besides, Harry is so studious of himself that it is very much to be desired that he should have time for *voluntary* work. I regard this as having been very beneficial to *me* at school, where I never had work enough set me to fill up half my time.[111]

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107 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 7 October 1856.
108 *Ibid*, 28 October 1856.
109 Sieveking, p. 153.
110 *Ibid.*, p. 156.
111 *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

Evidently, Harry found the time for extracurricular work, for he left "divers snail-shells fastened on pasteboard" behind him in "the boy's room."[112] Harry left a hole in the Newman household; Newman explained that Maria

> ...was rather disappointed at the unceremoniousness of my parting with Harry. It seems like a dream his vanishing. I suppose she is like Hecuba, grieved that she could not make the funeral of Hector. (I did not even kiss Harry *by proxy* for her!) Most gladly does she give him up to Mrs. Nicholson; and yet, I fancy, she wanted a funeral ceremony on losing him.[113]

Newman praised Frances Power Cobbe's *Intuitive Morals and Religious Duty*;[114] he found its exploration of immortality particularly inspirational:

> The doctrine of immortality so unhesitatingly avowed affects me as nothing from Theodore Parker on the same subject ever did. The love & joy in God flowing out of it is so spontaneous & kindly as to make me long to say, -- I now no longer hope only, *but I* am sure. In any case I do rejoice that others can so believe & I pray that if this be a mere cloud over my eyes, it may at length be taken away. Not that I have any deficiency of happiness from this; but I have a great deficiency of power: & I am painfully out of sympathy with others by it.[115]

This pronouncement on immortality marked a softening of Newman's attitude since writing *Phases of Faith* in 1850, in which he had argued that a belief in immortality was pernicious. Reading this book made Newman long for communion with kindred minds:

> I want to cultivate, if I knew how, rather more free spiritual communication with those who supremely love God as the Good one, & those who will bear with me. I much need this, if I could get it.[116]

Cobbe's book caused Newman to reflect on his life, as he explained to Nicholson:

> In truth, dear friend, I get happier and happier, and only am pent up and mourn to feel how I live for self alone. I sometimes think with a sort of envy how your knowledge of medicine and tender heart for young children puts you into near and kind contact with the poor. However, we have each his own talent, if only once can find the mode of wisely disposing it.[117]

At the end of October, in the Haymarket, Newman found an engraving of John Henry by George Richmond;[118] this image captivated him, and he bought it: "both as a beautiful

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112 Sieveking, p. 161.

113 *Ibid*, 7 May 1857.

114 Cobbe, Frances Power *An Essay on Intuitive Morals: being an attempt to popularise ethical science* two volumes, 1855, 1857. Part One was "Theory of Morals," Part Two was "The Practice of Morals." Book One of Part Two was called "Religious Duty."

115 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 30 May 1857.

116 *Ibid.*

117 Sieveking, p. 162, 20 June 1857.

118 This portrait is reproduced on the cover of Gilley's *Newman and His Age*

work of art & as an admirable likeness...I could not have any thing better hung up on my wall."[119]

On the last day of 1857, Newman wrote from Brighton to his brother to "salute you affectionately on the new year," and mused, "Probably you will get it when you are occupied with the deepest & highest thoughts, on which it is hard for us to communicate, much as we may have most profoundly in common."[120] He announced his latest work, *Theism* to John Henry:

> ...which is in some sense the work of my life, & which I mean to send to you, if you do not discourage me....[T]hough it naturally has passages which will be highly antagonistic to you, these are quite exceptional: for in the general idea it might (quite as well as Paley's Natural theology) have been written to underprop Christianity in general, without entering on questions which divide Churches.[121]

Newman wrote *Theism* to counteract atheism, although he noted his "real antagonists" were "Pantheists, Materialists & (a species of the last) Immoral Statesmen."[122] He found two types of atheists: one with an amoral and random universe; the other rejected the God taught by society, but retained a notion of law, which might or might not be moral. Newman felt that this type could not really be called atheist because this law functioned similarly to the theist's God.

Newman contrasted Theism with Pantheism, Polytheism, and Atheism. Pantheism and Polytheism were twin sisters, he wrote, the daughters of Poetry and Philosophy. The problem with Pantheism, for Newman, was that it was unconcerned with individuals, and not necessarily moral. Newman accused some Christians of allowing their faith to degenerate into Pantheism and Polytheism.[123] A particularly destructive manifestation of this was Mediation, praying to others than God. By praying to substitutes for God, supplicants reified human beings, and debased the image of God by implying a mediator is necessary, or else presented desires which they knew to be unacceptable to God:

> To a God most high, most just, most holy,
> No man dares to raise petitions frivolous or wrongful;
> But a Greek would beseech Artemis to help his murderous raid,
> And a Knight Templar implore the Virgin to prosper his adultery.[124]

God, Righteousness, Virtue, Moral Perfection, and Justice were equivalents for Newman. There were two main arenas for God to work on earth: Church and State. These represented different aspects of God: the perfect State is Justice, the perfect Church is Truth.

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119 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 31 October 1857.
120 *Ibid*, 31 December 1857.
121 *Ibid.*
122 *Ibid.*
123 *Theism*, pp. 89-91.
124 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

The State enforced justice by its laws; the Church taught truth by appealing to conscience. The common interest of the State and the Church was morality.[125]

Theism contained a Prologus and an Epilogus, with three "Books" in between. Books I and III are poetry, as are the Prologus and Epilogus; Book II is prose. The second Book presents "Proverbs:" small nuggets of wisdom. Book I is called "Theory of Religion;" Book III is "Religious Life." These books represented the doctrinal and practical aspects of religion of the book's title. *Theism* 's form was dictated by its content: "it could not have come into existence in common prose, & its metaphysical parts would have been as unintelligible to unmetaphysical minds as all other prose metaphysics."[126]

Newman's considerations in Book II were very practical indeed. He covered subjects as various as conjugal relations, cruelty to animals, and the proper posture for prayer. A considerable proportion of *Theism* treated the duties and responsibilities of citizens, *viz. à viz.* the State, which necessitated a discussion of legislation, war, and capital punishment. The fundamental duty of the citizen, however, for Newman, was to speak the truth, even when this marked the citizen as "eccentric." Individuals who insist on speaking the truth, even when it rebukes the powerful, inherit the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament. Newman called these people "Modern Martyrs."[127]

Francis' birthday present to John Henry in 1858 was a glowing review of John Henry's *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*. It is possible, however, that John Henry took this praise with a grain of salt, as Francis also informed him, "Maria was surprized [sic] to find how much she liked the whole kernel of a sermon I read her. Of course we drop some portions, but the ease of dropping them testifies to us that they are secondary."[128] This willingness of Francis and Maria to enjoy the sermons, despite the need to tailor them, contrasted with Francis' suspicious treatment of the first volume of sermons in 1834.

John Henry Newman regarded his brother Francis as the archetype of all his opponents:

> I have a brother connected with the London University. I am on the best terms with him and have frequent communications with him -- and he wishes to be as kind, as in heart he is affectionate -- but the abhorrence, the scorn, and the indignation, and, when even he wishes to be most civil, the niggardly condescending courtesy he shows to my religion, must be witnessed to be understood. I believe others of his opinions are better or worse, but I don't think...they are so different from him...[129]

Latin versification, translating English poetry, and Arabic preoccupied Newman in 1858. He worried about Napoleon's overtures to Austria, although this worry may have been

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125 *Theism*, pp. 113-116.

126 MCO, in copy of *Hebrew Theism* (rev. edn., 1874) dedication copy to R D Darbishire, FWN to R. D. Darbishire, 6 February 1858.

127 *Theism*, pp. 131-133.

128 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 20 February 1858.

129 *L&D*, vol. XIX, pp. 29-30.

allayed in May, when Kossuth and Pulszky went to Paris to meet with Napoleon. Kossuth explained to Newman:

> Louis Napoleon...is a man at whom, on account of his *coup d'état*, I shudder; and it may seem a duty to hate him. Yet I am bound to say, not only has he been wholly faithful to us, but every time I have been closeted with him I have come away with a higher opinion, not only of his talents and sagacity, but also of his morals.[130]

In July, the Newmans escaped the London heat wave into the cool beauty of Aberystwyth. Newman commented:

> The mountains are very inferior in grandeur & beauty to the north coast, but the sea is vastly superior, & all so accessible. We have had some exquisite evening views of the entire bay...It is a great advantage, I think, always to have the sunsets on the sea.[131]

Newman was grateful for his ability to appreciate this beauty:

> By the bye, my wife's shortsightedness [sic] often reminds me how much you shortsighted people lose of delicate distant beauty. I often remember your saying that a drawing of mine 'looked like a map' because it tried to give the detail of fields -- which <u>you</u> do not see. (I know my drawing was quite out of keeping; I am not defending it.) But the delicate wrinkles on the sea in the extreme distance, which my wife cannot see <u>at all</u>, are often quite transporting to me, as well as the softness of the very distant mountains & all the detail of cliffs which are to her like a broad night shade.[132]

Perhaps this beauty made Newman reluctant to leave Aberystwyth in September, although he told Nicholson Maria's cold kept them there. Newman was reading a frustrating translation of *Robinson Crusoe* into Arabic: the text was not pointed, there was no glossary, and details of the text were altered arbitrarily so it was useless to consult the original.[133]

On 12 October 1859, Newman delivered the introductory lecture to the session of the Faculty of Arts and Laws, on the "The Relations of Professional to Liberal Knowledge." He urged:

> ...the young man who is enabled to prolong his general education, and to cultivate knowledge and talent less obviously essential to the profession which he will ultimately embrace, not only provides best for professional success in the end, but becomes a more accomplished <u>man</u>, better furnished for his duties as a citizen and as a member of society.[134]

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130 *Two Exiles*, p. 130.

131 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 6 August 1859.

132 *Ibid.*

133 Sieveking, p. 174.

134 *Relations*, p. 30.

John Henry approved of Francis' lecture and sent him some of his own writings on the subject of education. Francis thanked him from lodgings in Hastings in December, where the Newmans were driven by severe winter weather, which froze their water pipes. Francis confessed he harboured prejudices for aspects of Oxford's system, including "vivâ voce examinations, & the dividing into classes instead of putting into order of merit."[135]

Francis and John Henry were not the only Newman authors in demand in 1859: Holyoake contacted Charles Newman and asked him to submit articles to *The Reasoner*. Charles responded:

> ...I am not a very reliable person; I am subject to mental infirmity of a chronic character, dependent on physical causes, & which having grown up with me from infancy, I find to be incurable. While it is thus necessary that I should put on their guard persons who have dealings with me, I am happy to be able to state that the complaint is of late years much abated, so that I think it quite possible that I may be able now & then to send something to the "Reasoner"...[136]

Charles gave a long description of his mysterious malady, which he claimed had no name, and decried others' dismissal of his symptoms.

Maria Giberne wrote to Francis urging him to convert to Roman Catholicism. John Henry intervened on his brother's behalf:

> As to Frank, it is just what you ought to expect. He is annoyed at yours [sic] -- which, if any thing, rather shows you have done him good. I have never preached to him, since I was a Catholic, or said I prayed for him -- but he has not unfrequently [sic] preached to me -- yet he is quite unconscious he does so -- and does not like any one to do what he does himself. You had better *not* write again.[137]

Upon his return to London, Francis realised that he had "got a book out of [John Henry] by false pretensions." John Henry had sent Francis a second copy of a book on University Education, and Francis discovered the first copy, complete with his pencil markings. Francis confessed, "you make least impression on my mind and memory when I most agree with you. This is not solely in what is logical and analytical and Aristotelic [sic], which least affects the imagination, but sometimes in regard to fundamental matters of theology."[138] He made another disclosure:

> Now I will tell you an odd thing: take it as a compliment or the contrary. A man whose name is (unjustly) a horror to nearly all my friends, and to every class of religionists, Holyoake, the Atheist Lecturer, is a great admirer of you -- and of me! I esteem him, not only as an honest man, & as one resolved to learn, if he can find ground to stand on, but also as having (more than any one man beside) saved the workmen of England from French &

135 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 28 December 1859.

136 MCS, GJHCC 1255, CRN to GJH, no date.

137 *L&D*, vol. XIX, pp. 264-265, 31 December 1859.

138 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 17 January 1860.

> Materialistic Atheism....He reads eagerly, not only your works on general subjects & your novels, but many of your sermons; has come far out of his way to hear you preach & me lecture; and he frankly told me, he found we had very much in common, as to method & style of mind, or, he did not know what; but so it was, he could always learn much from us, & feel quite sure, that what he did learn was substantial. Now who knows, how strangely, when your words fall flat on an audience of half educated self sufficient gentry or tradesmen here or in Dublin, you may unawares by giving a secret but sound intellectual impulse to a body w.ch at present has no religious beliefs whatever?[139]

John Henry's response may have surprised Francis with its tolerance of atheism:

> I assure you I do not at all undervalue the interest which Mr. Holyoake may take in my writings -- More than most people have I had lessons through my life to 'Cast my bread upon the waters', and 'not to observe the winds' -- You may understand, that my Creed leads me to feel less surprise at an Atheist than a Protestant feels. In truth, I think that logically there is no middle point between Catholicism and Atheism --....And, while you are wondering how I can be a Catholic, I on my own side may think that both you & (from what you say) Mr Holyoake may cherish that in your hearts, of which Catholicism alone is the full account.[140]

John Henry categorised atheism and Catholicism as the only logical alternatives for belief.. Francis found atheism and Catholicism equally flawed, not acceptable alternatives at all. How ironic, then, is their agreement "on fundamental matters of theology!"

Newman wrote to Nicholson with "hopes for the future brightly contrasted to anything for ten years back." He worked on an Arabic translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, presumably trying to improve on the one he read the summer before, and read the novel *The Minister's Wooing*[141] with such delight that he was inspired to translate some of its passages into Latin.[142]

A harsh February brought Newman a slight case of bronchitis, sufficient "to force me to spend my evenings in bed, from seven o'clock almost, and keep me three entire days away from college." He reported his exasperation with "the coughs and noseblowings [sic] of the students, and by an ill-arrangement of the class rooms." Newman tried to motivate his students, and believing that a good story, translated into Latin, might inspire them, he started to translate *Robinson Crusoe*.[143]

Henry Rogers' books, *The Eclipse of Faith* and *Defence of the Eclipse of Faith*, still occupied Newman's attention. Francis protested to John Henry that Rogers

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139 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 17 January 1860.

140 *Ibid.*

141 Written by Harriet Beecher Stowe [1811-1896], and published in 1859, ten years before the author achieved notoriety in England by accusing Byron of incest with his sister.

142 Sieveking, p. 177.

143 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

> ...is expecting me to believe as true the message of One whom (he tells me in so many words) I am logically bound to believe immoral. His book, asserting this at large, has gone through nine editions with high credit & almost universal commendation of our orthodox press. [Many reviewers live by their pen, & have not time to read the book they review, much less digest it: but some errors are too much on the surface not to strike the eye.] This seems to me to indicate a deep rottenness at the bottom of their religious theories.[144]

John Henry misconstrued Newman's complaint, "I fully take part with you against your friend, who would have you receive revealed religion, though against your conscience. This can never be lawful, as every Catholic would agree with me in saying."[145] Francis clarified this in his next letter to John Henry:

> I see I wrote my last note so obscurely as to have misled you. It is no friend of mine, but if any man can be emphatically my enemy, it is my enemy that I have recently answered, after six years silence, thinking that a full reply made for me in a review would suffice. But reviews are buried away & forgotten in six years, and Mr Henry Rogers continues to circulate his garblings of my words & monstrous misrepresentations, in books which are eagerly sold & greedily believed, Eclipse of Faith & its Defence, their worse falsehoods being repeated by credulous reviewers. It is impossible to help caring for writers, however intrinsically wrong & perverse, who circulate false facts.[146]

These reviews had a poisonous effect in Newman's personal life, as those who read that he had become an atheist were likely to believe this without verifying it.[147]

In an especially rainy summer, the Newmans visited Derby, Matlock, Manchester, Ambleside, Keswick, Penrith, and North Wales. In August Newman wrote to Martineau from Minnikin's Lodgings in Keswick recalling "the (dripping) hours so pleasantly passed with you and yours." He added:

> I did not venture to intrude myself on your sister, but I studied & admired her cottage, & chatted with her gardener. It struck me much how the coachmen were always anxious to make one see the house of Miss Martineau, of Mrs Arnold, of Wordsworth, of Hartley Coleridge & cared not a straw about the rich aristocracy, -- or thought the passengers would not.[148]

Newman worried about Garibaldi and Mazzini in Italy, but Garibaldi's "wonderful exploits" enabled Kossuth and Pulszky to leave England for Italy.[149] Upon their departure, Newman recorded: "Pulszky told me that they were glad to leave behind in ME one

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144 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 18 May 1860.

145 *Ibid.*

146 *Ibid*, 23 May 1860.

147 *Ibid.*

148 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to JM, 30 August 1860.

149 *Two Exiles*, p. 130. In the preface to *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, G. M. Trevelyan wrote that Italy was made by "the astonishing feats of 1860."

Englishman who knew all their secrets and could be trusted to expound them."[150] Newman's concern with justice in this period manifested itself in his political activities. Life was a battle-field, but Newman was determined to find meaning in its carnage: his banner proclaimed, "Justice Brotherhood and Progress toward Peace."

150 *Two Exiles*, p. 1.

Chapter Eight:

Taught by Religion to Revere God's Gift of Life

Newman earned a place in English literature as Matthew Arnold's[1] target in his 1860 poetry lectures. Newman had attempted a translation that would reproduce the impression of Homer's Greek in English, using archaic expressions to suggest Homeric diction. Arnold criticised this as a failure to respect Homer's nobility and plainness of style. This encounter has been treated elsewhere: Arnold's lectures were poorly attended until he launched a personal attack on Newman.[2] Although Arnold's attack delighted his audience, it appalled the press. Contemporary reviews described Arnold as "authoritarian," "supercilious," "contemptuous and insulting."[3]

Newman described the attack to Joseph Henry Allen,[4] an American Unitarian minister and scholar:

> A Professor who is translating Homer...told me I had erred in troubling myself to reply at all to a man who had made such a fool of himself. I do not like to repeat what a young pupil in his class at Oxford said the other day, as to what his class thought of him. But, I think, 'conceited insolent fox' is his prevalent reputation. That he owes his position to his father's name...is pretty clear: but that position sells his books. He knows very well that if I replied to his rejoinder, my reply would be unread; so he could safely count on being unanswered.[5]

Newman's comment to Allen, "Such is the degeneracy of the child from the parent," contains one key to Arnold's personal antagonism to Newman. Thomas Arnold, Matthew's father, influenced Newman as a spiritual guide: Newman brought his difficulties with the Bible and Anglican theology to him. In turn, Arnold respected Newman's ability and sincerity, contrasting Francis, "the great man" with his brother John Henry, "the little man."[6] Matthew Arnold may have envied Francis' friendship with his father, who died before his relationship with Matthew could transmute into something more mature. Ironically, Matthew was the "great aesthetic lay disciple" of John Henry.[7]

Matthew Arnold's theology differed drastically from Francis:' Arnold perceived God as "the eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousness." Both men believed in God, but two very different types of God. Arnold was a Deist, whose God operated through natural law; Newman, a Theist, worshipped a personal God. This formed the basis for their *odium*

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1 [1822-1888] professor of Poetry at Oxford 1857-1867.

2 Honan, p. 307. Honan mistakenly identifies Newman as "the evangelical Rev. Francis Newman," p. 203; he says *The Soul* "epitomized [sic] the glibness of modern clergyman," p. 309.

3 *Ibid*, p. 312.

4 [1820-1898].

5 HU, bMS 416/2 60, FWN to JHA, 6 January 1866.

6 Mulhauser, vol. I, p. 63. This statement, as reported by Clough, is ambiguous.

7 Gilley, p. 26.

theologicum, which, Newman commented in another context, "hates most those who come nearest."[8]

Three years after the controversy, Newman revised his translation of the *Iliad*, explaining:

> In the course of the last 3 years, I have revised my translation, on interleaved pages; & have sacrificed some of my peculiar words to the objections of those who approve me as a whole. I found the first book the worst done by far: as I had not yet learned the weaknesses & strength of my metre...[9]

Thus Newman himself acknowledged that some of Arnold's criticisms were accurate, although stated offensively.

In May 1861 Newman's interest in slavery "swallow[ed] up all other interest."[10] John Henry once observed that he and Francis were on the opposite sides of public questions; Francis hypothesised that since both brothers made their decisions based on moral issues, perhaps they were presented with different sets of facts.[11] As a vice president of the Manchester Union and *Emancipation Society*,[12] *as well as a member of the London* Emancipation Society,[13] Francis defended the American Civil War to his brother:

> The South has so played its game as to entangle in its embrace the coarsest materialism of the North, & employ the resources of the whole Union for its own special purposes; & these purposes are pernicious, immoral, atrocious; pernicious to the Union & to Europe at large....This is a horrible disease, & if the remedy be severe, that is lamentable, but only natural.[14]

Newman's concern about the American Civil War derived from his preoccupation with justice, and prompted him to write to Gladstone, who had publicly supported the Confederate States of America on 7 October 1862. Gladstone's correspondence delighted Newman both by its friendly tone and its reassurance that Newman had misunderstood his position on the American Civil War.[15] American Unitarian clergyman and reformer Samuel May[16] praised Newman's protest on behalf of the American Union to Gladstone as "noble," and commented:

> ...see what Prof. Newman says, contrasting the Eng. Govt's course in withholding supplies from freedom-seeking Hungary, & in <u>not</u>

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8 BO, F. Newman '23- '69, FWN to JHN, 4 April 1867.

9 *Ibid.*, 1 January 1865.

10 HU, bMS 416/2 39, FWN to JHA, 4 May 1861.

11 For John Henry, the same facts acted differently on the imagination, depending on the individual's temperament.

12 Strange, p. 207.

13 Garrison, vol. IV, p. 66.

14 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 9 November 1861.

15 BL, 44399, f. 281, FWN to WEG, 9 December 1862. In 1867 Gladstone said that he had misunderstood the issues.

16 [1797-1871].

> withholding them from our Slaveholding rebels; you will hardly call him biased against the Eng. Govt.

Newman reasoned that the English government's aid to the Southern states violated its *laissez-faire* stance on Hungary, in revolt against the rule of Austria.[17]

The routine of teaching Latin tired Newman:

> ...I cannot introduce any novelty either in the manner of teaching, nor in the books. I am capable still of freshness & energy in teaching if I might experiment on new methods....Meanwhile I am more & more drawn into interest in Arabic, while I find the eternal repetition of a very limited number of highly prosaical books (such at least is most of Latin) increasingly distasteful. But I at present make a profound secret of meditated withdrawal, which will be with me a step quite irretrievable, & will make me poorer by £300 a year at least.[18]

This strain marked Francis physically; after his visit to John Henry on 28 November, John Henry remarked, "I have just seen my brother -- I could not have believed that he was he. After three quarters of an hours talk there was but the faintest spark emerging on his face of what he was."[19]

In February, John Henry sent Francis his "photogram;" Francis commented:

> Your photogram is valuable in the same sense only in which a clay bust set up by pupils is of use to the sculptor. It gives me a rude hard likeness with a decided twist in one feature -- the mouth. A clever engraver would make an excellent likeness from it with much ease: but at present, -- I do protest against it, & can only laugh. It reminds me of one taken for me, which looked like the father of another taken at the same sitting, and had also a twist of the mouth. I do not complain of being made old or even sickly, but it is too bad to be made to look ill-natured.[20]

Their brother Charles' ill-nature had changed, as Francis discovered after rescuing his letters and lecture notes from a pantechnicon:

> [Charles] has appeared in a new light. He has twice volunteered to speak in terms of great respect & thankfulness to [Thomas Mozley]; and he actually expresses himself in warm gratitude to me for the service I have rendered about this box. In past time he used to lay down that gratitude is a folly & a fundamental mistake, and that to expect thankfulness is a meanness which cancels obligation.[21]

Francis congratulated John Henry on his "relaxation at the seaside" in Ramsgate, and boasted, "For years we have not spent a shilling on doctors; and I say, we save our travelling money out of medical fees &c." He and Maria had avoided Ramsgate for fear that it would

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17 BPL, MS.B.1.6.9., Samuel May to Richard Davis Webb, 12 January 1862.

18 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 9 November 1861.

19 *L&D*, vol. XX, p. 70.

20 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 28 February 1862.

21 *Ibid.*

be "choked by Londoners;" Maria thought a winter abroad in a milder climate might be "a great & lawful luxury," but Francis worried that her lack of linguistic skills would hamper them. Maria spoke French, but neither she nor her husband wanted to stay in France. Francis also worried about her stamina:

> If she had 'go' enough for it, I should specially like to visit Athens & Beyrout [sic]: the latter, for the sake of Arabic. Not that its Arabic is very good; but I think the place would suit her better than Cairo, & perhaps nothing short of Cairo has advantage over Beyrout.[22]

These dreams of travel were prompted by dreams of retirement, Newman explained:

> This may sound to you very wild; but I am really sending in to the Council my resignation at the end of this session. I see all the rocks ahead to every one who gives up the wholesome trammels of fixed employment: but my work is increasingly nauseous to me...[23]

John Henry commented on these plans to Jemima:

> It is a hazardous thing for a man to throw himself out of work; however, in Frank's case, his heart has never been in his work. Of course whatever he took up he would be able to do as no one else would do it, but he has ever been running off from Latin to Berber, Arabic or Celtic; and when he has published any thing in his own professed province, it has been on some theory of his own, as the possibility of writing English poetry in Latin metres. It is to me odd, that he has so entirely given up Mathematics. This being his character, perhaps he will do more when he is without duties than ever he did with them.[24]

In January, Francis clarified his plans for John Henry; Beirut was a "dream, probably nothing more." He painted a vivid portrait of his wife, who would be bored in a country without European accommodation standards, where she could not visit the poor and distribute tracts. Francis also reported on his wife's health:

> She has been underfed for 35 years, & has long ago lost power of full eating. Her vital powers are feeble, her sensibility to heat & cold abnormal; she nevertheless has a very large share of general health, by dint of good & mild air. But heat in summer she cannot at all endure, nor in any case had I thought of exposing her to it.[25]

This description conforms to the stereotyped ideal of Victorian womanhood, as an anaemic angelic presence. If the figure of thirty-five years is accurate, Maria had been "underfed" for seven years before her marriage; her low weight may have caused the couple's infertility; Francis' writings on marriage and conjugal duties were clearly written from experience.

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22 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 1 December 1862.

23 *Ibid.*

24 *L&D*, vol. XX, pp. 367-368, JHN to JNM, 20 December 1862.

25 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 7 January 1863.

Francis joked to John Henry in 1865: "Maria is somewhat amazed at the virtue you attribute to the sacrament of marriage. I hope it will make her esteem her advantage in it more --"[26]

Moncure Conway also commented on the Newmans' marriage:

> Newman lived in a simple way. His wife -- they had no children -- was an invalid, and never went into 'society.' I remember pleasant conversations with her. She remained a 'Plymouth Sister,' but was friendly with me because of her interest in the slave, and she had accommodated herself to the degree of heresy represented by her husband. It was beautiful to remark his tenderness and tact with her. 'I always remember' he said to me, 'that it was the man of her own religion that she married; and I who went off into a new faith.' He was, however, lonely in his strong religious ideas and spoke almost bitterly of his inability to hold any real conversation with his Catholic brother.[27]

Although Conway recalled that Francis' constrained conversations with John Henry explored only the health of relatives, in 1863 Francis outlined his plans to his brother with broad strokes:

> I am sure that nothing will so conduce to my own happiness, as to be some way useful in teaching. My taste & my power is in clearing away difficulties and bringing people on in many things up to a certain point. I have not taste nor power for devoting myself to one thing & 'enlarging the bounds of science.'[28]

Francis' published works testify to his eclectic interests, which make him seem eccentric to a modern audience. With the twentieth century's dependence on experts and professionals, the Victorian generalist is an image as alien as it is quaint.

Epes Sargent[29] was an American example of the Victorian generalist: poet, journalist, novelist and playwright. In 1863 Sargent and Newman began a correspondence that continued for eighteen years, the last letter in the series written five months after Sargent's death in December 1880. Like Newman, Sargent left no direct descendants, which is probably why Newman was not notified of his friend's death. Initially the letters bulged with Newman's reflections on the American Civil War; Newman explained, "I have never felt so intimately related to free America, as since you have entered this baptism of blood."[30] Newman closed his first letter with the sentiment, "Today comes the news of insurrection in Poland -- to teach that without Justice Peace is impossible. We are in the hands of a Divine Ruler, -- & may rejoice, be the immediate tumult what it may."[31] The American Civil War cheered Newman by providing evidence of the operation of divine justice in human affairs.

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26 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 1 January 1865.

27 Conway, vol. I, p. 442. Conway was surprised to learn from Francis Newman that their father had been a "freethinker."

28 BO, F. Newman'23-'69, FWN to JHN, 7 January 1863.

29 [1813-1880].

30 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 26 January 1863.

31 *Ibid.*

Newman particularly applauded Massachusetts' involvement in the War, which must have pleased Sargent, a Bostonian.

Like many Englishmen, John Henry believed that the Northerners were hypocritical in their zeal to eradicate slavery: the two brothers' difference of opinion caused Francis to recall that someone had once called them the two roots of the same quadratic equation.[32] This implied both John Henry and Francis, as "roots," *are necessary to the equation; each* solves the equation in his own way. Francis conceded, "We seem to look out on different worlds. Of course we fall in with totally different circles."[33]

Francis worried about the difference in opinion between the British public, whom he perceived supported the North, and the elite, who supported the South. He communicated this to Gladstone, fearing that British involvement in the American war would divide the country. Newman explained:

> I have never felt any zeal in any public cause, except as I saw it to implicate an omnipotent morality. In contests for redistribution of power I take a cold, distant & sceptical interest: but by my heart I know the heart of the people, & predicted that they would rally to the Union as they have done, as soon as they knew the facts.[34]

In the spring of 1863, the American Transcendentalist Moncure Conway arrived in England, bearing letters of introduction from William Lloyd Garrison.[35] The son of a slave-holder, Conway reckoned "he ought to be as good as a Southern contraband in drawing an audience." Garrison commented:

> I trust his mission will be eminently useful to the cause of international peace and universal emancipation. As a pulpit preacher, (Unitarian,) he has been, like Aboliel, 'faithful among the faithless found'; but his taste is not particularly clerical.[36]

Francis Newman's *The Soul* had influenced Conway's conversion from a circuit-riding Methodist preacher to a Unitarian minister. Conway wrote:

> When I arrived in London I sought Newman at once. It was not difficult to form happy relations with him, for his heart was in the cause of the slave. He was twenty-seven years my senior, but full of vigour. My personal troubles in connection with slavery gained me his cordial welcome; but when he also discovered the religious path I had travelled, and the help brought me by his book on the Soul, there was something paternal in the way Newman took me to his heart.[37]

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32 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 2 March 1863.

33 *Ibid*

34 BL, 44400, f. 119, FWN to WEG, 19 March 1863.

35 [1805-1879] abolitionist.

36 BPL, MS.A.1.1 v.6, WLG to Elizabeth Pease Nichol.

37 Conway, vol. I, pp. 441-442.

In July, "finally severed" from University College, London, Newman tackled the "Augean stable" of organising thirty years of papers, editing some, burning others: "The danger of overworking the brain I see to be extreme if one has one subject and that all paper work and private work."[38]

Sargent printed extracts from Newman's letters, and in July, Newman astonished Americans with his predictions of Southern troop movements. Using his detailed knowledge of military tactics and the geography of the American South, Newman described events to Sargent which took place while his letter crossed the Atlantic.[39] He never visited the United States, and had gained his knowledge of its geography second hand, mostly by reading maps and American newspapers.

In September 1863 Francis and Maria visited the Lake District and Wales.[40] Newman learned that the best cricketers abstained from alcohol and tobacco; one even refused to drink tea. Newman joked, "I hope the water is better than that of Windermere!"[41] Anticipating the conclusion of the American Civil War, Newman discussed the need to educate the freedmen to become full citizens, "The eight millions in the U. S. who are to be educated, stimulate me. I am dying to get into relations with some who will be practically engaged in it."[42]

Newman explained to Sargent that, whereas formerly Englishmen had looked to the United States for political reform, he looked to her for social reform:

> I think chiefly of your influence on the social state of the lowest people. There was then no vast field of West & South West open to their imaginations, nor could any one foresee the impetus to emigration which your freedom would give.[43]

In December, Francis explained his arrangements for Charles to John Henry:

> As regards Charles, it is well you should know that I have for many years past been accustomed to regard £42 or £43 a year as no part of my income; but merely to be handed over to him. I cease to miss it, as much as if it were income tax; & it really gives me no concern or trouble. Thus I provide for him out of my abundance. I should not like you to give (not really to him, but to me) out of your necessity. Of course, if you were a rich man, I would gladly receive any sums from you, -- in fact, unlimited sums; for I can give away without limit, & so can Maria.[44]

If John Henry wished to contribute to Charles' expenses, it would enable Francis to assist other relatives, including their cousins Annie Maria and Eliza Fourdrinier: "Eliza is not 50.

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38 Sieveking, p. 183.
39 BPL, MS.B.1.6.9., SM to RDW, 1 July 1863.
40 Sieveking, pp. 184-185.
41 *Ibid.*, p. 186.
42 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
43 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 9 October 1863.
44 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 13 December 1863.

They have only £400 together, for their old age. I want to add to this. If in the course of some years I could double it, I should have much satisfaction."[45]

Sargent and Newman differed on spiritualism: Newman explained, "I am an entire unbeliever, on the ground which you think monstrous; that the reporters cannot be trusted." He had once attended a séance, "the extreme wearisomeness of which I found enough to dull all my powers. I certainly heard & felt raps for which I could in no way account; yet definite facts convinced me that one lady was an impostor & two others her dupes."[46] Newman maintained, "The darkness in which your spirits move impedes criticism too much."[47]

In February 1864 Newman's literary work nearly "overrun" him, although he still found time for the following political questions: "Anti Liquor Traffic," Co-operative Societies, and the peasant question."[48] He described one of his literary activities to Sargent:

> ...a study which I took up last year, & have just finished, -- complete translation of the celebrated Iguvine Inscriptions, in the old Umbrian language. I never dreamed that it was possible, but have been led on to it step by step: and though many words must be conjectured, no longer doubt of the sense of a single sentence or line. It...show[s] how Assyrian or old Egyptian may be recovered, even though as unlikely [sic] to any previously known languages as German to English...[49]

Newman hoped that recognition of his scholarship on the Iguvine inscriptions would help him to further the cause of Arabic in the Roman alphabet.[50]

Lincoln's Restoration policies distressed Newman, particularly his veto of Congress' bill to confiscate rebel lands. Lincoln, lamented Newman,

> ...was the right man to choose while there was a chance of saving you from the war, & managing your quarrel by political struggle; but that he is certainly not the man wanted to contend with audacious ruffians & half-hearted border-States.[51]

Newman wrote to Garrison with his concern about slaves in the border states, Tennessee and Kentucky. An MP, whom Newman refused to name, called Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation "a villainous hypocrisy; for he refused to set free those whom he could, while pretending to set free those whom he could not."[52] This letter, despairing that racial prejudice would ruin America, was published by Garrison in *The Liberator*. Garrison interpreted Newman's opposition to Lincoln's tactics as opposition to Lincoln himself; this surprised Newman: "it is painful to me to allow Mr. Garrison's strange misapprehensions of

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45 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 13 December 1863.
46 BPL, Letters Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 27 January 1864.
47 *Ibid.* 1 April 1864.
48 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 20 February 1864.
49 BPL, Letters Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 1 April 1864.
50 Sieveking, FWN to JN, p. 189.
51 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 13 May 1864.
52 BPL, MS.A.1.2 v.33, FWN to WLG, 7 June 1864.

my meaning to go uncontradicted."[53] Garrison asked Newman, "When was it ever known that liberation from bondage was accompanied by a recognition of political equality?"[54] Newman assured Garrison:

> As regards the better side of Mr Lincoln's character and action, it is possible that I esteem it as highly as you do. But the crisis in which he is placed may implicate you in dire calamity, through any tenderness towards slave-owners or their laws, which is to be indulged at the expense of the coloured race.[55]

In September 1864, Lincoln asserted "We have, as all will agree, a free government, where every man has a right to be equal with every other man." Newman remarked, "My delight is tempered by amazement," because he could not reconcile this statement with the retention of the institution of slavery in the border states.[56]

In October, John Henry sent Francis a copy of his *Apologia*, with the comment that he wished to "do some one great work." Francis reflected, "In my belief you were naturally made for a great poet or a great musical composer." He supposed that any theological, philosophical or historical work by John Henry would be ignored by Protestants, whereas a "noble Catholic literature in English" would find an audience. Francis anticipated a sceptical reaction from his brother:

> If you ask, Do I wish you to succeed, with all its possible results? I reply: I count on far more good to Catholics than damage to Free Thought from any imaginable success: & whenever genius finds its true course, I believe there is always a vast balance of good.[57]

Francis also contemplated his own chances for achieving greatness, "In my own case I say: What is the use of a 'great' work, if it is not to find readers?....I attempt what is great for me, & there rest."[58]

In January 1865, Francis and John Henry discussed the issue of atheism, John Henry reiterating his famous point that Catholicism and atheism are the only logical alternatives. Francis protested that John Henry misunderstood his theological perspective:

> Let me first say, that I am sure to agree with & to appreciate many things from you, in which those whom you call my friends would often oppose us both. I just now refer to what you say as to your grounds of Theism; which are moral, as are mine. I also am glad to observe that you do not speak with horror or asperity of Atheists, as neither do I; while I have no notion that in the future any more than in the past will Atheism be able to establish itself.[59]

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53 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 7 September 1864.
54 Garrison, vol. IV, p. 123.
55 BPL, MS.A.1.2 v.33, FWN to WLG, 14 October 1864.
56 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 10 September 1864.
57 BO, F. Newman'23-'69, FWN to JHN, 15 October 1864.
58 *Ibid.*
59 *Ibid*, 8 January 1865.

Francis argued that all people become "Practical Atheists" when they "cease to revere, to adore and to be thankful." John Henry made a mistake in drawing so severe a line, Francis explained:

> I understand you to endeavour to establish that there is no logical standing ground between Atheism and Catholicism, and to imagine that by drawing this argument hard you can bring people to Catholicism. I inferred from this that you were unaware that with many cultivated men Catholicism is (of the two) by far the less admissible hypothesis; unaware therefore, that a negative argument of this kind may injure Theism, but cannot advance Catholicism; & that what is wanted is positive not negative argument.[60]

John Henry charged Francis with believing Catholicism to be vile; he claimed Francis could not "tolerate" him. Francis declared that he approved of the early Catholic church, which was "an elevating institution...while it was better than the barbarism around it." He wanted religious equality for Catholics, but objected to the church's financial practices, "immuring women in nunneries," and "invading the streets with religious emblems." Rather than repenting of Catholic Emancipation, as John Henry alleged, Francis desired the overthrow the Church of Ireland, though not by civil war.[61] Francis noted:

> You...record how patiently you have borne my intrusions. I have no doubt that I have often tried you severely, & that your patience under it has been greater than you claim. In early years the doctrine of the Evang.s concerning spiritual teaching produced in me the same crude fruit as I daily meet in young persons, who say to me almost in so many words, 'I have the Spirit of God, & you have not.' There is no conscious personal conceit in this, any more than in one who dogmatizes [sic] resting on his Church; but the effect of it is more offensive. I know I had in me plenty of this: I believe you have long since pitied & forgiven it. I do not think any such airs of superiority have food & source within me now; & I hope my conduct to you has improved. Believe me, I have tried vehemently to school myself: but it was never an easy task. Nor do I think that you even yet see how severely from 1825 to 1845 you tried others.[62]

This shows Francis' insight into his previous religious stance.

On 17 February 1864, Francis gave an address at Ramsgate on behalf of the United Kingdom Alliance, a temperance organisation, urging support of the Permissive Bill, as more "urgent" than extension of the franchise. Newman summarised his "rather vehement address" this way:

> ...the argument was, to convince Political 'Reformers' that our Reform is more urgent than theirs; hence $^3/_4$ of it was political. I maintain that politically the first reform wanted, is, not what

60 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 8 January 1865.

61 *Ibid.*

62 *Ibid.*, 14 January 1865.

> they are after,[63] but reform of the House of Lords; & my signal proof of the ruinous policy which that House inflicts on the nation, is, its having forbidden for 28 years any move against the Irish Protestant Church.[64]

In *Drink and the Victorians*, Harrison includes Newman in an analysis of the most prominent of the teetotal leadership; he calls him one of the movement's "most intelligent and influential supporters"[65], as well as "the most original and intelligent prohibitionist spokesman and pamphleteer of the 1860s."[66] Harrison placed Newman in a category of "extreme libertarian teetotalers [sic]," whose personal abstinence derived from the "desire to extend his sphere of personal liberty by subordinating body to soul."[67] Newman did not base his appeals to others on behalf of the teetotal movement in anything remotely mystical, however: he grounded his arguments in the injustices produced by drunkenness. Although he had never heard of the modern sociological term "victimless crime," he would have disapproved of it. He viewed drunkards in terms of their social relationships, necessarily decomposing, and worried how this decay might affect those around them.

Newman's demand for legislation against drinking derived in part from his rejection of the Bible as a sufficient guide for public morality, as well as from his belief in moral progress and science.[68] Slavery and drink, two of the main issues of the nineteenth century, are matters which the Bible seems to condone. In the course of the nineteenth-century debate on alcohol, the discourse evolved from speculation that the wine at Cana might have been non-intoxicating, to a gradual admission that the Bible was inadequate as a source of public policy.[69]

In February, Newman's correspondence with Sargent shifted in tone, after two years of monthly letters. Sargent signed a letter, "Your friend and obedient Servant." In response, Newman addressed Sargent as "My dear friend" rather than "My dear sir." Sargent's closure challenged Newman

> ...to accept you in either character; so you cannot complain that I prefer the former. Novelists joke about 'unknown friends': but when we know a person's sentiments, powers & steadfast will, he is not unknown. (This in Theology we need to press.)[70]

Newman reported that his exposure to American political rhetoric had caused him to search his soul:

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63 Expansion of the franchise.

64 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 20 February 1865.

65 Harrison, p. 180.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 116.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 186, citing *Miscellanies* , vol. II, p. 171.

69 Sieveking, p. 400, reprinting "The Right and Duty of Every State to Enforce Sobriety on its Citizens" by F.W. Newman, 1882.

70 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 22 February 1865.

> You may be amused to learn how I was affected in reading Wendell Phillip's[71] words: 'Even Goldwin Smith[72] has shown an impertinence impossible to any one but an Englishman.' It pierced me sharply, & made me ask: 'Have I perhaps also been impertinent?' I tried to review my past, & was really anxious until I read his article in the Atlantic Monthly; & then was immediately relieved. 'Impertinent' seemed the mildest epithet which can be used.[73]

Newman's support for the North in the American Civil War affected him socially:

> ...I was at a large dinner party, & found myself disagreeably prominent as the only advocate of the North....My host at last said: 'Well, Newman; at least you will acknowledge, that, whatever the conduct of our newspapers & individuals, our Government has behaved with the greatest fairness & forbearance.' I replied, 'On the contrary, I think its behaviour has been disgraceful.' This led to a shouting & tittering, Oh! Oh! from end to end of the table. After it, followed a short deep silence.[74]

A German visitor rose to Newman's defence; still, Newman conceded, "It destroys all pleasure of social intercourse."[75]

On Sunday, 23 April 1865, news of Lee's surrender reached Liverpool; Newman learned of it on Monday through the newspaper and Sargent's letter of 10 April. At noon, Newman called on the American Ambassador to congratulate him, and afterwards on the geologist Sir Charles and Lady Lyell.[76] Newman explained:

> Sir Charles & his Lady have pleaded your cause in the highest circles unflinchingly through the worst times, and the effectively because they had warm friendships with certain planters in the South....Sir Charles...had to 'bear a heavy cross' for you....for a while they kept aloof from society, as it was too much for a lady's strength to bear it.[77]

That same day Newman learned of Lincoln's assassination,[78] a "tragical [sic] horror which has convulsed all our hearts. Europe in fact has groaned from end to end."[79] He remarked:

> For M[r] Lincoln I could not feel grief or pity; for I regard it as a euthanasia of the highest honour. But I was possessed with a certain awe at the Divine Government, as I think it, which makes the wickedness of men tend to good purposes: for while

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71 [1811-1884] orator and reformer.

72 [1823-1910] controversialist. Smith's uncle was a slaveholder in Jamaica, but he changed positions from supporting the South to the North by 1863; he visited America in 1864.

73 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 22 February 1865.

74 *Ibid.*

75 *Ibid.*

76 [1797-1875] first baronet, and his wife, Mary Horner Lyell [d. 1873].

77 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 26 April 1865.

78 Sargent sent Newman photographs of Lincoln and his assassin.

79 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 3 May 1865.

> Lincoln had done his work well, & probably better than Johnson could have done it, Johnson seemed to me ten times over a better agent for what has to be done.[80]

The alarm expressed by the English press about Andrew Johnson[81] only reassured Newman.

With the American Restoration in good hands, Newman could put his energy back into English reforms. He helped to start a society dedicated to educating female midwifes. At the first annual meeting in May 1865, it was reported:

> The lady pupils have been very zealous & attentive. We have two good physicians lecturing, & the fees of the class paid £108, while the fees to the lecturers were £105, & will not increase with numbers of the class. I hope that in two years more it will be self-supporting & then it becomes a certain success.[82]

In June Newman created a list of names and boundaries for the new states he proposed from the American territories. His delight in geography was evident: "I have been gloating over the map of your territories, as a miser over his hoards, & have been instructing myself of the details of your geography." The territories' names were trite or bad, and their box shapes did not account for local geographic features. Drawing on his knowledge of the geography and the native inhabitants, Newman created Latinate names for the territories, including *Corvus* for the home of the Crow Indians.[83]

Newman explained his interest in the territories thus:

> I count them all <u>mine</u>, since they are the heritage of men who speak my tongue, love our sentiments, develop & improve our laws. In short they are the future home of those oxlike [sic] English peasants, whom our aristocratical [sic] sorcery has brutified; who regain manhood when they touch your shores. Redoubled praises to God who has redeemed that soil from slavery. In my youth I could not have chosen to become your citizen because of that stain: now, --I fear I am too old! & my wife's affections too much rooted here.[84]

The "wickedness" of British political policy also impelled Newman to wish to become an American citizen:

> If I were a young man, & could know what I know, I believe that prudential forecast would incite me to become an American citizen; for I cannot tell how to doubt that retribution must come upon us nationally, when we go on thus blindly, & withal with so much self righteousness. <u>You</u> have had <u>your</u> divine chastisement in this 4 years war: are <u>we</u> to have a 4 years war against united India in another quarter of a century? That is an awful question, which events <u>might</u> even in my lifetime solve.[85]

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80 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 3 May 1865.

81 [1808-1875] seventeenth president of the United States.

82 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, no date.

83 *Ibid*, 10 June 1865.

84 *Ibid*

85 *Ibid*, 29 June 1865.

Although Newman did not mention America's wealth as a factor in his desire to emigrate, it did not escape his attention: "The wealth of your people, as displayed in travel, is beginning to excite wonder."[86]

In July, as the Newmans were preparing to go to Ventnor, Maria's servant had apoplexy, and died. Newman recorded:

> We loved her as a sister, & she was to Maria in many respects more than a sister could be. It has been the sorest grief she has had in our thirty years, & she feels it deeply: but she went with me to the funeral, & was even relieved by it. The universal testimony of praise to her whom we have lost, coming from numerous quarters, is a great solace to her. I was glad to bring her away hither, as soon as I could effect it. I think the beauty of the place soothes her: she already sleeps better.[87]

More sad news came about one of the Giberne sisters: the former Mrs. Mayers had died. Newman noted that this "did not at all take me by surprize [sic], & scarcely seemed melancholy; though it is one more vacuum in the places of my old & tender memories."[88]

In October 1866, Francis visited his sister Jemima; she proposed to John Henry that he join them. John Henry's response layered excuse upon excuse, protesting too much: the invitation did not come from her husband, he was still hurt about the way she had treated him, he was too ill and too busy to travel.

In 1865 Francis commented on his brother's *Apologia*:

> ...Dr Newman, in his *Apologia*, while declaring that he believes it would kill him to see an *auto-da-fé*, does not breathe a suggestion that such deeds were not righteous, and acceptable to God. It is very unintelligible to a Protestant, by what sort of reasoning a humane man can ever overcome the promptings of conscience which condemn these atrocities.[89]

Francis wrote *Against Hero-Making In Religion*[90] partly to protest against the persecution practised over the ages by individuals trying to protect their own power.

Newman asked Sargent for assistance in investing about £400, payable to him in Boston, which it would be prudent to invest in the United States, rather than transmit to England. Moncure Conway had assisted Newman in making other American investments previously:[91] although Newman was "without salary, [he] had laid up about ten thousand pounds, for the larger part of which I secured...a profitable investment."[92] Newman invested in Massachusetts, hoping for a six percent return, and had been delighted to receive as much

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86 BPL, Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 29 June 1865.
87 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, FWN to JHN, 2 August 1865.
88 *Ibid.*
89 *Miscellanies*, vol. III, p. 181.
90 See Bibliography.
91 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 2 January 1866.
92 Conway, vol. I, p. 442.

as thirteen and a half percent. Bullish on Massachusetts, he commented, "I do not believe that in Massachusetts any thing is going to ruin!"[93]

In January 1866, Newman believed Maria was dying, from water on the lungs, at Hastings. He wrote "wildly and incoherently" to John Henry, saying "recovery was impossible....[He] said he never would ask for sympathy and condolment [sic] from others -- but that he would engage his mind by working hard, and would live on her memory."[94] By February Maria's condition had improved:

> We got her through the acute crisis....I resigned her a full month ago, and have since not dared to hope that she can do anything but linger. Nevertheless her life is less distressing and more worth having than it was. She moves from her bed into an arm-chair; sits at table for dinner....She talks cheerfully, and can enjoy seeing her sisters. When I look at her I fancy she is pretty well...yet I feel that she might be carried off very suddenly. Indeed, this was her mother's case, who had the very same combination of disease, and retained much muscular strength to the last.[95]

The uncertainty over his wife's health forced Newman "to be a vagrant:" in the interest of "lightening my baggage," he offered some of his books to Holyoake.[96] He conceded, "a great shadow overspreads me."[97] To Sargent Newman confessed, "I must not allow myself to have no other life than for her. But I have already the heart of a widower."[98]

Newman and Sargent shared an interest in linguistics: Sargent had written a spelling book, and in 1866, Newman was developing a guide to pronunciation for school children.[99] The discovery of this mutual interest delighted Newman:

> I cannot bear the haughtiness of literary men and artists, who disdain to labour for the millions. In men of science, it is all well to be devoted to enlarge its boundaries; for out of its highest refinements flow its greatest practical triumphs, which are every day elevating the mass of mankind. But I value art and literature in the direct proportion in which they can be popularized [sic].[100]

Newman experienced difficulties in his efforts:

> I am now past sixty; yet would prefer to work gratis for the elevation of the millions, rather than earn large sums to teach those whose money can always command teaching fresher than mine. In England, it is not enough to give your work gratis; you must go to great expense & effort to be allowed to give it; & you

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93 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 13 February 1866.

94 *L&D*, vol. XXII, p. 143, JHN to MRG, 29 January 1866.

95 Sieveking, pp. 193-194.

96 MCS, GJHCC 1672, FWN to GJH, 30 April 1866.

97 Sieveking, p. 194.

98 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 13 February 1866.

99 Published in 1869 as *Orthoëpy*.

100 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 13 February 1866.

> are thwarted on all sides by bigoted jealousy & malicious criticism.[101]

In June the Newmans gave up their home on Circus Lane in London to move to Clifton, although their house would not be ready until August. Newman settled into Clifton with pleasure:

> Clifton seems to me more beautiful than ever. I lived here from October or Sept. 1834 to 1840, six years; & brought my bride here in 1835, which is now like a dream. My mind & heart were too much preoccupied in theological questions in those six years to have much tranquil enjoyment of nature. I had started from the Puritan idea that it was all under the curse, & enjoyment of scenery was not quite the thing for one 'redeemed out of an evil world &c &c.' The waste of time & effort in my whole youth by unprofitable and false theory sometimes appears to me lamentable, and the only advantage is, that I understand & can sympathize [sic] with the victims of this theology. But I heartily desire to save all young people from the baneful influences of popular Xtianity. Nothing short of overthrowing the authority of Bible as well as Church can enable people to imbibe the good without the evil of these institutions.[102]

His early experience of Evangelical enthusiasm made him sympathetic to its other "victims."

Newman criticised his likeness in his photographs for Sargent:

> ...the light is most capricious, & pours grey over my hair, where nothing of the sort appears in fact....I have, no doubt, plenty of grey hairs, & my beard & mustache [sic] will soon be all grey; but in my head it is so mixed with brown, as only to lower the tint; & people generally fancy that I have not (as they say) a grey hair in my head! My wife has become resentful of my mustache, peculiarly since her illness, & has had (to spite me!) photographs taken of a daguerreotype which was made in 1852 or 1853, just before I let it grow....Every man (or every one with any mind) has so many different aspects, that several different portraits barely suffice to give knowledge of him to those who cannot meet him.[103]

Newman liked his new house but had difficulties with the landlord:

> ...I have sad trouble with a drunken house owner, who kept me twenty-three days out later than his contract...and has given me roof and pipes either out of repair or insufficient, rat holes very troublesome...[and] cisterns and taps all in unsatisfactory state. Last night, for the third time in ten days, I have been inundated through two floors.[104]

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101 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 13 February 1866.

102 *Ibid.*

103 *Ibid.*

104 Sieveking, p. 195.

Maria's improvement in health compensated for this, as did the view from the house, which Newman described as "heartcheering." He found time to publish more of his literary work, including *A Handbook of Modern Arabic* in 1866, and completed his two-volume *Dictionary of Modern Arabic* in February 1867.[105]

In March, Sargent sent Newman a picture of his house in New England, with a summons to occupy the guest room. Thanking Sargent for his "kind wish to lodge me," Newman turned down the invitation. Newman's apology revealed the dream that consoled him during his wife's illness:

> When I fully counted on losing my dear wife, I had made up my mind to wind up all English relations, & begin life anew (if the phrase be not absurd) as a Yankee. I resolved to drown grief in work; & when you have so many millions to be educated, I believed I could usefully teach a class of teachers somewhere among you, perhaps a class of coloured persons. But the cloud of grief has passed; & with it all possibility of crossing the Atlantic. My dear partner's inveterate habits (largely caused by being in weakly health) impede even English travelling; and make distant travelling & long sea voyages impossible.[106]

Newman dreamed of educating freed slaves and their children to be worthy citizens of the United States of America.

This lofty ambition did not surprise Conway, who wrote:

> ...I have never known a man more absorbed in moral and benevolent work than Professor Newman. The self-devotion that his brother gave to a church, Francis gave to humanity. Without belief in any reward after death, he espoused the unpopular reforms of his time with an almost ascetic zeal. He never entered a theatre, abhorred wine and tobacco, had no club, played no games, avoided fashionable dinners, though his presence and manners would have made him welcome in the finest Society. These apparent 'sacrifices' -- made not for future reward nor even to please God -- were not real sacrifices at all. With a natural fondness for sport, he had so taken the suffering of the oppressed world into his heart that the so-called gaieties of life oppressed him. Like King David who refused water from the well of Bethlehem because men had risked their lives in obtaining it, the artificial 'pleasures' of life appeared to him blood-stained, and his thirst for them died....I once reproached him -- as our long friendship permitted -- for undervaluing the flowers and the ornamental side of life. But he said, 'I have within me such a fund of amusement that I cannot be dull on the dullest day or with the dullest surrounding. If shut up in a wretched inn or station room on a wet summer's day, and I have but a bit of paper and pencil, I am quite happy in some mathematical problem, if no thing more important is at hand to occupy me!'[107]

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105 Sieveking, p. 196.

106 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 18 March 1867.

107 Conway, vol. I, pp. 448-449.

In April 1867, Francis wrote to his brother John Henry, on behalf of a friend, Thomas Gill.[108] The *Westminster Review* interpreted Gill's statement in *Papal Drama* that the Tractarian, in attempting to "Catholicize" the Church of England, was "ultimately the slave of Rome," as a reference to John Henry Newman. This concerned Gill, who admired John Henry, and so Francis forwarded this information along with Gill's apologies. He appended this interesting description of his friend:

> He is an albino, whose sight is so defective, that in order to read he almost makes the paper touch his eyelashes. His area of vision can hardly take in two words at once. How he revises his MS, is to me a mystery; much more how he can compose a large book; more still, how he has been able to read so much history, & fuse it so thoroughly in his mind....Mr Gill is a very genial warmhearted [sic] enthusiast, fundamentally holding to the (so called) Evangelical school, but having the most open hearted love for goodness in every class of belief...[109]

Newman, whose Theism discarded the Evangelical's respect for the authority of the Bible, maintained a friendship with Gill who retained conventional Evangelical beliefs.

Newman disapproved of Seward's folly,[110] the purchase of "Russian America," but joked:

> Here is a bright scheme. Let it out in portions to all the governments of Europe to form penal settlements on! We are hard pressed by our convicts; for all our colonies refuse to take them. Your people are not likely to colonize [sic] the new grounds in numbers enough to make States. It will give patronage to your President, & plenty of expanse to you.[111]

Another American news item that amused Newman was the report that an election had been lost thanks to the "Irish vote." Newman asked, "Do such things lower your sympathy with Ireland? I say that we have sinned against her; but alas she is made very hard to deal with by it."[112]

Sargent had introduced the subject of abortion, which Newman found "new, as well as painful." Newman probed:

> Perhaps I imperfectly understand you. You seem to say that it is enforced by husbands on their wives, & it is physically most pernicious to the wives. Why the husbands enforce it, you do not distinctly say; but when you add, that a physician says, the husbands would not have done worse by frequenting brothels, it seems to imply, that the husbands resent pregnancy & suckling as defrauding them of the wife's person.[113]

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108 [1836-1894] Anglican clergyman.

109 BO, F. Newman '23- '69, FWN to JHN, 4 April 1867.

110 William Henry Seward [1801-1872] was Secretary of State, and an advocate of American expansion.

111 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 1 May 1867.

112 *Ibid.*

113 *Ibid* 19 August 1867.

Newman's solution seems almost modern:

> ...we cannot attain a sounder state, until the whole topic is far more freely discussed; nay, & I must add, until people entirely cease quoting the New Testament as any authority in the matter. I also see the need of female ministers of religion, equally as of female physicians.[114]

Newman had always believed that young men should learn about "their special sexual duties" from older men; this information about abortion made him wonder whether young women should also receive education from older women, who would be priestesses or prophetesses. A female minister of religion would combine her priestly office with sex education.

Newman stated that human beings did not differ from other mammals in regard to reproduction: "you may count on sexual desire as certainly as on hunger."[115] Christianity had failed by adopting Paul's teachings on sexuality:

> ...the excellent Paul distinctly treats 'burning', i.e. sexual desire, as a sad weakness, & marriage as its regrettable cure: and, joined to the doctrine of Jesus, quite leads astray. No youth can imbibe Paul's whole view about the old Adam & the notions of sin in the flesh, without supposing that desire, as such, is sin; this is the first fundamental mischief. The next is, to hold that the great (or only?) object of marriage, is, to vent such desire without sin. This is inculcated in the Ch. of England Marriage Service, & seems to me a very depraving doctrine. By teaching that all men have not the 'gift' of continence, it furnishes to each an excuse for incontinence, & relaxes the power of the will. By teaching that marriage is the cure, it seems to justify incontinence both in those who cannot marry, & in husbands whose wives are sick or pregnant or weakly.[116]

This discussion of sexual needs brought Newman onto the topic of the Contagious Diseases Acts.[117]

> ...I find it primâ facie absurd to pretend that sexual intercourse is necessary to preserve any man's physical health because he is young & strong....The physicians whom I regard as corrupters of young men treat sexual intercourse as essential to the healthy in their normal state, not to the diseased & abnormal.[118]

Newman summarised his views on sexual desire and marriage:

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114 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 19 August 1867.

115 *Ibid.*

116 *Ibid.* Newman's wish to eliminate a "double standard" for male and female sexuality was regarded by Himmelfarb and Pearsall as prudishness, because he wished to hold men to the same standard as women, instead of the reverse.

117 The Acts, first passed in 1864, were designed to protect soldiers and sailors from venereal disease, by enabling police and magistrates to arrest women without first establishing that the women were prostitutes. Once arrested, the women were given physical examinations and detained in hospital. The Acts were repealed in 1886.

118 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 19 August 1867.

> (1) that sexual desire is and ought to be universal, & is not a defect, much less a sin, but is a rightful incident of our bodily frame; (2) that our highest duty is to let it alone, never stimulating it; & all will go right, supposing us unmarried. (3) that the valid reasons for marriage are moral ones, & not at all physical in the sense pretended.[119]

Newman's articles on women's issues in 1867 included "Intellectual and Moral Tendencies of Female Suffrage," and "Women's Wrongs."[120] He joined the committee of the Bristol and Clifton Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Newman also served the United Kingdom Alliance as a vice-president. On 22 October, Newman, Garrison, and Manning,[121] among other speakers, spoke against the Drink Traffic to an audience of 5,000 at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester. Francis believed that Manning's support implied that temperance was a Catholic issue, something both Francis and John Henry could support. Francis reported the effect of Manning's speech to John Henry, "It filled me with enthusiasm and joy, but I was merely a type of the thousands who listened in deep rapt silence to his magnificent speech."[122]

John Henry quashed the idea of brotherly co-operation with the remark, "As to what you tell me of Archbishop Manning, I have heard that some also of our Irish bishops think that too many drink-shops are licensed. As for me, I do not know whether we have too many or too few."[123] This response did not merely slam a door on Francis, it slammed a door on his fingers. It is possible that John Henry did not realise the extent of Newman's commitment to this issue, and his uneasy relationship with Manning might have influenced him. Moreover the teetotal movement in the nineteenth century was often perceived as specifically an anti-Irish, and therefore, an anti-Catholic position. Before Manning's campaign against drink, Catholic clergy, with the very prominent exception of Father Theobald Mathew,[124] were often reluctant to strike a public posture on the issue. Mathew's work was mostly carried out in Ireland, however, where the issue was not complicated by national prejudice. John Henry's reluctance to commit himself, with a comment that Francis thought added insult to injury, may have stemmed from the defensiveness of a convert.

Francis reported his reaction to his brother's comment: "The effect of the letter seemed to curdle my heart like a lump of ice. I handed the note to a Manchester friend, who exclaimed: 'Why! one would think he was living on a different planet.'"[125] Francis despaired, "I knew not how to believe the truthfulness of his ignorance."[126] His next action is

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119 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 19 August 1867.
120 Reprinted in *Miscellanies*, vol. III.
121 Henry Edward Manning [1808-1892].
122 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 110.
123 *L&D*, vol. XXIII, p. 363.
124 [1790-1856].
125 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 110.
126 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

suggestive of modern therapy techniques: he wrote the reply he would have liked to have received from his brother,[127] as if he were trying to *be* the brother he had always wanted.

This "*imaginary* reply" encapsulated Francis' arguments against alcohol, in its relation to crime, misery, poverty, and impurity. His brother's lack of passion toward the issue evoked Francis' gloom:

> The more I dwelt on this icy message, the less it seemed worthy, not only of a Christian, but of one who cared for human sin and human misery. I could not forget what fierce anger he had avowed when Irish bishoprics had been suppressed....To *that* Anger contrast this Apathy.[128]

Apathy was not an option for Francis Newman. His certainty on the issue produced his indignation. Manning remarked on this tendency among the prohibitionists in 1874: "They have each one swallowed a Pope...and I have no chance with legions of Infallibilists."[129]

At Sargent's request, Newman sent him several copies of *Theism* to distribute in America. Newman thanked him, "I am glad to have them read, though they bring me not a penny. Nay, to have them read in right quarters (i.e. by those who think & judge) I would give the penny." Newman addressed the possibility of an American edition:

> I should not like the book reprinted, without my cognizance [sic] or power of revision; though to revise is difficult. On one or two sections I fear I have been too confident, yet both to suppress & to modify are anxious tasks. Since I wrote, I have read <u>one</u> scientific speculation which calmly expects the Sun to wear out in long time. I can no longer assert that <u>no</u> man of science expects it![130]

The American critics of Newman's *Theism* questioned its style; Newman defended it as importing mathematical proofs into theology, "I resolved I would try to write, as did antiquity, in chains of simple sentences. Then the opponent or the learner would be able to dwell on each separately, & accept or refuse."[131]

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127 "I do indeed rejoice that at last we have a wish in common, and better still, that not I and you only, but Catholics and Protestants are beginning to co-operate for the public morality, which is older than any religion and a main purpose for which religion ought to exist. I have not myself had leisure to look into the statistics of licensing; but my revered Archbishop has the mind of a statesman, and, I am fully persuaded, knows well all needful details. I know also that some at least of our Irish bishops hold the same view. Nay, I remember that Father Theobald Mathew was so honoured for his exertions in this same cause, that many expected him to be canonised as a Saint. I cannot err in the broad statement that intoxicating drink is a main and cruel factor of violent crime, of misery to wives, pauperism, and hideous impurity. Be sure that you all and the Archbishop carry my heart warmly with your joint efforts." *Cardinal Newman*, p. 111.

128 *Cardinal Newman*, p. 112.

129 Harrison, p. 372.

130 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 24 February 1868.

131 *Ibid*, no date, "Confidential Memorandum for those who care to know."

The problem with this style, Newman conceded, was that it might seem patronising and soporific. A friend, asked to comment on an early version of the work, said simply, "The public will never endure this." Newman meditated on his friend's comment, and wondered:

> ...if sentences, not periodic, must be monotonous, why not make...the monotony [become] a rhythm, an incipient metre, which the mind expects, & is rather pleased with?...[I]t at once relieved one from apparent affectation in the use of poetical phrases, metaphor or illustration, the want of which makes Euclid dry...[132]

Newman continued to experiment with metre, and published a book of translations of English poetry into Latin, as the second part of a three-part programme for teaching Latin. He argued that in learning a language, it was necessary to learn the grammar before studying the literature. In 1861 he had published a Latin *Robinson Crusoe*, and in 1862 a Latin version of *Hiawatha*. Although he was disappointed in the public response, Newman was "nevertheless excited anew to publish, by the certainty that the whole question of Latin teaching must shortly be reconsidered from the foundation."[133]

Newman's publisher, Trübner, was working on an edition of his *Miscellanies, Chiefly Addresses Academical & Historical*. Newman estimated the *Miscellanies* would cost him £30 or £50 in the effort to get subscribers, and added, "If I were rich enough, I think I should spend regularly £200 a year on the printers, I have so many MSS waiting in vain for their chance."[134] Coincidentally, John Henry Newman published a volume of *Miscellanies* at the same time. Newman explained to Holyoake, "He had a copy of mine 3 months ago: but his was probably in press."[135]

The Contagious Diseases Acts occupied Newman:

> I have had no peace or rest...about the C-D Acts....at last I am getting through the press a pamphlet called the Cure of the Great Social Evil. A very sagacious lady has perused all but a few passages since added, to give me a candid opinion whether fastidious women would read it. She believes that I have successfully evaded the blunt medical simplicity which women find so very nauseous. But things are gone to such a pitch, that nothing can come right without much plain speaking, & I am resolved to speak out.[136]

Newman's tracts *On State Provision For Vice, By Warranting Impunity* and *Remedies For The Great Social Evil* were published in 1869 and discussed the issues involved in the Contagious Diseases Acts.[137] Newman felt the Acts infringed women's rights by taking away their right to trial by jury. Newman commented, "A harlot had never before lost rights

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132 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, no date, "Confidential Memorandum."
133 *English Poetry*, p. iii.
134 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 11 March 1869.
135 MCS, GJHCC 1889, FWN to GJH, 29 October 1869.
136 *Ibid* 1891, 8 November 1869.
137 See Bibliography.

over her own person. To violate her was as criminal as to violate a chaste woman."[138] The corroborative response to these pamphlets so horrified Newman that he lay awake at night, wondering what could be done.[139] It seemed that "all the pollutions of Paganism are at work among us."[140]

Newman saw England's duty as "to make Law more Moral, measuring morality by no dogma of special religion, school or sect, but by the consent of enlightened Man. In no other way can we effectually fight against the vices w.ch are a universal curse."[141] He wrote another pamphlet, *Private and Medical, Sexual Morality in its Relation to Physiology*, about "the theory of the most odious of diseases." This was a study "never dreamed of, & certainly never desired." It was printed, but not for sale: Newman distributed it free of charge at his own discretion.[142]

Newman's theory of the origin of venereal disease betrayed his ignorance of medical aetiology:

> To me it now seems that want of Love & Desire in a woman is the critical fact which makes intercourse with her dangerous to a man, & peculiarly if the man be inflamed by alcohol. This beautifully brings out the moral sin as the cause of disease.[143]

Despite this ignorance of modern medical theories of disease transmission, at a fundamental level, Newman's theory rings true. "Want of Love & Desire" describes promiscuous sexual behaviour; sexual diseases are more prevalent in a society which does not require these feelings from those who engage in sexual acts. The Contagious Diseases Acts sinned, Newman argued, by regarding sexual activity as just another type of physical exercise, reducing women to exercise equipment, without rights or feelings. Under these conditions, venereal disease seemed to be a logical consequence, even a fitting punishment: "while God is God, [men] cannot practise vice and not reap the fruits."[144]

Perhaps it was Newman's concern about Pagan pollution that caused him to re-examine Christianity. In *James and Paul*, Newman explored their theological differences. Newman preferred James as a role model, because his chief topics were that right action is better than right opinion, and the wrong use of wealth.[145] Paul did not contradict James, but added to his teachings.[146] Newman concluded:

> Religion will do no great good to the world, until she sets Human Rights on her banner, bases Philanthropy on Justice to Mankind, Chastity on Justice to Women, and regards as a part of her

138 *Miscellanies*, vol. III, p. 258.
139 BO, F. Newman '70- '90, FWN to JHN, 20 February 1870.
140 BPL, Letters Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 8 March 1870.
141 MCS, GJHCC 1980, FWN to GJH, 17 September 1870.
142 *Ibid* 1978, 23 August 1870.
143 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 8 March 1870.
144 MCS, GJHCC 1891, FWN to GJH, 8 November 1869.
145 *James and Paul*, p. 7.
146 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

> mission (as did the Roman Church often in the dark ages), to forbid the weaker classes or weaker sex to be trodden down.[147]

Instead of the authority of the Bible, or a preacher, Newman argued, religion must rely on "an opening of the human heart to the consciousness of a present living God."[148]

In February 1870 Newman experienced a slight paralysis in his hands. Fortunately, the effect wore off; it appeared to be related to the fact that he had felt the cold "as perhaps never before." He attributed his generally good health to his vegetarian diet, "My wrinkles have greatly vanished, under vegetarian food, and I have totally renounced doctor's stuff."[149]

On 23 August, Newman complained to Holyoake that a letter of 16 August had only just reached him in the Lake District. The explanation given painted a picture of the Newmans' domestic arrangements:

> ...my old cook is 'no scholar.' I think she waits till she can get a friend to help her. My present housemaid can neither read nor write; which is a grave inconvenience. We never imagined such a thing, & discovered it too late. She has now to be taught, & very slow she is. Our previous housemaids have been clever with the pen.[150]

Newman sympathised with Holyoake, perhaps about Holyoake's failing eyesight. Newman still believed in finding meaning in personal tragedy, in asking God "to enable me to learn the lesson intended me from so bitter a calamity." This belief had its roots in Newman's Evangelical period. Although Newman conceded that this was not useful advice for an atheist, he maintained:

> ...such venting of the heart in secret can never be a <u>sin</u>, and if it be found to tranquillize [sic] and purify, it is not a <u>folly</u>: nor can any unseen unheard utterance, prompted by passion or instinct, ever be a <u>hypocrisy</u>. Grief has its own remedies....A Greek woman, *wronged in love, would tell out her sorrows to the Moon*, -- *in* ancient days: on that I say; -- better to vent it, -- harmlessly to all, -- than keep it burning in the heart, though the Moon (in my belief) did not hear. Moreover, I cherish the belief that a silent universal Lord does hear.[151]

Newman wondered where this belief came from:

> I see <u>Mind</u> shaping, guiding, animating this universe, & I inevitably say, From that Mind came <u>our</u> minds: how, I know not. But He is my Father. So says the Arab, so says the Hindoo: it is the faith of mature Humanity, & will unite all Nations in Love. In this thought I find joy. I cannot tell, but I fancy, it is a joy, which afflictions would not take away; for it is not a selfish joy.

147 *James and Paul*, p. 36.
148 *Reply to the Question*, p. 9.
149 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 8 March 1870.
150 MCS, GJHCC 1978, FWN to GJH, 23 August 1870.
151 *Ibid* 1980, 17 September 1870.

> If he is my Father, so is he yours. If you are striving to fulfil the end of your being, that is, to attain such perfection as the limits of your nature admit, -- a perfection which must in such a being as Man be moral, -- you surely have his approbation. To know that you have it, gives stability, satisfaction & tranquillity, even in the midst of acute sorrow.[152]

In 1870, Newman wrote *Anthropomorphism. a comment on some poetry sent by a lady,* a statement of his creed. He believed that Atheism resulted from applying the intellect to religion, which is "in the heart, not the dry mind."[153] The human mind is incapable of perceiving God intellectually:

> Since we know not his limits, nor have reason to assign any, we call Him unlimited, boundless, infinite as to Space as well as to Time; and again, as we have no reason to imagine that He changes with time, we call Him unchangeable as well as eternal....But as of all things outward and visible our knowledge is very limited and our ignorance is infinite, much more must this be true of our acquaintance with an invisible Spirit.[154]

Newman's Evangelical temperament recommended an emotional, experiential perception of God, "We come close to Him now and here....We apprehend God in the present. We do not try to comprehend Him in the regions of invisibility, nor to grasp Eternity and Infinitude in our knowledge."[155]

Newman had achieved some status as an Elder within Theism. During the first service at the first organised Theistic Church, 1 October 1871, before a congregation of 2,000 people, the Reverend Charles Voysey[156] read from Newman's writings.[157]

The August 1871 *Fraser's Magazine* contained Newman's article on the Marriage Laws. This article, intended by the editor, James Anthony Froude, to appear in the July issue, arrived while he was on vacation. Froude's deputy, Charles Kingsley, was too nervous about the subject matter to publish it on his own authority, and so the publication was delayed. An 1889 note said, "This glances at Mr G. H. Lewes and Miss Evans [George Eliot]:" "When persons of high goodness and purity live in conjugal union illegally, but faithfully, and display practically that they are a law to themselves, and need no restraint of law; moral honour is given to this state of freedom."[158] Newman felt that even if divorce were more easily attainable, few people would divorce:

> Fondness for the common offspring, mere habituation, the inconvenience of losing a wife's portion, the difficulty of a new

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152 MCS, GJHCC 1980, FWN to GJH, 17 September 1870.
153 *Miscellanies* , vol. II, p. 181.
154 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
155 *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.
156 [1828-1912] Theistic preacher, formerly an Anglican clergyman.
157 Smith, W. S. p. 129.
158 *Miscellanies*, vol. III, p. 236.

> courtship, the chance of being rejected in it if the divorce have seemed arbitrary; -- will keep most couples together.[159]

He argued that adultery, cruelty, habitual drunkenness, and desertion were reasonable grounds for divorce.[160] Victorian divorces received too much publicity: Newman preferred secret tribunals composed of relatives of both husband and wife.[161]

In November 1871, Newman chaired a meeting in Bristol where the Member of Parliament Charles Dilke[162] was the speaker. After speaking at Newcastle, before the Bristol meeting, Dilke was greeted by a riot, and more opposition was threatened in Bristol.[163] Dilke described the scene: "through a tempest of shouts and rushes, and amid the stifling smell of burnt Cayenne pepper, [Newman] sat in lean dignity, looking curiously out of place, but serene in vindication of a principal [sic]."[164]

Another principle dear to Newman was vegetarianism. Davies[165] observed:

> Professor Francis William Newman, whose theological proclivities have already claimed our notice, is a tower of strength to the Vegetarians, and in dealing with the current literature of the subject I give the preference to his lectures.[166]

Davies' articles normally followed the format of a review of a religious service. Including vegetarianism in this context implied that, for its adherents, vegetarianism functioned like a religion. Yet Newman's speech did not reverberate with Evangelical testimony: he appealed to his listeners' logic on the grounds that meat is expensive, sometimes diseased, and the meat industry employs fewer people than the cultivation of fruits and vegetables.[167]

In 1872, Newman's work against the Contagious Diseases Acts included participation in a delegation to the Home Secretary. Josephine Butler recounted:

> Mr. Newman, slight, old, nervous, and oh so spiritual looking, with a countenance, perfectly *awful* in its purity and intensity, and in its noble firmness, he reminded me of some ancient confessor, or holy martyr speaking the truth of Christ before Caesar...[168]

Thus Newman approached all his various reforms: his concerns grew out of his spiritual roots. In this sense Newman was a Victorian prophet, for like the Hebrew prophets, he made his life a symbol of his belief in justice.

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159 *Miscellanies*, vol. III, p. 237.

160 *Ibid.*, p. 243.

161 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 24 February 1868.

162 Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke [1843-1911] second baronet. Dilke challenged the monarchy, questioning whether it was a valid form of government and arguing that Queen Victoria should pay income tax.

163 Gwynn and Tuckwell, vol. I, p. 141.

164 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 558.

165 Charles Maurice Davies [1828-1910] author and clergyman.

166 Davies, *Heterodox London*, vol. II, pp. 293-294.

167 *Ibid.*, pp. 294-302.

168 Harrison, p. 381.

In May 1872, Newman wrote to Sargent to announce "I am once more changing my abode." Clifton's climate and smoke disappointed the Newmans; another disappointment was Newman's garden:

> ...I intended to make a little 'wild Paradise' on the piece of ground adjoining my house here... But I am foiled by smoke, by violent wind, by children's rudeness, by my neighbours' fowls and by papers flung out of peoples' windows! Gardeners tell me that even if I spent largely on bringing in better soil and fencing strongly, and locked children out, & were able to controul [sic] the papers & other trash frequently flung in, the smoke would be fatal to all real beauty; so I have been discouraged, & counted my money thrown away on the shrubs which I put in.[169]

Newman described his new home, Weston-super-Mare, to his American friend:

> The severity of the W and SW winds are the chief defect of Weston; (for which reason I have got as sheltered a place as I could;) but the atmosphere is celebrated for purity & elasticity or electricity or whatever it is. Chemists talk learnedly of the air as abounding *with* iodine and *with* ozone; -- a word new to me, and expounded to mean 'oxygen in a highly electric state.' However, we all have found ourselves much invigorated by every visit to Weston, which at last decides us to remove thither.[170]

Newman conceded, "I should think the bathing very bad; & I hear young ladies call it 'a mud bath.' Yet it is much frequented in the season."[171]

In 1872 Maria Newman fell down stairs, dislocating her arm and breaking her ribs: "The London bone doctor setter has put all the bones right now but she's far from restored."[172] To Nicholson, Newman wrote:

> Her right hand will be for a long while stiff from having been tied for nine weeks with a splint on the inside, no finger being allowed to move. This, I am assured, is hospital practice; but is vehemently condemned by others, and in her case, at least, I believe it was wrong. Whether she will ever recover her *thumb*, I am not sure; for I fear it is still dislocated at the base. She necessarily gives us a great deal to do; I have to act as her amanuensis, besides oiling, shampooing, etc.[173]

Newman started to write for the *Index Tracts* in 1872, an American weekly paper "devoted to Free and Rational Religion." Edited by Francis Ellingwood Abbot,[174] the contributors list included Transcendentalists Thomas Wentworth Higginson,[175] Octavius

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169 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 2 May 1872.

170 *Ibid.*

171 *Ibid.*

172 LU, AL 342 5, FWN to JRM, 5 November 1872.

173 Sieveking, p. 202.

174 Francis Ellingwood Abbot [1836-1903] founded the Free Religious Association in 1867. Originally a Unitarian, Abbot resigned his last church in 1873. He committed suicide by drinking poison on his wife's grave on the tenth anniversary of her death.

175 [1823-1911] Unitarian clergyman and author.

Brooks Frothingham[176] and Moncure Conway, writing from England. Charles Voysey also contributed articles. In Tract 12, Newman and Abbot debated the question "Is Romanism Real Christianity?" Newman wrote "Romanism A Corruption of Christianity;" Abbot responded with "Romanism the Natural Development of Christianity." Other articles Newman contributed for the *Index* in 1872 included "On the Vision of Heaven," "Is Prayer a Power or a Cry of Weakness?," "On the Bible as the Protestant Basis," and "On Truth and Historical Truthfulness."[177]

In November 1873, Newman gave his opinion of the *Index*:

> Every copy proclaims that no writer is responsible for any thing but his own writing. Nevertheless I find that Americans think I must approve of the prevalent carping, snarling, scoffing, conceited tone of the Index! But I deplore and vehemently disapprove of it; so much, that it is hard to tell the Editor how much, lest the whole truth be less effective to him than the half. But if he will put in (as I expect he will) the things I have written and shall write, it seems to me my duty not to withdraw. I do not expect the Index to be read by those whom it assails, except for official reasons, as by Editors who have to answer it, or carp in turn. Hence, on reviewing the whole case, I must write to convert (if I can) the readers & writers of the Index![178]

This involvement with the *Index* prompted Newman to revise *Theism*:

> ...the real battle of the Future in religion is between what I now call Greek Theism & Hebrew Theism. In my book on Theism...I have noted the things, more than once, perhaps treating the Greek Theism as a form of Pantheism. (The word Pantheism is too vague. I now rather try to get rid of it.) By Greek Theism I understand the doctrine w.ch acknowledges a Divine Mind, but denies its moral relation to individual man. Hebrew Theism emphatically recognizes [sic] the last point...[179]

In *The Two Theisms*, Newman divided Theists into two categories, Greek Theists who believed in an amoral God of natural law and Hebrew Theists who believed in a moral God interested in and involved with human beings. Thus Hebrew Theists had more in common with Christians than with Greek Theists. Davies reported that Newman developed "The Two Theisms" when "[Newman] found Mr. Abbott's God too cold for him."[180]

In November 1873 Newman wrote to Sargent detailing his pleasure in Weston-super-Mare. At last he had as much garden as he wished, where evergreens in particular flourished. Weston-super-Mare "abounds with...retired old gentlemen. We greybeards wonder at our own numbers."[181] Newman's impulse for reform may have grown out of his

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176 [1822-1898] Unitarian clergyman; a founder of the Free Religious Association in 1867.

177 See Bibliography.

178 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 29 November 1873.

179 *Ibid.*

180 Davies, *Heterodox London*, vol. II, p. 124.

181 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 29 November 1873.

dissatisfaction with the status quo, but at sixty-eight, he discovered the pleasures of cultivating his garden.

Chapter Nine:

The Precious Gift of Irreparable Love

By retiring to Weston-super-Mare, Newman left the consciousness of literary London. In 1874 Mary Ann Evans mused:

> Poor Mr. Francis Newman must be aged now and rather weary of the world and explanations of the world. He can hardly be expected to take in much novelty. I have a sort of affectionate sadness in thinking of the interest which in far-off-days I felt in his 'Soul' and Phases of Faith, and of the awe I had of him as a lecturer on mathematics at the Ladies' College. How much work he has done in the world, which has left no deep, conspicuous mark, but has probably entered beneficently into many lives![1]

Evans assumed Newman's work was done; whereas he found himself with leisure to write, and money to finance his publications. In January 1874, Francis solicited John Henry's opinion about his translations of Greek verse into English unrhymed metres: "I think you have always discouraged me about every thing. That is because you are so keen a critic. But you see, like a spaniel, I am too spirited a dog to be discouraged. 'The more you beat it, the better it be.'"[2] Despite John Henry's discouragement, and his warning that Horace's Odes might never be well translated into English, Francis sent John Henry his latest attempts. Francis valued his brother's opinion:

> ...I so covet the approbation of my versifying from a man of your fine taste, that your commendation of my Iliad pleasantly backs me up. I think I judge whatever I produce as impartially & severely as if it were the work of another, -- perhaps more so -- & I feel my weak parts sensibly enough. It is so hard <u>to get attention</u> that I never have much conviction that any thing of this will live. Classics are going down fast. I have long foreseen this, & <u>therefore</u> wish really good translations executed.[3]

John Henry had sent neither praise, nor constructive criticism, however, but "the very superfluous information that I am not an original poet, nor brilliant, nor a master of wit, humour or playfulness." Francis protested:

> It is like reproaching me with claiming such things. (Indeed I <u>am</u> very playful, & get much relief from strain by it: but I never play with <u>words</u>.) <u>Brilliancy</u>, I suppose, generally depends on happy metaphor, w.ch belongs to the poet. I think myself well off if I can attain <u>liveliness</u>: for dullness I regard as a very grave fault. I do not know that I ever wrote any thing in my life in which wit & humour would not have been quite misplaced, if I had had ever so much. Earnestness ill goes with wit.[4]

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1 Haight, vol. VI, p. 34. This description of Newman echoes that of Dorothea in the finale of *Middlemarch*, by George Eliot, published two years earlier.

2 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 6 January 1874.

3 *Ibid*, 8 January 1874.

4 *Ibid*.

John Henry misunderstood him, Francis insisted:

> I send you a set of verses to criticize [sic], & instead of that, you criticize my intellect (this is what CRN always does, & presently ruins all interchange of thought)...I am not the first who have translated the odes of Horace: but rhymed translation modernizes [sic] & perverts them. If people translate Horace, as they will, I want to show them that rhyme is not essential to lyric metre.[5]

Francis felt that John Henry had transgressed his authority:

> What do you know, or can you know, of my power, or no-power, of 'throwing myself into the minds of other people'? Have I misrepresented any body? If not, what does it mean? I really should receive reproof about this with great humility, if I have deserved it.[6]

Others viewed Newman with more respect. Mrs. Kingsley Tarpey remembered:

> ...we children regarded him with mingled awe and curiosity. His quaint appearance and his formal, deliberate manner of speech made him seem to us like a being from another world. We were at once fascinated and repelled, and I think he became at first the object of our constant, though furtive, observation. But his unvarying gentle kindness and extreme simplicity very soon won our confidence, and later on an accident made us his fast friends and admirers.[7]

She was one source of material like the "who's your hatter" Newman anecdote,[8] and his advertisement for a cook "for the smallest possible family." Newman's grave air probably contributed to the impression that his humour was unintentional.

In September 1874, Sargent returned to the topic of spiritualism. Newman responded, "I believe in the deceivableness of human nature as (apparently) you do not."[9] Newman thought that the strange reports might be due to temporary insanity; he drew on personal knowledge:

> I am glad to hear from you that Mr Chaney Hare Townsend recovered from insanity, and lived for years after I knew him: but this does not alter the fact that when I could see no other unsoundness in him than the very extraordinary tales he attested concerning a certain medium, he was really unsound in mind and wholly untrustworthy. I have long had no doubt, that I was wise in disbelieving all that he told me as much as if he had been a wilful liar.[10]

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5 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 8 January 1874.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Sieveking, p. 117.

8 Newman reported that a gang of children followed him, repeating, "Who's your hatter?" He punctuated the anecdote by saying, "really...at the time I could not remember the man's name.'" Sieveking, p. 210.

9 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 9 September 1874.

10 *Ibid.*

In 1874, Newman published a new edition of *Theism* as *Hebrew Theism: The Common Basis of Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedism, with Revisions and Additions to the Quarto Edition of 1858*.[13] Newman added seven sections: "The Doubter," "Historical Warnings," "Freedom From Error," "Happiness," "Utilitarianism," "Murder," "Food and Drink." He re-wrote the "Free Will" section, changing its title to "Praise and Blame." In addition he omitted a section in the third part, "Deadness of Soul," which he deemed "too wide and difficult."[14]

Whereas London Unitarians maintained connections with Theists under the heading of "Free Christians," Newman could not claim this label himself. However, he was "glad that others can thus find a common plot to stand on." Newman predicted, "My present augury is, that our Unitarians will gradually become The Church of the Future, with good auspices." In London there were already models for Newman's "Church of the Future:" "I think there are now at least a dozen Churches purely Theistic, and simply religious, which meet for prayer, praise & ministerial teaching in the ancient way, and sincerely seek spiritual edification."[15]

Newman's theology and theories about cruelty impacted his daily life. A vegetarian for eight years, he wrote to Nicholson about his innovative vegetarian diet, especially his use of "cacao butter and vegetable oils."[16] Newman explained about the cacao butter,

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13 See Bibliography.
14 *Hebrew Theism*, p. v.
15 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 24 October 1875.
16 Sieveking, p. 315, FWN to JN, 25 April 1875.

"Messrs. Cadbury sell it 'to me and my friends' for 1s. a lb. In pastry and sweets the chocolate smell offends most people; but my wife likes it. It is too hard to spread on cold meat."[17]

Newman's "sprightly" garden supplemented his diet, although his experiments that spring had disappointing results: "I have not had success with new vegetables, viz. German peas, celery, turnips, Belgian red dwarf beans." Newman attributed his vigorous health to his "triple abstinence" from alcohol, tobacco, and meat.[18]

It was not Newman's enthusiastic gardening which led him to become president of a Farm Labourer's Union, but his concern about justice and land reform. Newman wrote to American orator Wendell Phillips[19] about this, enclosing a copy of his *Re-organization* [sic] *of English Institutions: a lecture delivered in the Manchester Athenæum on Friday, October 15th, 1875*.[20] Newman worried about the Farm Labourer's Union, which had

> ...so little support, that I cannot tell whether it will sink or swim; especially as we have active enemies, backed by a long purse, trying to kill our organ. But if it can stand for half a year without ruin to the printers, I think that the adversary will be tired of lavishing his money, & our infant Society will get stronger year by year: for it will make Land a savings bank to the purchasers, chiefly peasants, and let it out, at first in acre-allotments, with a stipulation that they shall not be ejected while they pay a <u>fixed</u> rent.[21]

Newman's concern for agriculture continued to arise in his correspondence, which discussed sheep murrain,[22] agriculture in the fens,[23] and the wheat and hay crops.[24]

In October Newman wrote to Sargent, who had asked ten months earlier whether Newman did not write because he was ill. Newman ejaculated:

> How <u>very</u> ill you will think now! though I do not know how long it is. I seem to be a man of perfect leisure, yet I have my time so filled, that I cannot read much, & often have my right hand as well as eyes & head aching with writing. Being entangled with too many subjects, I have a strange miscellany of letters flung at me from unknown as well as known persons.[25]

Newman discussed some of the subjects which entangled him:

> Vegetarianism has claimed for some years past yet more time & work from me. For two or three years I have been President of the Vegetarian Soc.y also, and have slackened my work in other Societies to which previous I gave much time. Also, I have

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17 Sieveking, p. 315, FWN to JN, 25 April 1875.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Wendell Phillips was the Labor Reform Party candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in 1870.

20 See Bibliography.

21 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 24 October 1875.

22 Sieveking, p. 377.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 220.

24 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 13 June 1880.

25 *Ibid.*, 24 October 1875.

> written much in Fraser's Magazine, & am never long without writing on religion.[26]

Newman's business investments freed him to pursue his interests, but required his attention. On the eve of his fortieth wedding anniversary, Newman asked Sargent for advice about the investment of his marriage trust fund. Newman had invested £1900 into U. S. Savings Bonds paying 6% interest, and the rest into Massachusetts Savings Bonds at 5%. Newman's bankers advised him that the U. S. government would pay off his federal bonds the next year. In England it was rare to get a 4% return on the type of investments allowable for a marriage trust fund, so Newman wondered whether Sargent knew of any other advantageous savings bonds, perhaps Maine bonds, since Newman was well disposed toward New England and Ohio.[27]

Newman gave Sargent a good report of his health, writing, "I was 70 last June, but feel younger than I did 10 years ago. I am the same weight as when I was 18, & as light of foot to dance. But I spare my heart, as the organ which becomes rigid soonest."[28]

Newman followed these in 1876, with "Moral Theism," published in the Theist Charles Voysey's[29] *Langham Magazine*. This was an attack on what Newman called Greek Theism, written in response to an article on Theism in the October 1875 *Westminster Review*, which he called audacious and insolent.[30] In "The Religious Mischiefs of Credulity," Newman suggested that Christianity raised credulity to be a religious virtue, at the expense of criticism and free thought. He argued that the New Testament contained nothing new, and much that was pernicious:

> I do not know a single moral lesson of the slightest importance for which we are obliged to have recourse to these gospels: moreover, most of their precepts are overstrained and thereby unpractical [sic], ill-fitted for real life. On the other hand, every line is saturated with the assumption of the superhuman wisdom and mystical greatness of Jesus, or with ascription of malice and stupidity to the mass of men around him: every page subtly infuses into the inexperienced mind the poison of credulity. When I am convinced that the narrative is everywhere untrustworthy, often slanderous and unjust, I think any thing good in the precepts is too dearly bought.[31]

Newman's conviction that Jesus was imperfect affected his ability to find any good in Jesus' teachings. In 1881, Richard Acland Armstrong, the editor of *The Modern Review*, tried to restrain Newman from using the words "brutal" and "foulmouthed" [sic] to refer to Jesus.[32] Jesus was brutal, Newman alleged, because he threw "scorn on family affection, or filial duty

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26 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 24 October 1875.
27 *Ibid.*
28 *Ibid.*
29 [1828-1912] Theistic preacher.
30 *Miscellanies,* vol. II, p. 360.
31 *Ibid.*
32 MCO, MS Armstrong 1 fols 60, FWN to RAA, 6 March 1881.

and on common decency; and all for no intelligible good results." This was supported by Jesus' injunction to let the dead bury their dead. The epithets ascribed to Jesus would be judged foul in a Victorian mouth, Newman argued:

> If a member of Parl.t were to say that the missionaries make Zulu converts twofold the children of hell than they are themselves; or if a public orator called his opponent a Hypocrit [sic], a Brat of Vipers, a Whited Sepulcre [sic], & so on; I make no doubt we should...avow that the phrase foulmouthed [sic] was a just epithet to be used of him.[33]

These phrases sound tame to the twentieth century ear, but it is difficult to ascertain what impact they had in Biblical times.

In Persia, Newman believed that doctors often did as much harm as good to their patients. In 1876, he accused the medical profession of more sinister behaviour:

> Our doctors try to make hay while the sun shines, i.e. while they have a stupid & gullible Parliament. Now, under pretence of Regulating & Restricting scientific torture, -- which has had an impulse given to it by judges ruling that no pain inflicted on an animal is 'legally' cruel, if done for a scientific object, -- they are about to bring in a Bill which for the first time will legalize [sic] it. The public abhorrence is rising. The Bill may pass, but I think that the Doctors will ere long consummate their own political downfall, by their Compulsory Vaccination, Surgical outrages on Women, & Scientific Torture....It is already believed that many human patients in Hospitals are cut up variously 'for the purposes of science' independently of any benefits to the individual. But surgical 'zeal for an operation' has long been notorious.[34]

Connected with these concerns, Newman noted the formation of an anti-vivisection society, remarking with pleasure that among its first five members were Frances Power Cobbe, the Earl of Shaftesbury,[35] the Archbishop of York William Thomson,[36] and James Fraser,[37] the Bishop of Manchester. Newman praised this ecumenical co-operation against society's immoralities and injustices. These concerns prompted Newman to write "On Cruelty" for the April *Fraser's Magazine*, which ended with this declaration:

> By all means we maintain that Morals is an expanding science, but the expansion which we see and plead for is the reverse of that which they propose to us as growth and improvement. We say that Morality takes up as new topics the rights of the commonalty as against rulers, the rights of a nation as against privileged classes, the rights of women against men, the claims of foreigners to equal rights as human beings, the rights of all

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33 MCO, MS Armstrong 1 fols 60, FWN to RAA, 6 March 1881.

34 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 11 February 1876.

35 [1801-1885] Anthony Ashley Cooper was the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.

36 [1819-1890].

37 [1818-1885].

> human beings to be treated as persons, not as chattels, and finally the rights of animals as against the human race.[38]

This statement illustrates Newman's faith that justice was at the heart of his political interests: truth and justice are aspects of divinity, and it is incumbent on human beings to pursue both.

On 16 July 1876, Maria Newman died suddenly, at the age of 76, after a year of decline. Jemima wrote to John Henry during Maria's illness:

> Dear Maria is quite herself -- and quite calm over the symptoms which shew [sic] what is coming. She has always shewn [sic] such simple firm faith that one cannot grieve for her. She must leave a sweet and loving remembrance behind with everybody she came near.[39]

After Maria's death, Francis felt "as one mutilated."[40] In August, he stayed with Jemima in Derby, where he was able to reflect on Maria's life for his friend, Frances Power Cobbe:

> My dear one lived in a joyful sense of God's presence: she was always saintly without any sanctimoniousness: she was ever alive to human suffering & tenderly sympathised with the afflicted. Towards me she kept a perpetual honeymoon, loving me with the tender ardour of a young girl, & filled with delight at my return every time I entered the house. Of course the change is to me vast: yet such love could not be immortal on earth. I have had it plighted & constant for nearly 43 years, & lived in sweet harmonious marriage for 40 $^{1}/_{2}$. What more can a mortal expect? How ungrateful, if I were now to repine! I am entirely satisfied & tranquil under the divine hand, & desire to turn my new life to the best account. I shall make as little change as I can, but seek to be guided by circumstances. I have abundant ground for constant thanksgiving, & eminently that all my memories are happy, plenty of them tender & sacred.[41]

To his nephew, John Rickards Mozley, Newman explained simply, "My beloved one could not be immortal here; her life was very happy, her death not premature."[42]

Maria's death freed Francis to join the Unitarians formally.[43] In September, John Henry noticed this in a letter to Jemima:

> [Frank's] joining the Unitarians is now in the Papers. The Unitarians are pious Deists now -- believing in our Lord as an eminent teacher, greater, but not in a higher sense, than Socrates. Humanly speaking, there [Frank] will remain, unless, when death comes, God has mercy upon him and the Saviour whom he has disowned. For that great Mercy one must pray.[44]

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38 *Miscellanies*, vol. III, p. 413.
39 *L&D*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 111-112.
40 HL, CB 642-644, FWN to FPC, 16 August 1876.
41 *Ibid*
42 LU, AL 342 6, FWN to JRM, 7 August 1876.
43 In 1879 he became vice president of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.
44 *L&D*, vol. XXVIII, p. 112.

John Henry expressed the identical sentiment to Maria Giberne in October.[45] After Francis' visit of 18 October, John Henry described his brother and his current theological position:

> Poor Frank has been here -- very gentle, sweet, and nice -- but I fear he does not consider our Lord more than a good man -- and has no scruple in criticising His words and deeds. It is a spiritual epidemic, which, in one shape or another, is going abroad.[46]

Like Maria Newman, William Lloyd Garrison's wife, Helen, died in 1876. Newman sent Garrison his condolences and a copy of Maria's epitaph, noting:

> She for whose loss I mourn had not the high spirit & public zeal of your beloved one. (*Star differs from star in glory*) -- *But she* was unique in her own form of loveliness. I send you my epitaph over her. An old friend has just written to me to say, it is sober truth.[47]

Maria Newman's epitaph testified to her husband's great love for her:

> In early life she scorned pomp and finery, but sought after God inwardly. With no superiority of intellect, yet by the force of love, by sweet piety, by tender compassion, by coming down to the lowly, by unselfishness and simplicity of life, by a constant sense of God's presence by devout exercises private and social, she achieved much of Christian saintliness, and much of human happiness. Warm and constant in friendship, she ever remembered the afflicted poor, though parted by time and distance. She has left a large void in her husband's heart, who enjoyed the blessing of her love more than 40 years. From God she came: to God she returns.[48]

In June 1877, as Francis Newman celebrated his seventy-second birthday, another bereavement occurred. Edward Sterling, Newman's former ward, died at age forty-six, leaving a widow and a daughter.[49] *His death was sudden, after thirty-six hours of illness;* Newman suspected "that vicious medicine given according to the precept of all the wise books precipitated the death."[50]

Newman had the curious sensation of outliving younger men: "Younger men than myself have been dying all round." In particular, he grieved for two former pupils: conchologist Philip Pearsall Carpenter and Walter Bagehot, the editor of *The Economist*.[51]

In June 1877, John Henry protested at the media's practice of identifying him as "F. Newman," noting the potential confusion with his brother: "I say this because, much as we love each other, neither would like to be mistaken for the other."[52]

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45 *L&D*, vol. XXVIII, p. 121, JHN to MRG, 10 October 1876.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
47 BPL, Ms. A.1.2.v.38, p. 71b, FWN To WLG, 14 December 1876.
48 *Ibid*
49 His father, John Sterling, died at age thirty-eight.
50 BPL, Ms. A.1.2.v.38, p. 82, FWN to Miss Priestman, 27 June 1877.
51 *Ibid*
52 *L&D*, vol. XXVIII, p. 208.

Both brothers were industrious: Francis filled his spare time with work "of a mechanical kind. Such has translation been to me, & of late years a very considerable but easy mathematical table w^ch the Cambridge Phil. S^y have now undertaken to print."[53] To Sargent he expatiated, "Two eminent Cambridge mathematicians are printing at their own expense an ample mathematical table[54] calculated by me."[55] Newman explained, "I cannot be happy except when busy."[56]

Newman's nephew, John Rickards Mozley, pressed him on his attitude towards the New Testament and Jesus. Newman claimed, "I have never at all adequately developed in print a twentieth part of the overwhelming evidence against the narrative books of the New Testament:"[57] "narratives of anonymous persons writing at a date unknown, who do not profess to be eyewitnesses is not adequate testimony."[58] Newman's difficulties with Jesus concerned "the moral precepts ascribed to Jesus and his deportment; both of which I more than disapprove."[59] He claimed that even as a boy he preferred Paul and Peter to Jesus, and conceded,

> ...the Epistle of James shows me that the general effect which he produced on his disciples was healthful and noble. I am quite open to think him far better than the picture drawn for him: but I must insist that the books, if made sacred, are all mischievous.[60]

Mozley asked why Paul and Peter acknowledged Jesus' superiority, unless it was true. Newman asked his nephew how he could be expected to draw conclusions about the apostles' mental judgement: "I cannot even account for so able and widely informed men as my brother D^r JHN and Cardinal Manning believing, as they do, things in my judgment [sic] simply fatuous."[61]

Newman predicted, "Religion cannot be sound, until this incubus of falsehood & folly is purged away."[62] He worried that Christians confused credulity with faith, with dangerous consequences. Newman felt that these dubious elements in Christianity could be traced to Jesus: celibacy, fasting, importunity in prayer (no matter how unreasonable), fasting to help prayer, night vigils of prayer, ill-gotten money to buy heavenly friends, merit of poverty and demerit of wealth, sacrificing parents and family to religion, "Merit of idle wandering under guise of Religion," giving alms to every one who asks whether idle or industrious, virtue of beggary, belief that diseases are demons, exorcisms, hell, and voluntary poverty rewarded in heaven. Newman felt it was monstrous for Jesus to claim to forgive sin,

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53 LU, AL 342 7, FWN to JRM, 30 July 1877.
54 23 quarto pages.
55 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 2 November 1878.
56 LU, AL 342 8, FWN to JRM, 23 August 1877.
57 *Ibid.*
58 *Ibid.*, AL 342 9, 10 September 1877.
59 *Ibid.*, AL 342 8, 23 August 1877.
60 *Ibid.*
61 *Ibid.*, AL 342 9, 10 September 1877.
62 *Ibid.*, AL 342 8, 23 August 1877.

but far worse to "bestow" this power on others, "teaching that frail & ignorant man may exercise a divine power: a fatal germ." He quoted John Henry's words in the *Tracts for the Times*, that this power was either a very momentous truth or a frightful blasphemy. Francis commented tersely: "It certainly is not the former."[63]

John Rickards Mozley defended Jesus' temper on the grounds of "righteous indignation." Newman disputed this, citing a "frightful example" from Luke xi.37, when Jesus dined with a Pharisee without first washing his hands. Newman expostulated: "This was a gross indecency, in a land which did not use knife, fork or spoon; where each guest dipped his fingers in the dish: yet Jesus turns fiercely on his kind host, & assails him and his class with virulence."[64]

Mozley also claimed to give more weight to Jesus' speeches recorded in the Gospel of John than to its narrative; Newman protested, "the more of his speeches in the 4th gospel are true, the worse for him." He objected to Jesus' "superhuman pretensions;" he argued that Jesus did not intend to illuminate, but to puzzle and irritate his listeners.[65]

Mozley believed in Jesus' "manifestation." Newman pointed out that although Mozley believed that Jesus' body after resurrection was not the same body as before, contemporary accounts claimed it was the same. Newman also invoked Paul's statement in Phil iii.21, that those who believe that flesh and blood rise from the dead are "fools."[66]

Newman found nothing original in Jesus' good precepts, all of which had precedents in the Psalms, the Prophets and Greek philosophy; he found that Paul was "a far sounder & profounder teacher of morals than Jesus."[67] Newman believed that his nephew agreed with him about religion fundamentally, but "it would be folly to expect you to reach in a few years matters which I have thought out and worked out in 40 to 46 years."[68]

In May 1878, Newman urged Gladstone to use his influence with Queen Victoria on behalf of peace with Turkey and Russia.[69] In a postscript to his letter, Newman appended, "Of course I do not expect a reply." Nevertheless, Gladstone wrote back within the week with an invitation to breakfast. Newman explained that the serious illness of his "senior servant," left him, "a childless widower," with "no one to look after matters when I leave home." Anna Swanwick applied "strong pressure" to bring Newman to visit her in London at the end of May,[70] however, and Newman arranged to bring his hostess to one of Gladstone's Thursday ten o'clock breakfasts.[71]

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63 LU, AL 342 8, FWN to JRM, 23 August 1877.
64 *Ibid.*
65 *Ibid.*
66 *Ibid.*
67 *Ibid.*
68 *Ibid.*, AL 342 9, 10 September 1877.
69 BL, 44456, ff. 283, FWN to WEG, 3 May 1878.
70 *Ibid.*.
71 *Ibid.*, 444786, f. 6, 25 May 1878.

Gladstone had visited John Henry Newman the year before; he asked Francis about his brother's position on the question of English relations with Turkey and Russia. Francis speculated:

> I have no doubt that my brother D[r] Newman retains his inveterate hatred of Turkish rule: but the policy of his church imposes restraint on his utterances. To me it is comical to see the Sultan, the Pope and the Chief Rabbi combined against Russia...[72]

Despite his concern over England's foreign relations, Newman's health was good. In July 1878, Newman was able to reassure Sargent, "I have simply to say, I never was better in my life (73 last June): only I dare not walk much, as my left ankle has shown much tendency to swell. (In years long past I several times sprained it: this, I suppose, is the cause.)"[73]

In December 1878, Newman married Miss Eleanor Williams, fifty-four years old, who had been a companion to Maria Newman for eleven years. His announcement of the wedding to Sargent was an afterthought: "Bless me! I have forgotten to tell you that last month I was re-married!"[74] This marriage seems to have been one of convenience; Newman explained, "Else I must have given up housekeeping, and know not into what family I could have gone."[75] John Henry prayed, "I trust his new wife will do him some religious good, though she is not a Catholic."[76] Later Francis commented, "My new wife is to me all that I need in affection & care: but only in domestic life can she know."[77] This implied that his second wife, like his first, was incapable of understanding her husband's ideas. A year after their wedding Newman reported, "Our love and trust has only increased month by month."[78]

Elizabeth, a great-niece of Newman's second wife, recalled Newman's rooms "lined with musty books," and his "impressive white beard," "striking profile," "steel-blue eyes," and "shaggy brows." She preferred drives around Weston with the professor and his wife to family prayers. Although little Elizabeth found Newman's manner "stiff and courtly...however polite and kind," she noted:

> ...there were several little girls who worshipped him from far. Other grown-up people might laugh at their ideas, but here was an old gentleman with a white beard who would always listen seriously to whatever was said and never treated you as if you were only a child. How much Hannah, his old servant, must have been amused and pleased by this innocent hero-worship of her master![79]

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72 BL, 44456, ff. 301,FWN to WEG, 9 May 1878.
73 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 2 November 1878.
74 *Ibid.*, 20 January 1879.
75 Sieveking, p. 360.
76 *L&D*, vol. XXIX, p. 15, JHN to MRG, 28 January 1879.
77 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 8 September 1879.
78 Sieveking, p. 206.
79 Ross, p. 240. There is a curious parallel here with the effect of Ralph Waldo Emerson on little girls in Concord, Massachusetts.

Meals at the Newmans seemed odd to Elizabeth, not just because of their vegetarian menu, but also because of their company, including the albino Thomas Gill, who gesticulated wildly between mouthfuls.[80] Elizabeth's reminiscences provided a picture of the domestic arrangements at the Newmans, with Hannah, Emily the cook, and Newman's old nurse, Nelma, "who lived to over 90 and spent her declining years under his roof."[81]

In January 1879 Newman congratulated Sargent on America's prosperity, noting:

> Your move towards prosperity may somewhat lighten our darkness: but I have little hope that our worst is passing, or that we are at all at the bottom of misery....I have been reluctant to write to foreign friends, because I can only speak with disgust concerning our rulers, and gloomy alarm concerning our future.[82]

Newman worried about the economy and trade unions, the increase in consumption of alcohol and tobacco, the competition of foreign mines and the emigration of British miners, and Beaconsfield's administration, which Newman called the "worst...which has plagued us in the whole century."[83]

Newman discovered that young people in 1879 were ignorant about slavery, which made them "liable to be deceived by the Negro haters," so he wrote a series of articles on slavery in the West Indies and America for *Fraser's Magazine*.[84] He also attacked this ignorance in person, lecturing the young Annie Nicholson, daughter of his friend Dr. John Nicholson, as she shopped in Penrith. Nicholson recalled:

> On the way into town Professor Newman said, 'You do not seem to be very clear as to the history of John Brown and the battle of Bull's [sic] Run.' I said I was not very clear about it, so he began from the beginning, so to speak, and the story of John Brown lasted till we reached home again. I went into shops to make my purchases, and on each occasion as I came out Professor Newman took up his tale just where he had left off. He showed no annoyance at the frequent interruptions or at my inevitable lapses of attention. His wonderfully clear, distinct enunciation, and his marvellous memory for facts, never faltered.[85]

While this account suggested that Newman was pedantic, Nicholson wished to convey the opposite impression:

> He had the rare and charming gift, in talking to young people, of making them feel that he regarded them as equals. And though he was imparting knowledge all the time, he had the air of being really more interested in what they had to contribute.[86]

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80 Wrongly identified by Ross as the hymn-writer John Hornblower Gill.
81 Ross, p. 240.
82 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 20 January 1879.
83 *Ibid.*
84 See Bibliography.
85 Sieveking, p. 120.
86 Sieveking, p. 122.

Nicholson's portrait of Newman in 1879 depicted a kind and courteous man, mentally and physically active, capable of joining "the younger members of the party" to take the dogs for a two hour run.[87] She reported that Newman used humour to soften his effect "even when he meant to be severe."[88]

Newman's enjoyment of the company of the women in the Nicholson household probably had its origins in memories of his mother and sisters. The first time he offered to read to the women as they sat sewing, Nicholson remembered, Newman "said that his mother and sister used to like him to read to them when they had work to do."[89] One rainy afternoon, Newman held a skein of wool for Nicholson as she wound it into a ball, and regaled her with his observations of an insect colony in Persia. During his missionary journey, Newman stayed in a place where he was "much distressed by vermin." He discovered that the insects came from a particular place in the wall, but instead of plugging the hole, he pulled the paper away from the plaster, and observed the insects with the aid of a glass. This may seem to be a triumph of curiosity over common sense, but Nicholson reported "He...learnt many curious things about their habits and customs. He formed a very high opinion of their intelligence, I remember."[90]

This incident was taken by O'Faolain to signify Francis Newman's "rag-bag mind:" "He had a high opinion of the intelligence of bugs."[91] This statement suggests that O'Faolain's entomological experience was limited.

Despite Newman's health, he thought about death and immortality: "If God gives me immortality, I am content. If it pleases Him to annihilate me, it is well. Let Him do with me as seemeth to Him good."[92] Newman contrasted "the doctrine of Immortality as a theory (full of <u>good</u> and <u>evil</u>, as it may be treated)" with the doctrine "as a belief affording personal comfort, solacing affliction and inspiring joy."[93]

Much has been written about John Henry's circuitous route to the cardinalate. His attitude toward the honour was ambivalent, and on 18 February 1879, *The Times* recorded that John Henry had declined it.[94] Francis supported this decision, and urged his brother:

> <u>Persevere in your refusal of the Cardinalate</u>. <u>Decisive</u> refusal is the simplest way. If I argue that it is more for your honour (as it is) to refuse, ingenuity may urge that it is your duty to choose what is less honourable and more troublesome. But one thing is certain. You cannot help the Pope, nor (what is more important) do good to men's souls, by such an elevation; but you will lose a post of deep moral value, in which you are (I believe) a valuable

87 *Ibid.*
88 *Ibid.*
89 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
90 *Ibid.*
91 O'Faolain, pp. 278-279.
92 Sieveking, p. 343.
93 MCO, MS Armstrong 1 fol 58, FWN to Richard Acland Armstrong, editor of the *Unitarian Herald*, 9 February 1879.
94 Gilley, p. 395.

> counsellor to numbers. The pressure of friends must not always be yielded to.[95]

Ironically, John Henry's response to his *brother* argued that he must align himself with Catholics because "blood is thicker than water."[96] John Henry emphasised this point, adding, "You forget that I believe the Catholic Religion to be true, and you do not. It is not that I am insensible to and ungrateful for the good opinion of Theists, but that Catholics are my brothers & I am bound to consult for them first."[97]

John Henry's elevation to Cardinal prompted some Australian admirers of Francis to send him a gift:

> ...a very beautiful present (for which I fear I am not thankful enough; for I dread the possession of every thing frail) -- viz. what I did not recognize [sic] to be an imaginary inkstand, consisting of a black Australian with a spear, of what material I cannot tell, -- an Emu and a Kangaroo, (which are made as tops to possible inkpots) in frosted silver -- besides ferns & a pond & other vegetation in frosted silver. I was told that an inkstand awaited me in London in a glasscase [sic] which was broken. Never dreaming what 'an inkstand' meant, I wrote: Never mind the glass case; send the thing as it is. It came, & I saw, it would be quickly tarnished & spoiled, unless kept in a glasscase; & that it would be ruined by dust, & to dust it scarcely possible. -- It is a permanent addition to my cares! But of course I acknowledged it courteously and thankfully.[98]

In July 1879 Francis contacted the editor of the *Fortnightly Review* to correct a biographical article about his brother.[99] Francis recalled that John Henry had believed in invocation of the Virgin Mary in 1824, the year in which John Henry was ordained a deacon. John Henry disputed this:

> That there were disputes between us on the subject of her invocation is an hallucination. I never invoked the Blessed Virgin, as I think -- nay, or advocated her intercession, till I was a Catholic. My belief in her gifts and prerogatives grew, but were the growth of a course of years. As far as I can speak from memory, as I think I can, I held that, while I was an Anglican, I was bound by the anglican [sic] prohibition of invocation; and accordingly I said in a letter to a friend, under the date of January, 1845, 'Somehow I do not like using Invocations except under the sanction of the Church.'[100]

Despite this denial, Francis repeated these allegations in *Contributions Chiefly to the Early History of the Late Cardinal Newman*[101]

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95 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 27 February 1879.
96 *Ibid.*, JHN to FWN, no date.
97 *Ibid.*
98 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 18 August 1880.
99 Lilly, W. S. "Cardinal Newman," *Fortnightly Review*: vol. 32 o.s., 26 n.s., July 1879, pp. 1-23.
100 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, July 1879.
101 See Bibliography.

Francis added that he knew that John Henry had been a secretary of the Bible Society, because he had also been a member of the committee. Later, prompted by Bonamy Price, he amended this to say perhaps it was the Church Missionary Society.[102] These committees were not distinct entities, because they "were worked by the same energies & almost by the same individuals -- viz. those called Evangelical."[103] To refute him, John Henry quoted Francis out of context as saying "I am sure that his [John Henry's] memory is likely to be better than mine." In context, however, this statement referred particularly to a tract written by John Henry, which Francis read only once.

In September 1879, a bemused Francis found himself attacked by a Trinitarian Christian for his censure of Jesus on the grounds that "the Gospels are in no sense of the words consistent, & the portrait of Jesus is by no means coherent."[104] Newman replied:

> You wish me to take on myself to disentangle the threads &c &c and you little know how unreasonable you are. I do not preach Jesus; therefore it does not become a duty to me to know any thing about him, except so much as to justify me in passing him by. I find this most abundantly in the fact, that he took no pains to let us know what he meant by claiming to be Messiah, nor to give us any authentic knowledge of his precepts. But the idea of reconstruction is old with me, as, I suppose, with every mind that is earnest in Protestant Christianity....now, I have to start by recognizing [sic] the folly of believing miracles, unless at least reported by the persons who saw them. There being no pretence of this here, I must cut out as misrepresentation all that is miraculous; a sweeping affair. What next am I to do about his words which claim for him miraculous power? What for those which threaten horrible punishment on all who do not discern his right to dictate. You tell me...that I cannot disengage myself from old beliefs &c. It is very true that I have been wonderfully slow as to this: but surely this ought not to lessen with you any weight in my present judgment [sic]. I read for instance Matth x. and am shocked at it....Folly, Arrogance and Impiety seem to be mild names for it: but I took long years to see all with fresh eyes. Moreover when I try to cut out what perhaps has been added by credulity, & yet leave some residue of possible history, I see no hope that any human mind can so solve the problem as to convince others....The task, my friend, is for you & yours, not for me.[105]

Newman felt that Christianity lost nothing "in beauty, grandeur, or truth" by discarding "all the details concerning Jesus which are current in the gospels and all the mythology of his person be forgotten or discredited:"

> The practical precepts in which Paul, Peter, and James agree, have very noble elements, moral and spiritual, which, having once become acknowledged over the breadth of Europe as our

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102 In the *Early History*, pp. 27-28, Francis wrote, "These from the local committees of the Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society invited my brother, in honorific terms, to join them as a third or second secretary."

103 BO, F. Newman '23-'69, 5 August 1879.

104 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to Mr. Page Hopps, 7 September 1879.

105 *Ibid.*

> highest ideal of right, will never be forgotten, never will be permanently depreciated. *Jews hold to them, as loyally as* Christians; if Christian nations acted on them, the feud of Moslem and Christian would not be perpetual...[106]

An Anglican clergyman asked Newman, "If you were God, what would you do?" Astonished by the question, Newman only managed to say, "The hypothesis is so strange that I know not what to answer." Given more time, he thought, he would have replied that "I needed Divine wisdom to predict Divine action." His interlocutor did not require an answer from Newman, however, for he supplied one of his own, "Oh, nothing is easier, the answer is on the surface. If you were God, you would seek your own glory." This answer horrified Newman, as sheer paganism.[107]

In September Newman complained, "I am always at work, but am in danger of undertaking what some one else is doing with greater advantage. My efforts are too solitary, & I am trying to avoid this, somehow."[108]

This solitary feeling may have deepened in another sense, when Francis' favourite sibling, Jemima Newman Mozley, died on Christmas 1879. She was surrounded by five sons and her daughter, as well as two daughters-in-law, "all fervent in love and duty."[109] Newman mourned: "She was my fondest object of boyish love, and it is impossible not to grieve. On the other hand, I had long expected it, and did not at all think she would survive *last* winter."[110] He believed his sister's health deteriorated due to an

> ...excess of anxiety through being made executrix to her husband's will, involving great perplexity, but *also* from the fraud of an old and trusted clerk. Her husband had several small strokes of paralysis, and for two and a half years before his death probably had not his mind always perfect. He delegated many confidential writings and documents to the clerk, who with his wife was much respected by the whole family. After his death his accounts were inexplicable. Three of his sons worked hard at them for weeks together, and at last discovered frauds, by which the clerk had not only embezzled money -- how much they know not, but counted above the thousand -- and had depreciated the property in selling it by representing it as having been for years a declining business: this was to hide his pilferings. When charged with it, the man *became raving mad.* Lawyers knew not how to recover property from a maniac who could not defend himself: and my sister was in such grief for the man's wife, that she knew not whether to wish to recover a farthing.[111]

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106 *Christianity Without Christ*, p. 23; this article was written in response to James Martineau's "Loss and Gain in Recent Theology," *L&D*, vol. XXX, p. 104.

107 *Miscellanies*, vol. II, p. 367.

108 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 8 September 1879.

109 Sieveking, p. 376.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

111 *Ibid.*, pp. 375-376.

Jemima's death and unsettled financial affairs necessarily affected her daughter, Jane's future. She subsequently decided to become a "mistress of the German language;" This pleased Newman, who commented, "I always regret my backwardness in that study."[112]

Newman reassured John Rickards Mozley that he was still a Theist. For about twenty-five years, there had been a persistent rumour that he had become "an Atheist of the school of Feuerbach (a writer known to me only by name)." He complained:

> I never could learn by inquiries what should lead to such a statement, except that I had not repulsed with theistic pride the advances of G. J. Holyoake, who was inquisitive of my religion...Up to a recent period I hear reports that 'every body knows' me not to adhere to the doctrine maintained in my book on the Soul; which has just enough truth in it to make it hard to contradict.[113]

Newman's dissatisfactions with *The Soul* included its attitude toward the Bible and piety:

> I now see the mischief & pernicious tendencies of very much more in the received Scriptures than I did, & should not speak so strongly of their good without a caution of their evil. Moreover, I fear that parts of the book are a little overstrained, & hereby may nourish in some readers a morbid religion, of which I see the danger more than I did. After 30 years perhaps no one would write a book of that class precisely the same as before. But on the whole & to all main points I stick fast.[114]

He sensed that religious fashions had changed in the 30 years since writing *The Soul*:

> I am glad to get the report from Oxford, that the Atheistic & Agnostic tendency appears there to have passed its zenith, & has visibly declined. But the Ritualists more & more disgust our statesmen as well as a vast majority of our laity. The 'theology of the Reformation', which was thought sacred by earnest Protestants not long ago, is now largely renounced & denounced, first because of eternal fire at its basis, secondly because of the 'Calvinism' inherent in it: but now the battle is open between the believer in eternal punishment on the one side, & on the other a triple host, a. Universalists, b. believers in Conditional Immortality, g. those who hold all dogmatism about a future life unwise. Those who hold b. are nearly on the ground which I occupied 50 years ago. I still think it the most scriptural, though I no longer believe that Scripture (so called) is homogeneous & self consistent.[115]

In contrast to this religious union, Newman argued that "Crotchets" dominated political thought in England in 1880:

> ...viz. to get rid of Licensed Shops for intoxicating Liquors, -- Guaranteed & Licensed Harlotry with compulsory outrage on women by surgeons -- & by their compulsory imprisonment &

112 LU, AL 342 10, FWN to JRM, 24 February 1880.

113 *Ibid.*

114 *Ibid.*

115 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 13 June 1880.

> medicaments -- also Compulsory Vaccination (so called) & prohibition to marry a deceased wife's sister. -- Others have as their Crotchet, to get rid of a State Church, and of Licensed Vivisection: and to have juster laws of land: others to attain justice for Married Women as to Property & controul [sic] of children, justice to Women from Parliament & from Magistrates, & with a view to this, Women's equal Suffrage.[116]

Newman claimed that most Englishmen of "any independent political thought" subscribed to one or two of these "Crotchets," whereas he subscribed to nearly all: "Only I have no zeal for an immediate separation of Church & State: other things seem to me first needed: that is all."[117]

In August "the necessities of house cleaning & small repairs" drove Newman out of his home; before this commenced, Newman sent Sargent a photograph taken in 1870. His first wife disliked it, because she thought it made him look "ill natured," but Newman's friends said "until photographs of me could move their lips, she would condemn them all." Newman commented, "Ten years have not, I think, added wrinkles to me, but they have made my hair iron grey and no where brown."[118]

In deference to his age, Newman resolved "not to bustle about so late in the year." He tried to resign as President of the Vegetarian Society. Rather than accept his resignation, however, the committee excused him from attending their October meeting.[119]

Newman did not cease to work simply because he no longer travelled in winter; he finished his Libyan dictionary in February 1881, and asked himself,

> What next?...for *to be idle is soon to be miserable*. I do not quite say with Clough, '*Qui laborat, orat.*' No! An eminent vivisector may be immensely laborious. We must choose our labour well, for then it may help us to pray *better*. But Coleridge is surely nearer the truth: 'He prayeth well who *loveth* well.'[120]

Newman explained to Sargent that he could

> ...no longer...earn a guinea by my pen. Apparently I am too inflexible for any magazine or review. The new Editor of Fraser will not have me: so I have to print, as I can, at my own expense. Indeed I have a Libyan dictionary in the printer's hands, for w^{ch} I should have been glad to earn something in the magazines.[121]

Newman sent his host, Dr. Nicholson, a penny vegetarian cookery book before visiting him in the summer of 1881. Fourteen years a vegetarian, Newman had settled into this routine:

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116 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 13 June 1880.
117 *Ibid.*
118 *Ibid*, 18 August 1880.
119 Sieveking, p. 377.
120 *Ibid.*, p. 221.
121 BPL, Mss. Acc. 427, FWN to ES, 2 May 1881.

> (1) At breakfast and the third meal I need nothing but what all fleshmeaters [sic] provide. (2) At dinner the utmost that I need is *one* Vegetarian dish, which *may* be a soup. (3) If it so happen that you have any *really solid* sweet puddings that alone will suffice. (4) For the *one* Vegetarian dish good *brown* bread and butter is an acceptable substitute, or rather fulfilment.[122]

Despite this humble menu, Newman admitted: "I am desirous of propagating everywhere a knowledge of our peculiar dishes, which teach how to turn to best account the manifold and abundant store of leaves, roots, and grains, besides pulse."[123] He promised his wife's assistance for "practical knowledge."[124]

Herbert Mozley visited the Newmans in August 1881, and told Newman that his brother, John Rickards, often got as far south as Gloucester, and thought of visiting his uncle in Weston-super-Mare. John Rickards was touring Wales with his family, and Newman wrote cautiously urging him to visit on his return via Gloucester. Ordinarily, the Newmans had room for a married couple and a third person; however, they had just "inherited" an invalid niece of Eleanor's, who would arrive as soon as she felt well enough to travel.[125]

Newman worried about his wife, who "had a relapse of severe headache, & said yesterday, she felt she ought to be under some hydropathic treatment in some establishment, she knew not what." Eleanor had even said that she would not mind leaving her niece alone; this surprised Newman, who explained:

> I should certainly be needed to go with her, at least in the first instance: & I see that any new distress such as threatened her this morning, though it is happily past over, might create a sudden wish to go to the quarter which she suggested.[126]

Although Eleanor would appreciate Mozley's visit, "it will gratify her as well as me to initiate you as well as we can into the minor pleasantry of this neighbourhood, & have the pleasure of your company," Newman worried that the occasion would make her conceal her suffering, "as she did lately almost a whole day."[127]

In October 1881, Newman recorded his creed for the Unitarian solicitor Robert Dukinfield Darbishire, a creed he hoped would unite Jewish, Moslem and Christian Theists:

> 1. There is One God, spiritual and omnipresent, invisible because omnipresent; apprehended by all nations dimly, comprehended by no man.
> 2. God is the source of all force, of all knowledge, of all wisdom and love. He rules by unchanging laws, which bring good out of evil.

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122 Sieveking, p. 316.
123 *Ibid.*
124 *Ibid.*
125 LU, AL 342 11, FWN to JRM, 24 August 1881.
126 *Ibid.*
127 *Ibid.*

> 3. To revere and honor [sic] Him, -- to feel the constant oversight of a God, who claims our best efforts for the Right, conduces to man's best state, and begins a noble religion.
> 4. Religion and its Ordinances are commendable only in so far as they tend to make men morally better.[128]

Although it expressed the basic common denominator for monotheistic faiths, Christians would not easily accept this creed, which omitted the role of Jesus in human salvation. Even Unitarian Christians, who had no professed creed, assigned a central role to Jesus. This creed was, however, a complete expression of Newman's Theism, having a sense of personal relation to God, and the obligation for moral improvement, while leaving immortality an open question.

At the end of October, Francis again sent John Henry some translations of Greek verse for criticism. He felt there were four possible reactions to the issue of translation. Scholars of Greek, like John Henry, said they preferred the original to any translation. "Good," said Francis. Some people had no interest in Greek verse whatsoever; Francis commiserated, "such is the case with me as to translations of Sanscrit [sic] poetry. Good again." A third group preferred translations in prose; Francis admitted, "I do not quarrel with them." But others wished for translations of Greek verse into English verse; then this question presented itself, was it necessary for these translations to rhyme? Francis wished to use metrical variations on the iambic pentameter of blank verse.[129]

Francis put this practical question to John Henry: "Does the rhythm of my stanzas, as rhythm (forgetting that they are translation) satisfy your ear, so as to sustain throughout the feeling that you are reading verse, and not prose?"[130]

Translating Greek verse was a hobby for Francis:

> When doing nothing better, from time to time I tried my hand at the 1st book of the Æneid, & fancy I have done it better than any I have read. But I have no inclination whatever to continue that work. I do however feel that our metres have great power. They are Oratorical, not Musical, yet Expressive.[131]

Francis believed that teaching should stimulate the imagination with beauty and symmetry,[132] which is one reason he devoted so much effort to his translations.

In November John Henry became alarmed about Francis' health; he sent Samuel Wayte, the former President of Trinity College, Oxford, to check on his brother. Wayte's telegram "gave a good account" of Francis.[133] Francis issued a printed letter to inform his friends about his health:

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128 MCO, letter bound into *First Elements of Religion*, FWN to RDD, 16 October 1881.
129 BO, F. Newman '70-'90 FWN to JHN, 28 October 1881.
130 *Ibid.*
131 *Ibid.*
132 Sieveking, p. 228.
133 *L&D*, vol. XXX, p. 27.

> In short, my general health continues as excellent as usual; but I have received a sharp warning, which I would gladly be able to call a mere fright. After many days of close and continuous writing, I found myself suddenly disabled in my right hand. I could not interpret it as merely muscular. There was no inability of motion or grasping, but want of delicacy in feeling, which made my pen slip round in my fingers.. I was forced to conclude the *brain* involved.[134]

Newman interpreted this as the possible onset of paralysis, and curtailed his schedule, to good effect:

> Prudence absolutely required me to back out of two engagements. This illness, such as it is, has not come on in a day, an demands time for cure. Some ten days of cessation have somewhat (but very imperfectly) restored my power of writing; but I must not undertake any tasks at present.[135]

It helped to keep his arm warm, but it was still weak.[136] His writing was so affected that his banker did not recognise his signature. Within a month Newman fancied his signature was the same as before, but he no longer held his pen the same way, and he grew tired easily. He found that he wrote too small, and found it difficult to write any larger, without writing very slowly. Newman understood the problem this way: "The arm is not wanting in muscular strength, but (it seems) in nervous delicacy."[137]

In 1882 Newman's literary work included a Numidian dictionary,[138] and The *Right and Duty of Every State to Enforce Sobriety on its Citizens*,[139] *Morning Prayers in the Household of a Believer in God*.[140] The 1908 edition of *Morning Prayers* stated that Newman published it at the urging of his friends, despite his fears that prayers written by a single author would seem monotonous, in the hope that their freedom from "historical or unhistorical allusions" would suit "many earnest persons."[141] They emphasise human responsibility:

> O Lord, who art the centre and source of life, from thee at every moment comes the force of our bodies, and from thee must we constantly receive the inflow of spiritual force. We fain would act as thy fellow-workers in our own allotted places, consciously doing our tasks as to thee, and trying to do thy will, even with effort and pain, when duty is clear. Give us temperance and control over all our appetites. Enable us to consecrate to thee with increasing sincerity and completeness our bodily actions, our mental powers, and whole life. Take us out of ourselves and make us consciously thine; so that whether we live, we may live to thee, or if we die, we die to thee. Truly thou needest not us, nor

134 Sieveking, p. 209.
135 *Ibid.*
136 *Ibid.*
137 LU, AL 342 12, FWN to Bonamy Price, 6 December 1881.
138 Never published.
139 Sieveking, p. 399 ff.
140 See Bibliography.
141 *Morning Prayers*, 1908, Preface.

> any son of man; and as the years come and go, and the generations pass, thou workest thy own wise designs, with us or without us. Nevertheless our happiness is in the harmony of our hearts with thy holy law, and our privilege is to know the concord between thy mightiness and our littleness. We, frail and feeble, take refuge under thy ever-during strength; we, who work with toil and effort, become partners of work with thee, who, never toiling, yet never resting, maintainest all things. Oh let this thought ennoble our action and sustain our service. Amen.[142]

Many of the prayers use imagery of God as a teacher:

> O God of our Life, whom we dimly apprehend and never can comprehend, to whom nevertheless we justly ascribe all goodness as well as all greatness; -- as a Father teaches his children, so teach us, Lord! truer thoughts of thee. Teach us to aspire, so far as man may lawfully aspire, to a knowledge of thee. The finite creature can know but little of the Infinite, yet that little may be of priceless worth. From old time those who have especially sought after thee, those whom peculiarly we suppose to be thy saints, attest to us the blessedness of those who know thee and live under the light of thy countenance. Thou art not only a God to be honoured in times of rest and ease: thou art also the refuge of the distressed, the comforter of the afflicted, the healer of the contrite, and the support of the unstable. As *we* sympathize [sic] with those who are sore smitten by calamity, wounded by sudden accident, wrecked in the midst of security; so must we believe that thy mighty all-embracing heart sympathizes. Pitier of the orphan, God of the widow, cause us to share thy pity and become thy messenger of tenderness in our small measure. Be thou the stay of all in life and death. Teach all to know thee and trust thee: give us a portion here and everywhere with thy saints. Amen.[143]

Empathy with others is a religious lesson; Newman's prayers encompassed life's sorrow as well as praising its joy.

In June 1882, John Henry urged Francis to ignore their brother-in-law, Thomas Mozley's, book:[144]

> I have seen Mozley's book so cruel as well as untrue about my Father. I don't mean to utter a word in consequence for he is a wild beast who rends one's hand when put up to defend one's face. I trust you will not notice his book. I don't suppose you will either I could show, by letters which I have kept as well as from my personal memory what he says or implies is untrue...[145]

Although Francis did not respond to Mozley publicly, he commented on the book privately. Francis differed from John Henry's assessment of Mozley as "a wild beast", "Mr Mozley is a

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142 Morning Prayers, no page number, V.

143 *Ibid*, IX.

144 *Reminisces Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*; see Bibliography.

145 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, JHN to FWN, 13 June 1882.

very generous warm-hearted man; and he is incapable of malice or any unkindness."[146]

Newman felt that Mozley should not have reminisced about *him*:

> We did know each other slightly when he was an undergraduate, but he does not refer to that....I am amazed at his calling me 'perhaps more precocious than my brother J. H.' I went to school when I was 6 years old, and was always diligent: that was all my precocity. But J. H. composed in prose and verse while he was a mere schoolboy. He wrote of his own fancies little farces for us to act in the drawing room, when I was a very little boy. I almost think, when I was 6 $^{1}/_{2}$, and he was under 10; & he edited a weekly MS at school, I might say more -- which circulated among certain boys, when probably he was 14. He wrote original Latin verses at an early age; very good ones (which I partly remember) when he was 20. When I was 20 I barely began to be able to write any thing original of which I was not ashamed, and certainly could not in poetry, English or Latin.[147]

Indignantly, Francis protested Mozley's presumption in reporting scenes he did not witness:

> What I do much complain of (as I have told him) is, that he represents me as gaily arguing with my brother, -- (I have not the book to quote --) and sure to be on the opposite side. This makes me seem very unamiable, especially to those who know how much at that time I owed to his warm affection. The fact is, that I looked up to him almost too much, until he suddenly reversed his religious doctrine & amazed me by his mode of argument. As soon as I (to my dismay) understood this, I to the utmost of my power avoided all argument with him, which was sure to be painful, if useless; because I found his first principles were new, and quite (to my understanding, then & now) unProtestant: -- I never spoke of this to my mother and sisters, (for it was too painful), and my sister Harriet, (Mr Mozley's wife) cannot have told him what he now tells the public for she had no cognizance [sic] any more than he, of what conversation went on between me & my brother. Her death was in 1852; so Mr M. has had 30 years to forget any thing she may have said.[148]

Francis objected to Mozley's portrayal of the Newman parents: the father as a clerk in a failed bank, the mother as a Puritan:

> I am hardly a just critic of any thing to which he can claim memory. But I strongly repudiate his mention of things which he cannot pretend to remember, things of which he had no cognizance [sic]. My brother the Cardinal writes to me words too strong to repeat, as to the impropriety of his lugging in my Father to his narrative; and says that he has documents which can prove him to be quite incorrect. For my part I strongly complain of his statement concerning my mother, and flatly deny it; both as untrue, and as a most gratuitous aspersion on her good sense. The religious training of us which he ascribes to her and the religious books to which he says she introduced us, -- I

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146 BO, T. Mozley, in a first edition of Mozley's *Reminiscences*, FWN to Catherine A. Phillipps, 9 July 1882.

147 *Ibid.*

148 *Ibid.*

> entirely deny. I suppose he elaborated the fancy, out of the idea that sons who fall into Puritan reading must have got it from their mother, if one of her grandfathers fled from French persecution as a Protestant. Not one of the books he names was put into my hands by my mother, and if she ever read even one of them (which I doubt) it is likely to have been from our introducing them to her....I feel, for my mother's honour I ought to protest.[149]

According to Francis, the Newmans were not the only ones to disagree with Mozley's account: "Mr. Froude[150] tells me that whenever he has cognizance [sic], he finds Mr M's memory to be at fault."[151]

Francis finished reading Mozley's *Reminiscences* in December, and scolded John Henry:

> I positively say, that of all persons in England you are the one who have least personal right to complain of him. You are the hero of his Epic from end to end. He may seem to have written chiefly to glorify you. With him you are not prima inter pares, but prima or solus inter impares.[152]

Francis felt he was not in a good position to discuss the book's anecdotes, because he did not know most of the people concerned, however he objected to the book's tone: "I...keenly feel his great animosity against all Evangelicals. His account of my friend Charles Brenton[153] quite astounded me, & his snuffing out of Arnold as a nobody lowered my opinion of his judgment [sic]."[154]

Francis insisted:

> I have my personal complaints. He certainly has misled readers into the belief that in Balliol Common Room I was an active religious disputant. You told me in those days that I was said to talk too much. Probably enough. But the topics were Science and Practical Politics, not Religion. Herman Mermal and I were zealots of Political Economy, and we argued that the existing Corn Laws were a nuisance to the Farmers & to the Manufacturing Towns alike...also Moberly[155] joined us in earnestly desiring Catholic Emancipation, which Ogilvie[156] dreaded. That any of our Fellows absented themselves from the Common Room through disgust, I learn for the first time from T. M.'s information.[157]

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149 BO, T. Mozley, FWN to Catherine A. Phillipps, 9 July 1882.

150 James Anthony Froude.

151 BO, T. Mozley, FWN to Catherine A. Phillipps, 9 July 1882.

152 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 22 December 1882.

153 Mozley said that Brenton went mad and established his own sect.

154 *Ibid.*

155 George Moberly, Bishop of Salisbury, was a Fellow and Tutor of Balliol in 1826.

156 Charles Ogilvie was Fellow of Balliol 1816-1834.

157 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 22 December 1882.

Francis' religious opinions had been Evangelical, but Church of England; while at Oxford he subscribed to the XXXIX Articles. When he could no longer do this, Francis had resigned his Balliol Fellowship.

Francis and John Henry co-operated in 1882 out of concern for their brother Charles. Charles needed a great deal of care, since he was now blind. Mrs. Griffiths, who had been looking after him in Tenby, died in August, and there was a question of whether her daughter Amy was mature enough to continue to take care of Charles. Charles insisted that he would "'rather starve than remove.' He can traverse every corner of the house safely, guessing his way; and he abhors the idea of a new house where he could not stir safely for months without an attendant."[158]

Francis felt that Charles was generally healthy, and attributed this to seven years of a vegetarian diet.[159] John Henry contributed £500 for Charles' expenses, which Francis accepted, but promised to repay within two months.[160]

Francis used his surplus income to help his relatives, and to satisfy his wife's last requests:

> I told you I have begun a fund for Josephine Fourdrinier.[161] She is now in a nice family, & writes happily. My dear Maria on her death bed dictated to me bequests to persons not of her kin which she wished me to insert in my own will. The rest of her money she wished me to distribute by my will to her (two) poorer sisters' children, as I might see them most to need. I do not like any of them to wait for my death. I at once paid the smaller sums to strangers; but have been hindered by the immediate needs of several of her kin until of late.[162]

Newman's own needs were few, "I try to maintain an income large enough to allow of, every year or so, spending something on printers."[163] Through the printed word, Newman could continue to act as a gadfly to literary London: he was not weary of the world, but preparing new campaigns.

158 BO, F. Newman 70-'90, FWN to JHN, 4 September 1882.
159 *Ibid*, 15 August 1882; 4 September 1882; and 27 September 1882.
160 *Ibid*, 15 August 1882.
161 The Newmans' cousin.
162 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 15 August 1882.
163 *Ibid*.

Chapter Ten:

At Last Repose

In 1883 Newman published *Essays on Diet*,[1] a collection of his papers on vegetarianism. Among the factors he treated were economics, aesthetics, ethics and health. At seventy-eight, Newman's health was a good advertisement for vegetarianism. He bragged, "My wife is sensibly better. Last year I was her sole doctor, and Fruit Diet is my recipe for her. I am always well while I keep my feet warm."[2]

He also published a pamphlet on *A Christian Commonwealth* which lamented England's imperialism, and hoped for an end to secret diplomacy and war, except in the case of self-defence. John Henry looked at the title and observed, "I suppose it is an argumentum ad hominem."[3] Francis perceived this observation as an accusation, and responded, "I beg you not to imagine that my tract on a Christian Commonwealth is written as an argumentum ad hominem by one who separates his own convictions from those to whom he appeals." Francis did not urge Christians, "You ought to do so, because you profess it," but, "because...I see it to be the only right thing -- & because I glorify your moral creed."[4]

Although Francis no longer called himself a Christian, he was conscious that "one may have deep agreements, deep sympathies, and mutual utilities too valuable to lose, notwithstanding a diversity of judgment [sic] concerning matters long past in history." He acknowledged that his roots were Christian:

> I have never ceased for a day to look up with great gratitude for the writings of Paul of Tarsus, and to be thankful that I learned spiritual morals in his school. At no time of my life have I ceased to have sympathy as to practical matters with Christian morals as contrasted with those of materialistic philosophy. A majority of my dearest friends (as of my two wives in succession) have been devout Christians.[5]

He also recognised the reformatory zeal of Christians in England:

> What is more, I should feel deep gloom for the future of England, had I not a severe delight from the belief that every large branch of the Christian Church in England has risen sensibly in the last 40 years in moral earnestness and purity. To the Churches I look (and not to the unreligious [sic] reformers) as the main force of goodness in our near future. While I have thought it to be a simple duty to speak in love what I have thought to be historical truth, I have never undervalued the moral worth of any person or society for deficiency in historical knowledge or logical power, but have always (so far as allowed me) clung to

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1 See Bibliography.
2 LU, AL 342 13, FWN to JRM, 8 January 1883.
3 *L&D*, vol. XXX, p. 200, JHN to FWN, 8 April 1883.
4 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 9 April 1883.
5 *Ibid.*

> those in whom I saw moral goodness -- 5 times out of 6, earnest Christians.[6]

Worcester College, Oxford honoured Newman by making him an honorary Fellow, and inviting him to speak at their Gaudy. Newman asked for details about the type of speech they required:

> I am so hardened, that I do not think the presence of all the first luminaries of Science would abash me. With no pretense [sic] to eloquence, I can say what I want, when I have any thing to say: and here the material so abounds, that total abstinence may be easier than temperance. Not to frighten you by this last remark, I may add that I can be very concise at a right time.[7]

Newman enjoyed memories of his university days, and recorded some of these for the Worcester College Library. He nurtured his connection to the College by sending complimentary copies of his publications to its library.

Although Newman adhered to the rule of the Vegetarian Society, he believed very sensibly that it should be permissible to break the rules under duress. He argued that vegetarianism was not analogous to a temperance pledge, and confessed:

> On some occasions, in early years, when I could get no proper vegetarian food, I have eaten some small bit of ham fat (as I remember on *one* occasion) to aid dry potato from sticking in my throat....But when I found what a fuss was made about this, and saw that many people took the opportunity of *inferring* that a simple act implied a habit, I saw that it was unwise to give anyone a handle of attack...[8]

If Newman's wife asked his opinion on her meat:

> I find nothing in our rules to forbid my gratifying her *curiosity*. In that case I do not take it *as diet* to nourish me nor to gratify me. My words of adhesion simply declared that I had abstained from such *food* for half a year, and *I intended to abstain in the future*. Of course this forbids my *habit* or any *intention* to the contrary; but I deprecate interpreting this as a vow or as a trap and a superstition.[9]

The publisher Kegan Paul alleged that Newman had eaten meat at a dinner at the Swanwicks.' Actually, the cook had prepared a special meal for Newman; although he sat at the same table as Kegan Paul, it was possible this went unnoticed. At another dinner at the Swanwicks, Newman counted seventeen dishes that he ignored:[10] instead he ate food which he had brought himself.[11]

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6 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 9 April 1883.

7 WCO, Newman, F.W. YC.2.16, 277 17, FWN to Charles Henry Daniel, 28 May 1883.

8 Sieveking, p. 310, FWN to F. P. Doremus, 21 September 1883.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, p. 312, FWN to F. P. Doremus, 21 September 1883.

11 "Her cook was not skilful in *our* cookery, but did her best." Sieveking, p. 312.

Newman realised that all vegetarians would not be as willing as he was to appear eccentric at a social occasions, which was one reason why he advocated grades of membership in the Vegetarian Society: one that permitted the member to eat fish, and one that allowed exceptions when the member was away from home.[12]

In December, a friend asked Newman if she could borrow some of John Henry's early books. Francis did not have any to lend, but he commented on what he perceived as his brother's hypocritical position when still an Anglican:

> He is 4 years and 4 months my senior, and in my early days acted a most generous part to me. I am indebted to him in just those years which were most critical. Yet, sad to say, in that very time a great religious breach opened between us, for it was already too clear to me in 1824-5 that he was trying to undermine in me every Protestant principle and was in heart a Papist all but wanting a Roman Pope. He wanted a Papal clergy, a Pope in Canterbury, and a submissive laity, with High Honours to the Virgin, Monasteries and Nunneries. He took near 20 years more to find out his true place.[13]

Francis felt John Henry's *Apologia* omitted the "cardinal cause" behind John Henry's conversion to Roman Catholicism: "his moral inability to resist the public opinion which hissed him out of Oxford and beckoned him in to Rome, the pupils who had preceded him to Rome calling to him: 'You are bound in honesty to follow us.'"[14]

Francis acknowledged that his brother's position had changed since his conversion:

> He is now honoured in Oxford, as being the least Catholic of Catholics, as well as an honourable opponent. But in 1844 it was notorious (what I had seen 20 years earlier) that within the Anglican Church, he was an enemy in disguise.[15]

Perhaps some Unitarians had similar ideas about Francis, their recent convert. Newman complained that those "who begin life from Unitarianism" were incapable of comprehending "my sentiment toward the historical Jesus." When he was young, he had equal difficulty understanding the Unitarian perspective:

> When I was a young man, never having met a Unitarian, and having only Trinitarian judgments [sic], I seem to remember it as a universal belief, that any veneration professed to Jesus by a Unitarian must be insincere and put on for a purpose: for his claims are so far beyond any thing endurable from a human prophet, that if he was not immeasurably more, he deserves, not veneration, but resentment and contempt.[16]

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12 Sieveking, p. 312, FWN to F. P. Doremus, 1 October 1883.

13 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to Mrs. William Thompson, 16 December 1883, "Private and Confidential."

14 *Ibid*

15 *Ibid*

16 HU, bMS 416/4 16, FWN to JHA, 24 December 1883.

Newman conceded that an Arian might revere Jesus, but ever since he had been convinced "that there is no reasonable ground for doubting that Jesus was a fallible frail mortal, he dropt [sic] at once in my estimate so low, that I will not attempt to define his position in my mind."[17]

Some Unitarians, like James Martineau, avoided Newman's "conclusion by throwing over as worthless whole masses of the Gospels." Newman complained that Martineau "will never state" how much he threw over. While Newman agreed that parts of the Gospels were dubious, he argued:

> ...he cannot and does not destroy the proof of arrogance, ambition and monstrous pretension, joined to a most unamiable and unjustifiable virulence, and assumption of wisdom where he [Jesus] is unwise. It is to me certain that what I feel, thousands of Trinitarians feel; -- that unless we throw the Gospels away, (and so make a blank for the character of Jesus,) there is no reasonable middle course. Either he is prodigiously above the human position, or he is greatly below vast numbers of his unpretending disciples. They claim the high esteem in which he is held by unbelievers, as proof against the latter alternative; and this immensely confirms their belief in his Divinity or Deity. Every thing else seems admitting an inferior god.[18]

If the responsibility for selecting the "true" parts of the gospels were to be left to the individual, Newman argued, it left Christianity without a system that could be preached, let alone interpreted to the heathen.

In January 1884 Newman complained that the sinews of his right hand were cramped by excessive writing. His first volume of *Miscellanies* was a critical success, but not selling well. Newman attributed this to the publisher's caution: he excluded all religious or political articles from the volume. Newman argued that including these in a second volume would add "spice," and increase sales.[19]

On 22 March 1884, Charles Robert Newman died two months before his eighty-second birthday. Upon notification of his death, by Amy Griffiths, Francis telegraphed the news to John Henry. Francis wanted to give Charles a simple burial, similar to those "I have given to two valued servants:"[20] horses for a hearse and a mourning carriage, and a plain oak coffin[21]. However, he did not want his brother to be embarrassed by newspaper coverage: "my first desire is, that nothing should occur to your discomfort."[22]

Francis' anxiety on this account was justified: Charles died on Saturday evening, and the news was in the Sunday papers in London.[23] On Tuesday Griffiths received Francis'

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17 HU, bMS 416/4 16, FWN to JHA, 24 December 1883.
18 *Ibid.*
19 *Ibid.* 4 19, 24 January 1884.
20 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 22 March 1884.
21 *Ibid*, 25 March 1884.
22 *Ibid*, 22 March 1884.
23 *Ibid*, 25 March 1884.

instructions and managed to arrange everything for a funeral at 11:30 the next day. With gratitude, Francis invited Griffiths to visit him in Weston-super-Mare. He wished John Henry could visit as well:

> I would ask you, if I thought it possible for you to take a drive (in warm weather) and almost incognitus: but your features would betray you, and I suppose in two days you would be liable to calls of respect from many Catholics. Perhaps you could not have real ease.[24]

In 1884, Newman's disgust with the "unscrupulous" ministry's treatment of the Contagious Diseases Acts led him to publish 250 copies of *Votary of Justice*, urging formation of a new political party, a party of justice.[25] As Newman explained to the London *Echo* "All my life I have been called a Liberal and something more." He argued that a variety of issues dissipated reforming energy into individuals and groups supporting "crotchets." A party advocating justice would collect all these individuals under one standard: "All ask for justice, and only for justice."[26]

Newman's "crotchets" kept him so busy that it was not until July that he found the opportunity to acknowledge John Rickards Mozley's 1883 Christmas card. Although he was busy, Newman observed, "to have work to do and strength for it seem to me a first condition for human happiness."[27]

At the end of January 1885, Newman spoke for land nationalisation at the conference on Industrial Remuneration in London.[28] Chaired by Sir Charles Dilke, the conference represented a variety of different political opinions, and marked the debut of G. Bernard Shaw for the Fabians.[29]

In May Newman decided not to attend the Vegetarian Society's meeting in Leeds. May was a colder month than March or April that year, so, despite feeling "inwardly conscious of health and strength," Newman took the "ignominious precaution" of staying in Weston-super-Mare. Three days after the scheduled meeting:

> ...I went out, very fully clothed (as I thought) as well as in the worst of March, -- and with my usual fearlessness met the wintry blast, walking indeed with more than usual speed to get home from it. But on reaching home I could not sit down or get up without pain. To cut the tale short, for the first time in my life I learned the great agony of cramps in the muscles of the back (vaguely compounded with lumbago) caused by the severity of wind....I became as helpless as an infant, every use of the muscle overpowering me with agony.[30]

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24 F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 28 March 1884.

25 Sieveking, p. 379.

26 Newman, "The Party of Justice." Letter to the *London Echo*, 10 February 1885.

27 LU, AL 342 14, FWN to JRM, 10 July 1884.

28 In 1886 Newman was vice president of the Land Nationalization Society, Sieveking, p. 351.

29 Vogeler, p. 195.

30 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 4 June 1885.

This muscular affliction lasted a fortnight, and Newman continued to experience some weakness in his back.

In December Newman celebrated his golden wedding anniversary, calculating that he had been married to his "first dear wife" for 43 years, and his "second blessing" for seven. He reported to his brother:

> ...bright sun allured me to walk along our new esplanade, with air sharp, not strong nor frosty; and I walked further than usual, ever quickening my pace, and when quite out of sight, took to running as I have run (when an undergraduate) with Hawkins and you![31]

As he ran, his high spirits impelled him to declaim lines of Euripides at the top of his voice. He bragged to his brother that his inward sense of health and well-being gave him "the feelings of 50 or 60 years ago."[32]

These high spirits may have drawn the young sculptor Georgina Bainsmith to ask Newman to sit for her. Bainsmith reported his "odd boyish, shy sort of pleasure" as he asked her "Was he good-looking enough to be immortalized [sic]?" She sculpted Newman as he visited with her mother. The result was the most successful work Bainsmith had achieved at that point, perhaps partially because Newman insisted she take extra pains with his collar.[33]

In *Hell and the Victorians*, Rowell portrays Newman as an individual who moved from fervent belief in heaven to scepticism. This may be a usual pattern of faith development, but Newman's attitude toward immortality was more complicated.

Before writing *The Soul*, Newman conceded in a letter to Martineau that his ideas on the topic would be considered "great defect" by his friend, as he had "never received the doctrine of immortality except dogmatically." In fact, he admitted, books which tried to *prove* immortality just made him disbelieve it. At the time of writing *The Soul*, Newman did not express a fervent belief in immortality so much as a fervent hope to believe. He discarded both metaphysical and historical arguments for the doctrine as irrelevant. For him, the most important arguments were: the love of God, which gives the soul insight into God, and hope of permanent union with God; and the notion that God would not abandon human beings just as they start to perfect their virtues. On the other hand, the desire for personal immortality was essentially selfish; Newman worried that the concern with judgement made religion mere enforcement. He also argued that the doctrine had limited power to comfort those mourning loved ones who had not lived exemplary lives.

Newman found his words isolated him from those he expected to agree with him: "I became very uneasy: at last perhaps morbidly so."[34] His desire to be in sympathy with others' beliefs on immortality led him to write *Theism* nine years after *The Soul*. In *Life*

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31 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 24 December 1885.

32 *Ibid.*

33 Sieveking, p. 129.

34 *Palinodia*, p. 2.

After Death? Palinodia, published in 1886, Newman criticised this attempt as "one-sided."[35] In *Theism*, Newman implied that "The more spiritual religion becomes, the more does belief in a Future Life gain assent."[36] Rowell insists that at this time, Newman was "still a firm believer in man's immortality." This implies a rather superficial reading of the text, which reads more like a man's attempt to convince himself. *Theism* approached a doctrine of immortality, but did not display conviction: Newman rested the hope of a future life in the notion that God could not permit virtue to perish. In *Palinodia* he retracted this argument, because virtue need not be extinguished with the individual: in a collective endeavour; the torch is passed from generation to generation.[37]

In *Theism*, Newman proposed that the body acts as mother to the soul during its lifetime: what the body experiences as death is really a birth into the spirit world.[38] The notion of eternal punishment horrified Newman, and he proposed that the wicked would also eventually be joined to God.[39]

In *Palinodia*, Newman treated different theories of immortality presented historically, and concluded that immortality was unproved and unprovable.[40] *Palinodia* had thirty-three sections, many of which are less than a page long. Its format is logical; Newman referred to the propositions under discussion as "axioms" or "theorems." His orthography was slightly more irregular than his style: he omitted the final letter "e" where it was "not only superfluous, but misleading."[41]

Newman hypothesised that as eternity is a characteristic of God, for human beings to claim this as their birthright is an "infatuation" which invaded the characteristics of deity.[42] He reminded his readers that it is not how long they live, but *how* they live.

Newman began his discussion of immortality by stating there are really only two possible manifestations: embodied spirits or disembodied spirits. If immortality required embodied spirits, Newman asked where they were. He hinted that, in that case, the inquiry belonged more properly to geography than to theology. Next Newman examined the beliefs of the ancient Greeks, starting with the "Greek Axiom:" *what begins, must end.*[43] He contrasted this to Plato's argument that matter cannot cease: "*every living thing... virtually* a little god, uncreated and eternal."[44] Accepting this argument, Newman argued, would imply not only a future life, but also a past one.

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35 *Palinodia*, p. 1.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
38 *Theism*, p. 80.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
40 *Palinodia*, p. 51.
41 From a note at the beginning of the second edition, which added: "The writer hopes to exhibit and defend hereafter a larger improvement for the benefit of all learners; but to the revolutionary Pitman scheme, he is on principle irreconcilable." The Pitman scheme was developed by Sir Isaac Pitman [1813-1897], an advocate of spelling reform.
42 *Palinodia*, p. 42.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Newman cited two Christians as debating these two Greek perspectives. St. Paul attacked the "Greek Axiom" directly: although only God is immortal, Jesus' resurrection was an exception to the laws of nature.[45] Bishop Butler[46] eliminated the necessity of a past life from Plato's position, because science[47] proved that things do indeed begin: even the solar system had a beginning.[48]

Next Newman examined the question of transmigration of souls. If, in the case of transmigration, all learning is simply remembering, then there is no real moral improvement. He commented: "I cannot repress nor care to conceal my utter contempt for such argument....[it] destroys all moral importance in the alledged [sic] immortality."[49] He observed:

> ...if my soul animated the body of a hero who fought at the side of King Agamemnon, I yet cannot identify myself with that hero. I hav [sic] no intelligible relation to him; I care nothing about him; why the more should I care about my future soul? It will not be myself, any more than was the old soul.[50]

In other words, if individual identity perishes, what is the point of immortality?

From transmigration, Newman proceeded to attack Theodore Parker's assumption that human consensus of belief in immortality proved the doctrine's truth, a curiously democratic approach to theology. Newman listed two objections to this notion. First, what the majority believes changes as human knowledge changes. Second, all the nations, including the ancient Hebrews, did not believe in immortality.

Newman reported that modern Christians claimed they found it hard to believe in hell.[51] He asked why, if it was easier to believe in heaven, people did not look forward to dying, why they referred to even pious deceased relatives and friends as "poor."[52] In direct contrast to his words in *Theism*, Newman noted that the more spiritual the individual, the less likely he is to believe in a future life.[53] He posited that the modern Christian belief was closest to the Moslem notion "from thee we came, to thee we return."[54]

For Newman, only untimely deaths were sad. Despite the pain of parting, the morbid idea of a future reunion is not necessarily comforting.[55] Heaven sounded "too monotonous for an Eternity;" certainly Newman himself, even at his most fundamentalist,

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45 *Palinodia*, pp. 4-5.

46 Joseph Butler [1652-1752], Bishop of Durham.

47 Newman also used science to argue that humans and animals are continuous on an evolutionary scale -- if they die without immortality, so should humans, by a "powerful analogy," p. 10. He also argued against spiritualism by asking what kind of God would let spirits play tricks: the existence of spirits with power over matter would invalidate everything established by science, p. 15.

48 *Palinodia*, p. 7; p. 10.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

50 *Ibid.*

51 *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

never wished to go there.[56] He believed that the trials of pain and suffering were essential to the perfection of human virtue.[57]

Without pain and suffering and therefore the possibility of moral improvement, what is heaven for? Newman identified several moral implications to a belief in immortality. There is the notion that, without fear of going to hell as a stick and hope of going to heaven as a carrot, human beings would not be good. Newman dismissed this as a "degrading view of man."[58] Deferred punishment is not effective in the classroom, and Newman drew an analogy from this to eternal punishment at the end of the sinner's life: "Cruelty disguised as justice."[59] He argued that the wicked do not escape punishment in this world, because a wicked individual "forfeits all the highest joys,"[60] known through virtues such as self-sacrifice and love.

Newman judged that the notion that "Violence must expect Violence" was savage,[61] and taught cruelty to animals and the "lower races."[62] He also spurned the idea that in heaven, the innocent would be compensated for any wrongs suffered in this world. For Newman, the existence of evil in this world, did not require an unjust God.[63] If God is unjust without any compensatory scheme, why should God be any more just after death?[64]

Justice was central to Newman's consideration of immortality. He protested against the fatalism of a system which says that all evil will be redressed ultimately, for if evil is inevitable, then it is useless to fight it.[65] Newman envisioned the establishment of heaven on earth; a doctrine which deferred God's kingdom until death subverted justice.[66] The support for justice must come from the Church: individuals are too weak, and societies tend to conflict with each other. Unlike societies, which support particular causes, the Church is pledged to *all* virtue.[67] This inclusion of a role for the Church and the recognition of its importance marks another departure from the individualistic tone of Newman's earliest theological works, although he proposed the Church as an instrument providing justice in another work of 1886, *The New Crusades, or the duty of the Church to the World*.[68]

Newman accepted praise for *Palinodia* warily, as he warned Richard Acland Armstrong: "You seem to put me on a dangerous pedestal in your lively estimate of my merits

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56 *Palinodia*, p. 34.
57 *Ibid.*
58 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
59 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
60 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
61 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
64 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 35; p. 45.
67 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
68 See Bibliography.

as a writer on religion. I expect to have only the deeper and heavier fall." Newman observed, "I seem to be incurably heterodox!"[69]

In September 1886 the Newmans were joined by three of Jemima's children in Wales,[70] their "brides elect," and a Fourdrinier cousin, Josephine.[71] Josephine had "been gravely out of health, and is now with us in hope of gathering robustness." Despite "drenchings formidable" Newman insisted, "I cannot get tired of [the chief beauties of Wales]; and what is more, the giving to others the pleasure of seeing them multiplies the pleasure threefold."[72]

Neglecting his correspondence during his holiday triggered an attack of paralysis. Newman reported:

> ...though I had had no one exertion of mind of any significance, I had felt my brain hot and heavy from trying to examine and sort, and glanced at after opening, a huge mass of packets which had accumulated while I was in Wales -- at which I had for many days worked, to judge what needed notice, or deserved keeping, and what must be consigned to the wastepaper basket at once.[73]

His left hand and fingers became paralysed and numb; his doctor forbade him to go to London, where Newman had promised to attend a vegetarian dinner and take the chair. Three days later Newman's hand resumed its power to button and hold a fork, but he took it as "a sharp threat and warning:" "I must not allow correspondents whose communications I have not invited, to involve me in so much of writing; nor must I write so long together."[74]

Newman hailed a "new & vast power of good [which] has uprisen in the last 15 years here (perhaps 25 years in America) -- the uprising of the female sex as Executive and Consultative in public." He believed that women would check "the profligacy and cruelty of the male sex," because they reasoned from morality.[75] In April 1887 Newman observed, "if some of them seem a little *too* active -- I ask, how *can* this odious system of sin, crime, and cruelty be crushed without hot enthusiasm? And where was enthusiasm hot without partial error? Fire burns!"[76]

Newman realised that he was out of step with public religious enthusiasm:[77]

> 'Alas!' that the older I become (81 last June) the more painfully my creed outgrows the limits of that which the mass of my

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69 MCO, MS. Armstrong 1 fols. 64, FWN to RAA, 6 May 1886.

70 Frank, Herbert, and Jane.

71 Josephine was the daughter of Newman's cousin, Henry Fourdrinier. Henry was 12 years older than Newman, but married late in life.

72 LU, AL 342 17, FWN to JRM, 5 September 1886.

73 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 6 and 7 October 1886.

74 *Ibid.*

75 LU, AL 342 15, FWN to JRM, 28 December 1885.

76 Sieveking, p. 380.

77 In 1888 this was recognised by an American Unitarian publication which acknowledged Newman as "among those who in some way have uttered some portion of our Unitarian thought and feeling, although in many of their opinions they are far from being in accord with Unitarianism." *Unitarianism: Its Origin and History*, p. 270.

> nation, and those whose co-operation I most covet, account *sacred*. I dare not (unasked) send to friends what I print, yet I uphold the *sacred moralities* of Jew and Christian (Hindoo and Moslem) with all my heart.[78]

He summarised his creed: "The Lord reigneth. The righteous Lord loveth righteousness. The Lord requireth Justice, Mercy, and Sobriety of thought, not ceremony or creed."[79]

Newman's interest in theology did not distract him from politics. He supported local government for the Irish, wishing wryly for local government for Scotland and Wales, as well. He exalted the example of Canada, and contended, "I cry 'Ireland for the Irish,' 'India for the Indians,' 'Egypt for the Egyptians,' -- *come what may* to the English 'Empire'! [But I have never read in history of any empire being ruined or harmed by Justice, Mercy, or Purity.]"[80]

In April 1887, Harriett's grandson, William Langsford, visited the Newmans from Australia. Francis described him for John Henry: "He is a tall elegant very modest young man, perhaps not quite 21. He has taken BA in Arts at Melbourne, but aspires to learn Civil Engineering in England."[81]

In February 1888, Newman sent birthday greetings to his brother, observing, "Our old (long superannuated) cook was 90 a few days back, and her eyes are perfect for reading small print. We both heartily wish your eyes may last as hers do."[82]

On 20 June Francis stayed with John Henry in Birmingham, then travelled to Oxford to address the Worcester College Gaudy the next day. The excitement of travelling affected Newman's brain and stomach, and he had two bad nights' sleep in Oxford, where his bedroom was near the railroad. The night of the Gaudy, mental excitement kept him awake until midnight. On the morning of 22 June, Newman called on Jowett at Balliol, who invited Newman to their Gaudy that night. Newman discerned, "That evening I sat down to dinner with 102 guests, such a company as I never before looked at." He did not realise the effect of all this excitement until he returned to Weston-super-Mare:

> When I reached home, I thought myself quite well, but soon found I could not write a word without one or more blunder in some letter, and a needful epistle became a heap of unsightly blots. This is only exaggeration of a weakness becoming normal with me. I have to write as slow as any little schoolboy. My housemaid was alarmed without my knowing it: but more Rest and Sleep in some days removed my wife's alarms. But I still am forced to write very slowly, and cannot help some blunders.[83]

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78 Sieveking, p. 381.
79 *Ibid.*
80 *Ibid.*, pp. 380-381.
81 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to JHN, 23 April 1887.
82 *Ibid.*, 20 February 1888.
83 MCO, MS. J. Martineau 4 fols. 10152, FWN to James Martineau, 6 July 1888.

In August Newman resolved not to travel any more than necessary because the "racket of a railway begins to trouble me as much as it troubles my wife."[84]

That autumn Eleanor's poor health distracted Francis from his work, and in November he visited his brother's bedside in Birmingham. To his alarm, Francis noted that three doctors attended John Henry: "Father Neville,[85] a most kind caretaker, spoke of him as 'extremely feeble,' which was entirely my own impression. I did not dare to prolong my stay beyond 20 minutes."[86]

In 1889 Worcester College extended another invitation to Newman to their Gaudy, which he declined. This was not only due to his experience the year before, but also to his wife's "doubtful health." Newman remarked:

> ...my memory has to go back to December 1832 for so peculiar an experience as that from Oxford last year. Then my hosts (at Tabriz) thought my mind was wandering, when the real oddity was that my tongue could not command the word which was sound in my mind.[87]

Newman concluded, "Unusual excitement is not good for me."[88] At the time of the Gaudy, scheduled on Newman's birthday, the Newmans were in Clifton, where Eleanor could seek treatment at a Turkish bath. Newman noted wistfully, "I am so conscious of being much more than a year older in those 12 months."[89]

In May 1889, Newman's nephew John Rickards Mozley persuaded him to comment on Darwin's theory of evolution. Newman remarked at his amazement at "the sudden change from rejecting Robert Chambers on the Vestiges of Creation with ineffable scorn, to an acceptance of Darwin & Wallace's Evolution with apparently irrational speed." Newman criticised the trend in science to accept that *all* creatures came from a common ancestor:

> The scornful violence with which regains to Chambers[90] the unchangeableness of every Species was affirmed, and the rapidity which scientists went over to the extreme opposite, utterly broke down my estimate of <u>their good sense</u>.[91]

Newman explained that he had been ready to believe in evolution when scientists "were spitting contempt on it."[92]

In August Newman reported that a general weakness slowed him down, and complained, "My day is cut short at each end -- for in the colder months I cannot sit at my

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84 LU, AL 342 20, FWN to JRM, 13 August 1888.
85 William Paine Neville, John Henry's secretary and nurse; Gilley, p. 267.
86 WCO, Newman, F. W. TD.4 277, FWN to CHD, 23 November 1888.
87 *Ibid*, undated, spring 1889.
88 *Ibid*
89 *Ibid*., 26 June 1889.
90 Robert Chambers [1802-1871], publisher and author of *Vestiges of Creation*, 1844.
91 LU, AL 342 23, FWN to JRM, 22 May 1889.
92 *Ibid*

desk until my fire is lighted, and my eyes are wearied before evening candlelight." Still, he was excited about the amount he was able to publish; he hoped:

> ...to leave in some connective available form whatever miscellaneous important printing I have ever published, ethico-political, theological, economical, historical, æsthetic, critical, mathematical: indeed, the mathematical is all new, not reprint.[93]

Despite this literary business of putting his affairs in order, he maintained an interest in current events:

> I take as vivid an interest in all that concerns public welfare, of England, Ireland, and foreign countries, and hope I ever shall. More than ever I see that our best work for God is to work for God's creatures, not excluding gentle brutes.[94]

To his nephew, Newman teased, "One might think me quite a busy man. I am not a man of business. No indeed."[95]

He worried that his urge to publish his works might seem vain:

> Perhaps I seem infatuated to spend my money (as I am, more and more, dry) on printers. But hitherto I have generally been snubbed by the remark, that I write for a nonexisting public, or for a future generation. It may be that coming time will attend to some topics for which I never could get attention in my lifetime.[96]

This was certainly true of his writings on the American Civil War, which were reprinted by the Negro Universities Press during the American Civil Rights movement in the 1960s.

In March 1890 Newman reported that his "heart is so irregular as to call my attention, and give me warning that no liberties must be taken." In addition, although he escaped the influenza, "frequent heavy sneezes" disrupted his work.[97]

Two months later Newman and his wife journeyed in her native village in North Devon, where she announced, "we shall not often be again in lodgings together." Newman interpreted this as her "sad prognostic" that he would outlive her, although he was optimistic about the effect of summer weather on her health. These morbid thoughts were brought on by the death of the man who had been managing her business affairs, swiftly followed by the death of "an old servant."[98]

Newman became more and more anxious about his tendency, when over-stimulated to be unable to complete a sentence or think of a word: "my own sense of *idiocy* was

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93 Sieveking, p. 383.
94 *Ibid.*, p. 384.
95 LU, AL 342 24, FWN to JRM, 27 September 1889.
96 HU, bMS 416/4 63, FWN to JHA, 11 October 1889.
97 WCO, Newman, F. W. YC2.16 277, FWN to CHD, 24 March 1890.
98 *Ibid.*, F.W. TD.4 339, 8 October 1890.

unbearable."[99] The effect was "enough to make me seem insane or half asleep....I am increasingly aware that my *brain* is my weakest part....On the whole I am healthy, and agile in all movement as are few men of my age..."[100]

Another problem was his handwriting, which degenerated into small, cramped characters, barely legible:

> I can write large. I begin everything with resolution so to write. But as soon as I think only of the substance and forget the manner, my writing so dwindles that I can hardly read it myself. I suppose that weakness of the fingers is the cause. I see how deficient they are of flesh.[101]

The sense of age's encroaching frailty was offset by the visits of younger relatives. In July Newman commented with pleasure on "how many younger kin and kith have been here with me, -- and two separate batches from Australia."[102]

William Neville sent the sad news of John Henry's death to Francis and Eleanor Newman in August, just as they were preparing to go to Ilfracombe. Francis was uncertain about his place in the funeral, and tentative. On the one hand, under normal situations, Francis would have been John Henry's chief mourner, as his closest kinsman. On the other hand, Francis suspected that John Henry would not have attended Francis' funeral unless it were held in accordance with the rites of the Catholic Church.[103] Francis claimed, "I am so like him that I cannot covet attendance where most of the solemn utterances will have no echo in my heart, the more high they are, so much less possible is the echo there."[104] Elsewhere, Francis was more blunt: "the whole glorification would have been odious to me."[105]

He also worried about the effect upon his central nervous system of all the pomp and ceremony of a funeral for a Prince of the Church. Still, reports of the funeral, and tributes to his brother, pleased Francis:

> My niece, Jane Mozley, has sent ample details, and newspaper accounts are heaped on us. The <u>simple fact</u> that the public has so appreciated one to whom I once owed so much, is the only matter that concerns me, or for which I believe the late Cardinal would care.[106]

To Neville, Francis expressed a filial gratitude towards John Henry:

> You may or may not know how great was my juvenile debt to the Cardinal, beyond all my power of repayment. When my father's impaired fortunes forbade his sending a second or third son to the

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99 Sieveking, p. 356.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 357.

101 Sieveking, p. 357.

102 WCO, Newman, F. W. TD.4 277 16, FWN to CHD, 28 July 1890.

103 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to WPN, 14 August 1890.

104 *Ibid.*

105 WCO, Newman, F. W. TD.4 339, FWN to CHD, 8 October 1890.

106 BO, WPN Correspondence with F W Newman, FWN to WPN, 23 August 1890.

> University; my eldest brother voluntary assumed towards me paternal responsibilities, not out of his opulence, but out of his basic poverty, and out of his often empty purse succeeded in carrying me through to my degree. Bitter no doubt was his disappointment that I could not abide in the path of that Church which like me he at length quitted. That I could not follow him was my grief as well as his: but had he wanted any thing I should always have rejoiced to foster him as if I had been his son.[107]

This sense of filial obligation has seemed to some badly repaid by Francis' biography of John Henry's early life. Francis worried that the attention paid to John Henry's death, and the resulting hagiography threatened to elevate him to heroic stature. He regarded it as vital to counteract this by exposing John Henry as a human being with human failings. Francis explained:

> ...as it is quite another side of my brother's character which I develop, of which none but old men can guess, -- unless some few are very acute, I must write with grave caution and form every word thoughtfully. He had two different men in him.[108]

Writing the biography was "a very difficult and painful task," Newman confided to his nephew John Rickards Mozley. He found:

> I can say nothing good of him except generosity in pecuniary matters, while of his Fanaticism in general, and in doing what I cannot reconcile with my love of Truth I could write only too much: and after this attempt to raise him to triumph and exalt Romanism upon him, he is made an English historical character, and I think it is wrong to be silent: yet to tell half a story seems impossible. All hangs together and becomes less credible if you mutilate it. Of course every word that I write will be both severely criticized [sic] (as it ought to be) and carped at as 'unbrotherly.' Very few suspect that since 1824 it has been impossible for us two to have any real free intercourse, and even after he (as it were) became an honest man by joining the Romish church, (which strangely brought us nearer) we have been unable for 47 years to find any common wish or interest, though each desired the other's welfare. I have to write of him, much as if he had died 50 years ago.[109]

Francis wrote with great speed and less precision, finding it difficult to organise his material. By the end of September he had finished writing his text. His wife dreaded to see him working so hard; Newman explained, "She thought I should bring on softening of the brains."[110]

The sympathy Newman received only heightened his distress:

> The distress is increased by 'the flood of letters' (of which I speak) assuming that we were very intimate and his death a

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107 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to WPN, 12 August 1890.

108 *Ibid.*, FWN to Rev. T. Arndt Englesim, 9 September 1890.

109 LU, AL 342 25, FWN to JRM, 28 Sept. 1890.

110 *Ibid.*

> grievous loss to me, when alas! in our efforts at mutual kindness, it was hard for either to find a topic to speak on.[111]

The newspapers accused Newman of disregarding his nephews and niece's feelings in publishing *Contributions Chiefly to the Early History of the Late Cardinal Newman.* Newman regretted this, but saw his cause as pre-eminent:

> I grieve to grieve them, but I do it in zeal against the danger to Protestantism which the great beauty and clever plausibility of his writings (passed off as 'while he was a Protestant.') have and must have, until people are taught that he was consciously a Romanist....There is no secret here. Rather, let all your kin see it.[112]

John Rickards Mozley remarked that Francis "was undoubtedly over-severe in his judgments [sic], especially in his judgments of all who have been regarded as heroes....but it is a misreading of him to think that he was jealous of his brother."[113] Mozley wished that someone else, not Francis, had written about John Henry. Newman retorted:

> ...but this is to say that that should be passed over which to me seems eminently needing to be published. So complex a character I have never met. The difficulty of deciphering has been my grief since 1824. I acknowledge the difficulty, but must not shrink from presenting my aid.[114]

Newman's criticism of his brother's early life stemmed from the same impulse as his criticism of Jesus. As he explained to his nephew, "Truth and Necessity alone give the appearance of loving iconoclasm." He argued that it was a special duty to criticise Jesus, who was held up by the orthodox as God, and by Unitarians as "the unique moral manifestation of God." Here Newman drew a distinction between himself and the Evangelicals:

> Nothing satisfies Evangelicals but silence concerning all that is wrong (and that is abundant even in Paul, much more in the "Jesus" of our books,) and bowing to the earth before manifest error. Only plain truth can succeed and truth is our martyrdom.[115]

Not surprisingly, Newman preferred "truthful and wise heretics" to Church authorities.

In July 1891, Newman aligned himself with the heretics in no uncertain terms:

> ...if a Christian mean one who believes that Jesus was the Christ, or even that he was in the right against his native priests, I cannot call myself a Christian. I regard Christianity (i.e. the mixed doctrine of Paul & 4th Gospels) as the noblest of

111 WCO, Newman, F. W. TD.4 339, FWN to CHD, 8 October 1890.
112 LU, AL 342 26, FWN to JRM, 5 October 1890.
113 Mozley, J. R. p. 359.
114 LU, AL 342 27, FWN to JRM, 30 November 1890.
115 *Ibid.* 28, 3 March 1891.

> National Religions; yet turned by Athanasius into so false a channel that it is a worldwide [sic] promoter of conflict...[116]

He explained that Jesus' "fire was defiled by much smoke."[117] This should not be interpreted as pessimism, however. In general, Newman believed in progress:

> The longer I live, the more hopeful and more interesting I find the whole world. In spite of crime, folly, and misery, the massive nations seem to improve. The good -- i.e. our sounder party -- become wiser and stronger, as well as in proportion more numerous.[118]

He found evidence in current events "to draw forth hope, joy, and thankfulness, and in every conviction, that amidst all our tumult the Lord reigneth? I rejoice that I have lived to see this day, and expect to rejoice more while I live."[119]

Worcester College continued to invite Newman to visit the College, particularly for the Gaudy. Newman declined all invitations, but appreciated them. He explained in 1891, "I did not wish either [Balliol or Worcester] to name me 'Honorary Fellow;' but since Worcester took the step unasked I have ever since felt as rather within its company."[120]

Newman considered his health "unfair" not "fair health: for my juniors die!"[121] His interest in "moral, religious & political movements" left him "in no danger of ennui."[122] He reported, "I now see reconciliation of the world in a common Theism more & more a glorious hope."[123]

In January 1892, Newman asked the Oratory to explain to those who asked for his address that he was closer to eighty-seven than eighty-six, and could not hope to answer all the mail he received. He was mourning for his niece Jane Mozley, who died at the age of forty-seven.[124]

In 1892 Newman published a slim volume of *Secret Hymns*, intended for private devotional use, some original, most adapted, but edited from a Theistic perspective. He noted to one correspondent:

> To-day I have received a letter and book in *Bengali* from a believer in *Theosophy*, supposing me to be one of them! Hence I was not too early in telling my friends that since *at the age of fourteen* I became a Conscious Christian, no unbelief has made my hymns less precious...[125]

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116 MCO, MS. MISC. 7, fol. 267, FWN to Sir George Cox, 8 July 1891.
117 HU, bMS 416/5 11, FWN to JHA, no date.
118 Sieveking, p. 385.
119 *Ibid.*, p. 386.
120 WCO, Newman, F. W. YC2.16277 5, FWN to CHD, 25 February 1891.
121 *Ibid.*F.W. YC2.16, 4 December 1891.
122 *Ibid.*
123 LU, AL 342 29, FWN to JRM, 12 December 1891.
124 BO, F. Newman '70-'90, FWN to "My dear Sir," 21 January 1892.
125 Sieveking, p. 360.

Although none of Francis' hymns achieved prominence, this is another pastime he shared with John Henry.

In November 1892 Newman observed:

> I do fairly well, if I potter on in my old solid routine. My 88th year makes pretension to *strength*, but when so many moans are heard about *neuralgia*, not to say influenza, I feel myself much favoured by the total absence of pain, except merely what is incidental to a thin body with some sharp bones. In rising from bed I am aware of small discomforts, which I shake off on standing upright, and similarly after sitting in one posture. I have not enough suffering to claim pity.[126]

Despite this, in 1893, Newman stopped writing his autobiography,[127] although he continued to dictate passages to Josephine Fourdrinier. He had a "dangerous fall" and "the internal bruises inflicted on me with a more outer inability disagreeably like the sudden spasm of lumbago."[128] As a concession to his health, he began to eat fish again, but continued to support the vegetarian cause.[129] Newman complained, "I am forced to ask leave to go anywhere, though on the whole sensibly well: certainly weak. I get on by sparing myself."[130]

In May 1894 he noted that he was not yet blind, but half-blind,[131] and he found that he could write better than he could read.[132] He wore winter wraps until the beginning of July that year, when three grand nieces from Australia brought him summer sunshine for a week.[133]

The South Place Chapel passed a resolution in June 1895 to congratulate Newman on his ninetieth birthday. Soon after this, Moncure Conway visited Newman to convey their regard. Conway remembered:

> He was vigorous enough to take a good walk with me before luncheon, and although he used a magnifying glass in reading me something, I could not perceive any failure of mind or memory. He was serene in spirit; and he was even elated by the honorary degree conferred by Oxford on Dr. Martineau. He took up Martineau's latest book -- the 'Source of Authority in Religion' -- and read an extremely rationalistic passage. 'And now,' he said, 'I have lived to see the man who wrote that given a degree at Oxford!' There was a tone of *Nunc dimittis* in his voice.[134]

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126 Sieveking, p. 387.

127 Not published, and apparently no longer in existence. John Rickards Mozley referred to it in his 1925 article for *The Hibbert Journal*.

128 WCO, Newman, F. W. YC2.16 277 13, FWN to CHD, 29 May 1893.

129 Sieveking, p. 387.

130 WCO, Newman, F.W. YC2.16 277 13, FWN to CHD, 29 May 1893.

131 HU, bMS 416/5 31, FWN to JHA, 31 May 1894.

132 *Ibid* 33, 13 June 1994.

133 LU, AL 342 31, FWN to JRM, 8 September 1894.

134 Conway, vol. two, p. 406.

Conway exclaimed, "Beautiful he stands in my memory, with his happy eyes, the white halo of his hair, -- his look of one who already on earth enjoyed his immortality."[135]

In May 1897 Newman was confined to his bed after tumbling downstairs. He lingered there until the early hours of 5 October, and was buried beside his beloved Maria on 9 October.

There is some confusing evidence, propagated by Swanwick, Martineau, and Sieveking, to suggest that Newman died a Christian. Swanwick based this information on Newman's statement that Paul was less and less to him, and Jesus more and more. Two of Newman's last literary efforts examined Paul: *The Gospel of Paul of Tarsus and of his opponent James the Just from our current New Testament* (1893), and *Christianity before and after Paul of Tarsus* (1894).

In *Christianity before and after Paul*, Newman argued that "by dropping Paul, we recover the twelve real Apostles of Jesus," and thus "seem to reach at a single step the doctrine now called Unitarian on which modern Christianity has poured forth its Vials of Wrath."[136] Newman claimed one should be "satisfied to leave Jesus unnamed in our worship as he himself commanded in the prayer called His."[137] Pragmatically, he noted that this had the advantage of smoothing the way for reconciliation with Moslems.

In the last work published before his decline, *Hebrew Jesus: His True Creed*, Newman returned to the Lord's Prayer as the best expression his Theism. Newman ended *Hebrew Jesus* with this poem:

> In tender boyhood unawares I learnt
> Chiefly from Paul what doctrine Jesus taught.
> Now in my full maturity I claim
> Verdict for JAMES, first Bishop of first Church,
> Who, side by side with Jesu's followers known,
> Obtained, when rage for Stephen's death was hot,
> Freedom unchang'd, and unsuspect of crime.
> The fact which plainly tells the Hebrew faith
> Of James, with primal ANTE-PAULINE band,
> To us comes now from later Paulist script,
> *Deem'd by our 'orthodox' the voice of God.*
> Paul's own half heathen dream of Sire and Son
> For glory of Jesus flouted Hebrew scorn,
> Embalming Falsehood in each Gentile Church:
> God's mercy limited, God's justice marr'd.[138]

Most Christians would not accept that Newman could object to the "glory of Jesus," and still be counted among their number. Bound into Joseph Henry Allen's copy of *Hebrew Jesus* is a letter which holds the key to this confusion.[139] Blinded, with eyes so watery that the effect is that of weeping, Newman scrawled his creed:

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135 Conway, vol. two, p. 406.

136 *Christianity before and after Paul of Tarsus*, p. 38.

137 *Ibid.*

138 *Hebrew Jesus*, postscript.

139 This letter had not been catalogued by Harvard University before 1992, as the library did not notice that the letter was inside the book when it was donated to them in 1896. I

> I call my present creed Hebrew Christian and every one who earnestly uses the '(so called!) Lord's' Prayer. It does not mention the name of Jesus, and is not honorably [sic] used if he is regarded as higher than man: nor does it imply Human Immortality and leaves that question open. I urge that this one change will at length do away all hostility between Cross and Crescent.[140]

Whether or not this is the last letter that Newman ever wrote, it appears to be the last letter, written by himself, to be preserved in a modern archive. If Sieveking had found this letter, she would have been able to make a much better case for her argument that Newman returned to the Christian faith before he died.

Newman's use of the word Christian to describe himself as a Hebrew Christian did not convince others much closer to him, however. His nephew, John Rickards Mozley, although grateful to Sieveking for her efforts to place his uncle within the pale of Christianity, only conceded that "he reverted to a form of Christianity; at least, if Martineau is considered a Christian, as he ought to be."[141] Newman liked Jesus' prayer because it contained no Messianic claims, and promised no immortality. The Lord's Prayer hopes that God's kingdom will be enacted on earth: it is concerned with bread for today, with forgiveness, and praise for a fatherly creator. This was indeed the essence of Newman's creed.

Newman once remarked, "my life has been eminently uneventful. There is nothing to tell but my studies, my successive posts as a teacher, and the list of books, etc, from my pen, *unless one add* the effects of study on my CREED."[142] Curiously, as Newman accumulated more and more wisdom, his creed simplified, until at last it returned to the simple prayer which he learned as a boy.

Newman praised the Lord's Prayer, because it left immortality and Jesus' role "open questions." Ironically, Newman's creed leaves his Christianity an open question. For those who judge others' creeds by their own standards, Newman was still beyond the pale. But for those who call others by the names they use themselves, Newman was a "Hebrew Christian." In this, Newman's beliefs resemble modern Unitarian Christianity more closely than his Unitarian contemporary, James Martineau. In contrast to his famous brother, whose misgivings about his childhood faith led him to affiliate with the Roman Catholic Church, Newman's beliefs evolved from a nominal, if rigid, subscription to the XXXIX Articles, to a youthful flirtation with evangelical fundamentalism, and ultimately transmogrified into a curiously rational yet mystical spirituality.

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alerted the library to the letter when I returned the book, and the librarian put it aside in order to catalogue it. After I returned to Durham University, I received a stern letter demanding the return of the book, which had not been properly processed. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

140 HU, bound into *Hebrew Jesus*, FWN to JHA, 8 April 1895.

141 Mozley, J. R. p. 359.

142 Sieveking, p. 313.

Considered by his contemporaries, including Thomas Carlyle and Mary Ann Evans, to be one of the great intellects of their day, Newman never shrank from expressing controversial opinions. He wrote on a variety of subjects: mathematics, classics, linguistics, poetry, and politics, as well as theology. His writings sparked debate and yet were popular: *The Soul* was printed in ten editions.

Today Newman is chiefly known as his brother's biographer, as an honest doubter, or as a curious footnote in a study of John Henry's life. In his own time, however, Newman's work cast a broad shadow, influencing others on both sides of the Atlantic through his writings, his teaching, and his correspondence.

The forces which shaped the Oxford Movement acted on Francis as well as on John Henry, although with quite different results. His integrity and deeply held religious convictions expressed themselves in his commitment to social issues: he participated in a variety of Victorian movements. These included university reform, education for women, temperance, abolition of slavery, vegetarianism, government decentralisation, public health, campaigns against cruelty to animals, and justice. With the possible exception of his position on vaccination, Newman's positions have been ratified by the twentieth century.

When John Henry struggled to stay within the Anglican communion in 1834, he tried to find a *Via Media* on the fulcrum between Popery and Puritanism. It is truly ironic that John Henry and Francis are remembered as representatives of orthodoxy and heresy, for a third brother, Charles, was the heretic. Francis found his *Via Media*, and all three brothers led lives symbolic of their beliefs in the tradition of the Old Testament prophets. Francis believed that his devotion to truth and justice made him a martyr; he accepted this in order to further justice and participate in the creation of heaven on earth. Whether or not fairies gave Newman "brilliant endowments" at his birth, he used his gifts so that all people could be more like angels.

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