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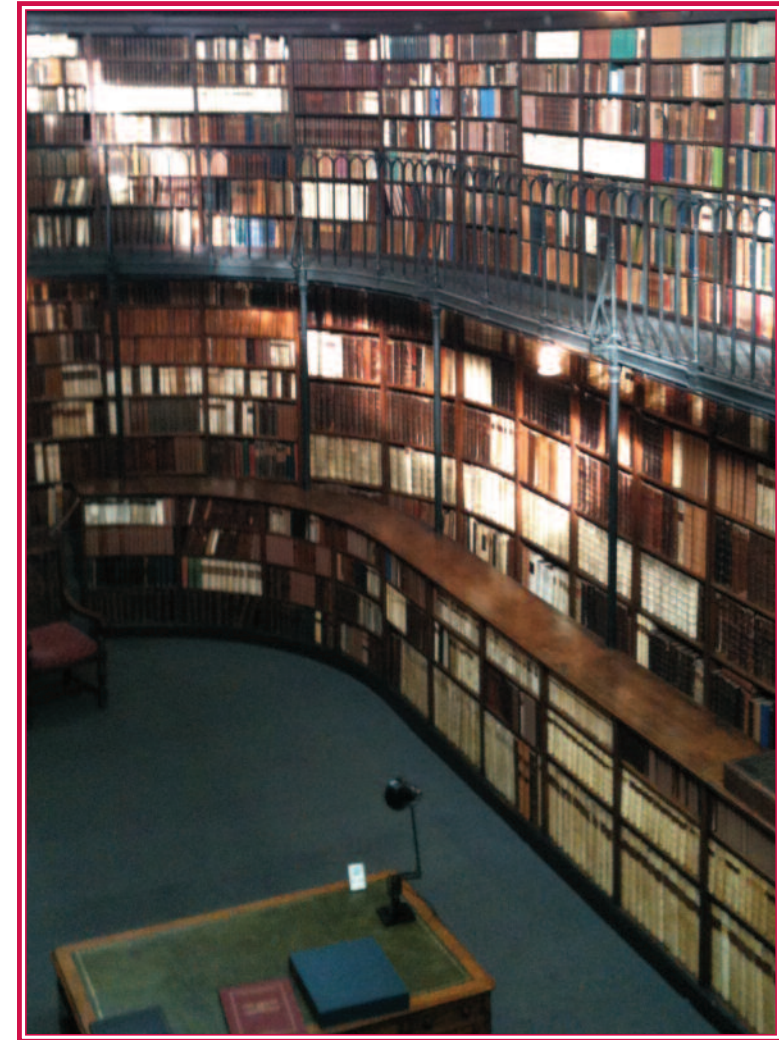
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"Now we are all but actors in this world; we are one and all equal, we shall be judged as equals as soon as life is over; yet, equal and similar in ourselves, each has his special part at present, each has his work, each has his mission..."

John Henry Newman



NEWMAN STUDIES JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL PREFACE

**“NOW WE ARE ALL BUT ACTORS IN THIS
WORLD; WE ARE ONE AND ALL EQUAL,
WE SHALL BE JUDGED AS EQUALS AS SOON
AS LIFE IS OVER; YET, EQUAL AND SIMILAR
IN OURSELVES, EACH HAS HIS SPECIAL
PART AT PRESENT, EACH HAS HIS WORK,
EACH HAS HIS MISSION,—”**

This quotation—from the sixth of Newman’s *Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations*: “God’s Will: the End of Life”— is excerpted from a page-long paragraph:

St. Paul on one occasion speaks of the world as a scene in a theatre. Consider what is meant by this. You know, actors on a stage are on an equality with each other really, but for the occasion they assume a difference of character; some are high, some are low, some are merry, and some sad. Well, would it not be a simple absurdity in any actor to pride himself on his mock diadem, or his edgeless sword, instead of attending to his part? what, if he did but gaze at himself and his dress? what, if he secreted, or turned to his own use, what was valuable in it? Is it not his business, and nothing else, to act his part well? common sense tells us so. Now we are all but actors in this world; we are one and all equal, we shall be judged as equals as soon as life is over; yet, equal and similar in ourselves, each has his special part at present, each has his work, each has his mission,—not to indulge his passions, not to make money, not to get a name in the world, not to save himself trouble, not to follow his bent, not to be selfish and self-willed, but to do what God puts on him to do.

Although Newman ascribed his theatrical image of human actors and their activities to Saint Paul, one wonders whether his audience might also have been reminded of Shakespeare’s description of human life via a similar image in *Macbeth*:

Life’s but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more. It is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.²

Although both authors relied on stage-imagery, the implications are notably different.

¹ John Henry Newman, *Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations*, 112; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/discourses/discourse6.html>. These discourses were “the first work that Newman published under his own name as a Roman Catholic priest” (Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 342.

² *Macbeth*, Act 5, scene 5, available at: <http://www.enotes.com/shakespeare-quotes/tomorrow-tomorrow>.

This Shakespearean passage characterized the transitory roles of human life as “signifying nothing”; in contrast, for Newman, although the actors on this world’s stage have quite different roles, these roles constitute a personal “mission” to discover and to do what God wants of each of us.

This theme of “mission” is a *leitmotiv* in Newman’s writings—especially in his biographical reminiscences and his spiritual reflections. For example, his “first conversion”—so eloquently described in his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*—resulted in a life-long conviction that Divine Providence was watching over him and guiding him for a purpose—although his destiny was not immediately evident.³ Similarly, his illness in Sicily convinced him that God had spared him for a providential mission in the Church of England on his return to his native country after his Mediterranean voyage.⁴ This discourse on “God’s Will”—delivered soon after he became an Oratorian priest—reflects his view that each person has a mission in the world. Such a view of life is spiritually evocative: it invites each person to engage in a personal journey of self-discovery in order “to do what God puts on him to do.” Simultaneously, such a pilgrimage is interwoven with the collateral journeys of his fellow pilgrims, whose “missions” he needs in order to fulfill his own. One is hardly surprised then that Newman treasured his friendships, because he saw his friends as exercising “missions” that complemented and encouraged his own. Perhaps even more surprising—his circle of friends included not only many prominent people of his day, but also his poor parishioners at St. Clement’s and at the Birmingham Oratory—whose names have long been forgotten, yet each of whom “has his special part at present, each has his work, each has his mission.” With such a spiritual-theological view of people—both “high” and “low”—Newman was able to recognize, indeed revere, the “equality” of each individual and so encourage each person to fulfill his or her mission in life.

Contents

This issue’s quintet of essays begins by considering three contrasting facets of Newman’s thought: Greg Peters examines Newman’s Anglican theology of the monastic/religious life as a means to holiness; next David P. Long takes a new look at Newman’s ecclesiology, which called for “Consulting the Faithful,” then Michael T. Wimsatt reflects on Newman’s view of poetry. The final two essays consider two of Newman’s major works: James J. Crile questions whether Newman’s *The Arians of the Fourth Century* was really an “embarrassment” as has sometimes been claimed; Lucas Laborde then carefully analyzes “Continuity of Principles”—the second “test” or “note”—in Newman’s *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. Finally, Attilio Rossi studies a sermon on eschatology that Newman delivered in 1825, when he was an assistant at St. Clement’s, Oxford.

This issue includes four book reviews—three of recent works and the fourth concerning “Newman the Musician,” originally published in 1892, and now available on the internet. There is a brief obituary of Cardinal Jean Marcel Honoré, who is known to American readers for his book, *The Spiritual Journey of Newman*. The

³ *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. Edited by David J. DeLaura (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 40: “I have a work to do in England.”

bibliographical section provides information about resources for research, while a Newman chronology is included as a convenience for readers who wish to situate a particular event or publication within the context of Newman's life. Following the "NINS Update" is the Index for the past five years (Volumes 6–10); the index for the first five years is at the end of Volume 5. The cover photo from the files of the National Institute for Newman Studies, depicts the Library at the Birmingham Oratory, while this issue's "fillers"—which utilize otherwise unused space at the end of articles—are taken from Newman's *The Idea of a University*.

Editorial Retrospective

With this issue, *Newman Studies Journal* marks its tenth year of publication. When it first appeared, the editors of the *Journal* applied to various reference-listings for inclusion in their indices; in a couple instances, the editors were informed that most new academic periodicals only survive a year or so, but if *Newman Studies Journal* were still around in a couple years, its request for recognition and inclusion would be reconsidered. Given the high mortality rate among fledgling periodicals, a decade of publication seems worthy of commemoration, if not celebration.

At a recent birthday celebration of one of the editor's cousins, the conversation-piece was a small screen that continuously displayed a series of photos—beginning with his baby pictures and culminating with his most recent grade-school snapshot. A comparable sequence can be obtained from the Index at the end of this issue. During the past five years, *Newman Studies Journal* has published 52 essays, 10 sermon studies, 4 review essays and 4 media reviews, plus 35 book reviews, as well as sundry other items. Using somewhat arbitrary categories—since some essays, like many of Newman's writings, were blends of more than one category⁵—the journal's emphasis was in the area of philosophy and theology (20 essays), closely followed by spirituality with 8 essays and 10 sermon studies. Tied for third place with 11 essays each, were educational and historical topics; unfortunately, there were only two essays that considered Newman from a literary perspective. By way of comparison, during its first five years, *Newman Studies Journal* published a comparable quantity of material: 59 essays, 5 sermon studies, and 50 book reviews, but no review essays nor media essays.⁶ During its initial five years, the emphasis was also in the area of philosophy and theology (19 essays) with historical studies (15 essays) and spirituality (9 essays and 5 sermons studies) vying for second place; educational topics (10 essays) were next, followed by literary studies (6 essays).

Appreciation

As *Newman Studies Journal* completes its tenth year of publication, it seems particularly appropriate to express the most sincere appreciation both to previous contributors as well as those whose writings appear in this issue. Since this issue marks the completion of my service as editor-in-chief, I want to take this opportunity

⁵ For example, Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, while obviously an autobiography, adroitly blends together his historical account of the Oxford Movement, his philosophical and theological positions, with an account of his spirituality.

⁶ *NSJ* 5/2 (Fall 2008): 98–106.

to thank in a very special way the many people who have contributed to making the editorial process as enjoyable as possible. Pride of place must be awarded to Lisa M. Goetz, the Managing Editor, whose dedication and diligence for a decade have been continually and consistently outstanding. My heartfelt gratitude is also due the other editors—Gerard H. McCarren and M. Katherine Tillman—along with the Book Review editor, David Delio, and associate editors: Drew Morgan, Catharine M. Ryan and Kevin Mongrain. Sincerest appreciation must likewise be expressed to the editorial consultants: Frederick Aquino, Jerome Bertram, Duane Bruce, Edward J. Enright, Marvin O’Connell, and Bernadette Waterman Ward. Last but definitely not least, I am tremendously indebted to the School of Theology and Religious Studies at The Catholic University of America for providing a series of reliable research assistants, who have done the yeomanry of proof-reading manuscripts, checking references, formatting footnotes, along with numerous other minuscule and occasionally maddening tasks. To all who have assisted so generously over the past decade, my deepest and sincerest gratitude.

John T. Ford, c.s.c.
The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S THEOLOGY OF THE MONASTIC/RELIGIOUS LIFE AS A MEANS TO HOLINESS

GREG PETERS

By the late 1830s, John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie Pusey were discussing the re-introduction of monastic/religious life into the Church of England. Though Newman did not remain in the Church of England long enough to see the full flowering of this effort, his writings as an Anglican theologian reveal that he viewed the monastic/religious life as a central way in which a person could grow in holiness and also a means of fostering the holiness of the Church as a whole.

On 13 June 1824, John Henry Newman was ordained a deacon in the Church of England. On September 16 of that same year, he wrote a brief memorandum to himself regarding the preaching of sermons. At the time, as curate of St. Clement's, Oxford, Newman began the lifelong task of preaching regularly from the various pulpits that came with his appointments and callings. He saw the task of preaching as not only necessary but as vital to the life of a priest. Regarding sermons, he wrote that "Those who make comfort the great subject of their preaching seem to mistake the end of their ministry."¹ For Newman, bringing comfort was not the most important task of the priest though he was engaged actively in bringing comfort to those who needed it.² Rather, "*Holiness* is the great end."³ There are many conceptions of holiness in the thought of Newman—so many that the International Newman-Conference of 1987 was dedicated to this topic. It seems that there is no one "right" conception of holiness in the thought of Newman. How he understood holiness and how he articulated his understanding are often nuanced depending on the text and context of Newman's writings. This is *not* to say that Newman did not have a coherent theology of holiness; rather it is an acknowledgement that to find such a theology in his writings is a challenging task.

Michael Sharkey has suggested that Newman's view of holiness was, in fact, quite ordinary. Sharkey is not the only Newman scholar to suggest this but his wording is quite appropriate: "Newman did not regard himself in any way as a saint, but he did have his own way, an *ordinary way* to holiness."⁴ For Philip Boyce, Newman's

Greg Peters, Associate Professor of Medieval and Spiritual Theology, in the Torrey Honors Institute of Biola University, La Mirada, California, presented this paper at the annual conference of the Newman Association of America, Mundelein, Illinois, August 2012.

¹ John Henry Newman (hereafter: JHN), *Autobiographical Writings*, edited by Henry Tristram (London/New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956).

² For example, as a young curate Newman spent much of his time visiting the sick, including a young married woman who was very ill. After reading Scripture and praying with her, Newman recorded that "Her eyes looked at me with such a meaning, I felt a thrill I cannot describe— it was like the gate of heaven—" (Diary entry, 28 November 1824 [written on December 12], *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman* 1:199; hereafter cited: *LD*).

³ *AW*, 172, italics in the original.

⁴ Michael Sharkey, "Newman's Quest for Holiness in His Search for the Truth," in Stanley L. Jaki, editor, *Newman Today: Papers Presented at a Conference on John Henry Newman* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989), 177; italics in the original.

“ordinary way” was the way of “self-emptying and devotedness to the cause of Christ.”

[Newman] strove for holiness in so far as it was submission to God’s will in faith, submission to the voice of conscience and truth no matter what the price he had to pay. He saw it as a christian [sic] duty for every baptized person, as a flowering of baptismal justification and, in his own case, as a priestly obligation. . . . we find him reducing perfection in a practical and moral sense to the faithful accomplishment of the humdrum duties of everyday life.⁵

In his sermon entitled “Miracles no Remedy for Unbelief,” Newman challenged his listeners to find God in the day to day activities of life:

Let us then put aside vain excuses; and, instead of looking for outward events to change our course of life, be sure of this, that if our course of life is to be changed, it must be from within. God’s grace moves us from within, so does our own will. External circumstances have no real power over us. If we do not love God, it is because we have not wished to love Him, tried to love Him, prayed to love Him. We have not borne the idea and the wish in our mind day by day, we have not had it before us in the little matters of the day, we have not lamented that we loved Him not, we have been too indolent, sluggish, carnal, to attempt to love Him in little things, and begin at the beginning; we have shrunk from the effort of moving from within; we have been like persons who cannot get themselves to rise in the morning; and we have desired and waited for a thing impossible,—to be changed once and for all, all at once, by some great excitement from without, or some great event, or some special season; something or other we go on expecting, which is to change us without our having the trouble to change ourselves.⁶

According to Newman, holiness is found in the daily responsibility of living out one’s Christian life, living into one’s baptismal vows. Instead of waiting for God to move us from without, we are to strive to live for him despite the lack of a miraculous divine impetus from without. Newman’s concept of holiness is a practical holiness that makes faith evident: “It is holiness, or dutifulness, or the new creation, or the spiritual mind, however we word it, which is the quickening and illuminating principle of true Faith, giving it eyes, hands, and feet.”⁷ This, however, does not make Newman an original thinker nor does it even make him a particularly insightful theologian for in this regard Newman was following some of the greatest spiritual theologians in stating that holiness is nothing other than the routine of faithfully following God, whatever one’s vocation.⁸

In his *Lectures on Justification* Newman even viewed the concept of conversion as a lifelong process and chose to employ the words sanctification and renewal to describe conversion. This indicates that for Newman, becoming holy was not just the

⁵ Philip Boyce, “Holiness— the Purpose of Life according to Newman,” in Günter Biemer and Heinrich Fries, editors, *Christliche Heiligkeit als Lehre und Praxis nach John Henry Newman/Newman’s Teaching on Christian Holiness* (Sigmaringendorf: Glock und Lutz, 1988), 136; hereafter cited respectively: Boyce, “Holiness” and Biemer-Fries, Heiligkeit.

⁶ JHN, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, 8: 88; hereafter cited: PPS; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/parochial/volume8/sermon6.html>. Newman first preached this sermon on 2 May 1830.

⁷ JHN, “Love, the Safeguard of Faith against Superstition,” *Oxford University Sermons*, 234; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/oxford/sermon12.html>; hereafter cited: OUS.

⁸ Boyce, “Holiness,” 140.

result of justification but it was the content of justification as well.⁹ Holiness is our very justification, our very salvation. Thus, holiness, at the least, was for Newman a daily, perhaps even mundane, living out the scriptural call to be holy: "I will tell you what is the greatest, to do well the ordinary duties of the day."¹⁰ In the words of José Morales: "Newman insists accordingly on the normal and non-extraordinary character of Christian perfection."¹¹ This insistence was repeated by Newman in a sermon that he preached on 13 August 1837:

Henceforth set about doing what it is so difficult to do, but what should not, must not be left undone; watch, and pray, and meditate, that is, according to the leisure which God has given you. Give freely of your time to your Lord and Saviour, if you have it. If you have little, show your sense of the privilege by giving that little. But any how, show that your heart and your desires, show that your life is with your God. Set aside every day times for seeking Him. Humble yourself that you have been hitherto so languid and uncertain. Live more strictly to Him; take His yoke upon your shoulder; live by rule. I am not calling on you to go out of the world, or to abandon your duties in the world, but to redeem the time; not to give hours to mere amusement or society, while you give minutes to Christ; not to pray to Him only when you are tired, and fit for nothing but sleep; not altogether to omit to praise Him, or to intercede for the world and the Church; but in good measure to realize honestly the words of the text, to 'set your affection on things above;' and to prove that you are His, in that your heart is risen with Him, and your life hid in Him.¹²

One could go so far as to label this as simply a kind of "scriptural holiness"¹³—Newman would presumably be pleased with this assessment.

NEWMAN ON MONASTICISM

By the summer of 1841, Newman appears to have been intellectually convinced of the truthfulness of Roman Catholicism. In February 1842, he moved permanently to the small village of Littlemore just outside of Oxford, to put into practice a plan that he had developed two years prior. In his diary, on 17 March 1840, Newman wrote a memorandum entitled "Reasons for living at Littlemore," giving as his third reason that "I hope for a *Monastic* house."¹⁴ On the same day, he wrote to S. F. Wood that he was "not without hope of setting up some day a real Monastery here [at Littlemore], and coming up myself to it, though I do not wish it to be talked about."¹⁵ Two days later Newman received a letter from his friend and fellow Tractarian, Edward Pusey, who wrote that he thought that Newman's desire to start a monastery at Littlemore

⁹ For example, "the present broad separation of justification and sanctification, as if they were two gifts, not in idea only two, but in fact, is technical and unscriptural"; also, "justification and sanctification [are] in fact substantially one and the same thing" (JHN, *Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification*, 41 and 63; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/justification/index.html>).

¹⁰ JHN to George Ryder (O[rator]y, B[irmingham], 2 December 1850), *LD* 14:153.

¹¹ José Morales, "Newman's Ideal of Holiness in the World," in Biemer-Fries, *Heiligkeit*, 158; hereafter cited: "Holiness."

¹² JHN, "Rising with Christ," *PPS* 6: 220.

¹³ See Jaak Seynaeve, "Holy Scripture as 'First Principle' in Newman's Teaching on Christian Holiness," in Biemer-Fries, *Heiligkeit*, 35-42.

¹⁴ *LD* 7: 263; italics in the original.

¹⁵ JHN to S. F. Wood (Littlemore, 17 March 1840), *LD* 7:267

was “valid” and that “it would be a great relief to have a $\mu\omicron\nu\eta$ [*monē*] in our Church, many ways, and you seem just the person to form one.”¹⁶ By May, Newman had purchased the necessary land and wrote to his sister Jemima Mozley that he would “in due time . . . erect a Monastic House upon it.”¹⁷ In various letters of 1840, Newman revealed his plan to others, referring to Littlemore as the site of a future “coenobitium” and “Abbey.” By moving to Littlemore in 1842, Newman was clearly ready to institute his plans, creating, in the words of David Cox, “a departure platform for the revival of religious communities in the Church of England and in Anglicanism generally.”¹⁸

Newman, however, was not doing something completely new. The first Anglican monastic in England since the sixteenth century dissolution of the monasteries was Marian Rebecca Hughes,¹⁹ who took the traditional monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience before Edward Pusey on Trinity Sunday, 6 June 1841. Newman was aware of Hughes’ vows; in fact, immediately after making her vows, she proceeded to St. Mary’s, Oxford to receive communion at the hands of Newman who was aware of the action she has just taken. In fact, Hughes was finally convinced to take monastic vows while reading Newman’s *Church of the Fathers*. Thus, though Newman was not the first Anglican monastic in England since the Reformation, by 1842 he was committed to living what he understood to be a monastic life and he had influenced others in that direction as well.

Newman’s earliest printed words in favor of monasticism were penned in 1835, though he had written about monasticism as early as 1829 in a poem entitled “Monks,” in which he stated that the monastic practices of vigils, fasting and penance are “soul-ennobling” and that the monastic habit “fits me well.”²⁰ Six years later, in an anonymous article in *The British Magazine* entitled “Letters on the Church of the Fathers, No. XII,” Newman wrote that the “Monastic System” “has undoubtedly some especial in the providential conduct of our dispensation.”²¹ He continued:

I confess I regard the monastic life as holding a real place in the dispensation of the gospel. . . . Certainly it is as accordant with Scripture that a Christian should live in prayer and fasting, poverty and almsgiving, as that he should pass all his best days in making money, gain a patent of peerage, and found a family. It is not more culpable, *in the nature of things*, for a given individual to take a vow of celibacy, than to take a vow in marriage. . . .²²

Newman’s main argument was simple: just as it is natural for a married, family man to pray, fast and give, so it is not against the gospel for a non-married man to do the same. Just as it is “in the nature of things” to make a vow of marriage so it is not against nature to make a vow of celibacy.

¹⁶ E. B. Pusey to JHN (19 March 1840), *LD* 7:266.

¹⁷ JHN to Mrs. John Mozley (Oriel, 28 May 1840), *LD* 7:334.

¹⁸ R. David Cox, “Newman, Littlemore, and a Tractarian Attempt at Community,” *Anglican and Episcopal History* 62/3 (1993): 343–376, at 343.

¹⁹ (Mother) Marian Hughes (1817–1912) later founded the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity at Oxford; see: <http://www.oxford.anglican.org/who-we-are/history-of-the-diocese/calendar-of-commemoration/mother-marian-hughes/>.

²⁰ JHN, “Monks,” *Verses on Various Occasions*, 48–51, at 50 and 51; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/verses/index.html>.

²¹ JHN, “Letters on the Church of the Fathers, No. XII,” *The British Magazine* 7 (June 1835): 663.

²² *Ibid.*, italics in the original.

In the following year Newman advanced a different argument: (1) those Anglicans who are especially devoted to Christ and the Church need a means for living a more intentional spiritual life; and (2) parochial clergy are too busy to care adequately for all of those under their pastoral care. Cast as a dialogue between Newman and two friends—"Home Thoughts Abroad-No. II"—described monasticism, which Newman called "Religious Institutions," in regard to these two issues:

Clergymen at present are subject to the painful experience of losing the more religious portion of their flock. . . . They desire to be stricter than the mass of churchmen, and the church gives them no means. . . . [Religious Institutions] are imperatively called for to stop the progress of dissent: indeed, I conceive you necessarily must have dissent or monachism in a Christian country: so make your choice. The more religious will demand some stricter religion than that of the generality of men . . . [or] you drive her to the dissenters: and why? All because the Religious Life, though sanctioned by the apostles and illustrated by the early saints, has before now given scope to moroseness, tyranny, and presumption. . . . I confess my hopes do not extend beyond the vision of the rise of this Religious Life among us. . . . Till then, I scarcely expect that anything will be devised of a nature to meet the peculiar evils existing in a densely peopled city . . . [for] great towns will never be evangelized merely by the parochial system. They are beyond the sphere of the parish priest, burdened as he is with the endearments and anxieties of a family, and the secular restraints and engagements of the establishment. . . . I think that Religious Institutions, over and above their intrinsic recommendations, are the legitimate instruments of working upon a populace.²³

Here Newman did not appeal to nature or the Scriptures, as he had done previously. Instead, he appealed to the fact that there exists in the Anglican Church those who wish to live a more austere, committed Christian life. Without the institution of monasticism available to them, these persons would leave the Anglican Church, looking to fulfill their calling in a dissenting congregation. Newman thought that the gentlemanly nature of the establishment made it impossible for ascetically minded individuals to live fully into their callings; therefore, the church must provide for this God-given movement through monastic institutions. Further, Newman believed that monastic institutions would be of great advantage in the evangelization of the population who were often densely packed into England's cities.

It should be said that Newman was prophetic in this instance. The first successful Anglican women's monastic community was founded by Priscilla Lydia Sellon (1821-1876),²⁴ who responded to an appeal placed in the church newspaper *The Guardian* by Henry Phillpotts (1778-1869), Bishop of Exeter. In a letter dated 1 January 1848, Phillpotts described the population density of the city of Devonport, a suburb of Plymouth in the southwest of England, and its desperate need for additional Christian workers to help reach the population who had only one parish church. In time, Sellon's community, The Church of England Sisterhood of Mercy of Devonport

²³ JHN, "Home Thoughts Abroad-No. II," *The British Magazine* 9 (April 1836): 357-369, at 365-369.

²⁴ Information about Sellon is available at: <http://anglicanhistory.org/bios/plsellon.html>.

and Plymouth, proved their worth by ministering to orphans and the destitute of the city and, especially, by serving as nurses and caregivers during a devastating epidemic that struck the city. Newman's foresight was proven accurate.²⁵

Newman continued to write to his correspondents about monasticism. For example, in a letter to Edward Pusey dated 12 January 1836, Newman insisted that early monasticism was not an institution of gloom but rather one that had more of a striving after perfection, rather than merely a focus on penance.²⁶ Several months later, writing to Hugh Rose, Newman spoke of those practices which he believed the Church of England should have retained at the Reformation so as not to give up her birthright to the Roman Catholic Church. Newman suggested that should there be a "revolution" in the Anglican Church resulting from the Oxford Movement; he "could just *fancy* a state of things in which a *novelty* in the Reformation Church, such as the rise of Monastic bodies, would be expedient—and if so, it is not harm to talk of it."²⁷ The closer Newman came to converting to Roman Catholicism, the more he envisioned and spoke of the need for Anglican monasticism.

In the *British Critic* of April 1842, Newman challenged comments made by John Davison, a former fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, which appeared in Davison's *Remains and Occasional Publications* of 1840. Davison alleged that monks and nuns, by their very cloistered and contemplative vocation, are not engaged in the "active part" of "Christian charity," which is love of God *and* neighbor. Newman responded by insisting that historically monks and nuns were engaged in works of "active and self-denying charity," such as service in hospitals, schools and orphanages.²⁸ As well, "from the first the monastic bodies have been an instrument in the hands of Providence for the maintenance of orthodoxy" and "they were, as we all know, the preservers of ancient literature."²⁹ After showing that this contention of Davison's was incorrect, Newman concluded by insisting that Davison was also incorrect in asserting "that monachism is inconsistent with our Lord's precepts":

Now let us take the monastic rule, even as practised by those who were *not* monks, but hermits, anchorites, fathers of the desert, and the like. Supposing then, for argument's sake, that they are violating plain commands of the Gospel, about which a word shall be added presently, yet are there no commands as, for instance, concerning poverty and humility, which, taken in their first and obvious meaning, a life other than monastic plainly violates? We are not at all saying or dreaming, of course not, that persons who do not take our Lord's precepts in the letter are actually violating them, yet we think that if they do not take care to keep them at least in the spirit instead, they certainly are. And while it is pretty clear that society, as at present constituted, does not keep the commands in

²⁵ See Jacqueline Banerjee, "Women's Religious Orders in Victorian England," available at: <http://www.victorianweb.org/gender/banerjee.html>.

²⁶ JHN to E. B. Pusey (Tuesday [12 January 1836]), *LD* 5:198-199.

²⁷ JHN to Hugh James Rose (Iffley, 23 May 1836), *LD* 5: 301-305, at 302-303, italics in the original.

²⁸ Newman thought that monastic orders would be useful in reaching the growing urban populations of England's cities; as it turned out, most of the first Anglican communities of women did not choose a cloistered life of prayer but an active life of service. See Peter F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister: Religious Communities and Kindred Bodies in the Anglican Communion* (London: S. P. C. K., 1955) and A. M. Allchin, *The Silent Rebellion: Anglican Religious Communities 1845-1900* (London: SCM Press, 1958).

²⁹ JHN, "John Davison," *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review* 31 (April 1842): 367-401, at 398.

question either in letter or spirit, it seems to us clear also, that whether a literal observance be necessary or not, monastic institutions do, of all others, most accurately and comprehensively fulfil the *code* of Gospel commandments, whether those which the present age does not fulfil, or those which it does.³⁰

So, even the most extreme observances of some monastic personalities were simply obeying the gospel precepts of giving up all they had to assist others.

In 1842, in a sermon entitled "Temporal Advantages," Newman spoke of how the earliest Christian communities sold all they had to give alms, how they washed one another's feet and had all things in common. These early Christians formed themselves "into communities for prayer and praise, for labour and study, for the care of the poor, for mutual edification, and preparation for Christ."³¹ In fact, as soon as the world professed itself to be Christian, monks entered the church and "from that time to this, never has the union of the Church with the State prospered, but when the Church was in union also with the hermitage and the cell."³² The following year, in 1843, Newman preached a sermon entitled "The Apostolical Christian" in which he returned to the theme of his *British Critic* article against John Davison that "the humble monk, and the holy nun, and other regulars" were "Christians after the very pattern given us in Scripture."³³ Newman was led to this conclusion because he saw that monastics were the only Christians who "give up home and friends, wealth and ease, good name and liberty of will, for the kingdom of heaven."³⁴ In fact, these monks and nuns are where one should look if one is seeking a modern day apostle Paul or Peter, or John the disciple or Mary. For it is monastics who have made Christ "their all-sufficient, everlasting portion" though "those great surrenders which Scripture speaks of, are not incumbent on all Christians."³⁵

In a similar vein, also in 1843, in his sermon—"Indulgence in Religious Privileges"—Newman spoke again on the institution of monasticism:

I am not denying that there are certain individuals raised up from time to time to a still more self-denying life, and who have a corresponding measure of divine consolations. As some men are Apostles, others Confessors and Martyrs, as Missionaries in heathen countries may be called to give up all for Christ; so there are doubtless those, living in peaceable times and among their brethren, who acknowledge a call to give up every thing whatever for the sake of the Gospel, and in order to be perfect; and to become as homeless and as shelterless, and as resourceless and as solitary, as the holy Baptist in the wilderness: but extraordinary cases are not for our imitation, and it is as great a fault to act without a call as to refuse to act upon one.³⁶

From these texts it is clear that Newman saw monasticism as warranted by the Bible—since it was the outgrowth of the Scriptures call to perfection and fulfilled Jesus Christ's commandment to love God and neighbor—and was a vocation to

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 399–400.

³¹ JHN, "Temporal Advantages," *PPS* 7: 69.

³² *Ibid.*, 69–70.

³³ JHN, "The Apostolical Christian," in *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, 290–291; hereafter cited: *SSD*; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/subjects/index.html>.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 291.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 292.

³⁶ JHN, "Indulgence in Religious Privileges," in *SSD*, 124.

which some are called, but not all. Monasticism was indeed a special vocation for those called to austerity and self-denial but, in spite of its particularity, it was a call of God nonetheless.

NEWMAN'S PRACTICE OF SELF-DENIAL

Newman, on occasion, dabbled with his own vocational calling to a life of stricter austerity and self-denial. In 1839, he adopted a particularly rigorous Lenten regimen, which he recorded on Good Friday of that year:

During this Lent I have observed the following rules, Sundays being altogether excepted. I have used no sugar—I have eaten no pastry fish fowl or toast— and my rule has been not to be helped a second time to meat at dinner. I have eaten no meat at any other time. I have not dined out.

Exceptions have been, dining out three times— with Iffley Trustees, at the Provost's, & once in hall with Williams when I came away early— And the first two of these I ate pastry. I was frequently helped twice to meat as time went on. I have not abstained from wine.

On Wednesdays and Fridays I abstained from any food whatever till 5 P.M. when I ate a biscuit— I ate no breakfast or dinner, but generally an egg at tea— sometimes barley water at 5 o'clock. Twice or three times I ate a biscuit in midday.

The Tempus Passionis [Time of the Passion], the week before this and this week, I left off butter and milk, besides. Several times, however, I took milk.

The Hebdomada Magna [Great Week], (Passion week) I have abstained hitherto from breakfast and dinner every day, breaking fast on a biscuit at midday; yesterday (Thursday) & today I have abstained, & mean to abstain, from tea also & egg; tasting nothing either day but bread & biscuit & water. This I purpose to continue till evening tomorrow, when the fast being over, I may perhaps eat some meat.— This I *did* observe to the end— but I sh^[out] say that on Wednesday I took a glass of port wine. The only great inconvenience I have found has been face ache— for which I have used sulphate of quinine pills successfully.³⁷

In this detailed reckoning, one sees Newman being quite honest with his successes in self-denial as well as his perceived failures of living according to his rigorous Lenten rule of life.

Newman recorded similar ascetical practices during the next four seasons of Lent.³⁸ In 1842 he followed the following pattern:

I have abstained on week days (except St. Matthias) from flesh of all kinds (except salt fish twice) cheese, vegetables, toast, pastry, (except some times a plain pudding) fruit, sugar, milk in tea, fermented liquors . . .

I have taken only two meals, breakfast [at] 8 AM and tea [at] 6 PM—when I have commonly taken bread, butter, eggs, tea without milk, or hot bread & milk.

On Sundays and St. Matthias I dined on eggs & bacon, or cold meat, and cheese—and allowed also a glass of wine or beer, milk in tea, & toast.

I did not dine out, I did not wear gloves— I eat rhubarb commonly with my butter. I have not seen the Oxford or London (except once) Papers, (except the

³⁷ *AW*, 215–216.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 216–222.

Record).

I did not make any alteration, as I had done the last Lents, in the Tempus Passionis [Time of the Passion]. And the first three days of this I took breakfast— and yesterday and today though no breakfast (& so tomorrow. Sabbat. Sanct. [Holy Saturday]) yet tea as other evenings.

I mean to end the fast as usual at 6 PM on Saturday.

I tried in Long Vac[atio]n, & so now, not sleeping in bed, but found it [did] not succeed. I cannot get to sleep without being warm & then I am too warm. In Long Vac[atio]n I slept always on straw mattresses here.³⁹

These examples show that Newman spent seasons of his life undergoing a particularly rigorous asceticism.

While at Littlemore, not only did Newman experiment with ascetical regimes but he also kept a fairly exhausting schedule. In 1843, Newman recorded his daily schedule for August 1-9; following is the record for two of his days at Littlemore:⁴⁰

- | | |
|-------|--|
| Aug 2 | 1 got up a few minutes past five. Prayers & Meditation. |
| | 2 six to ¼ past 7. Breviary Office to Terce inclusive |
| | 3 from seven to eleven. At Atkinson's Athanasius. |
| | 4 eleven read service (Anglican) in Church. |
| | 5 then, sext and none |
| | 6 between 12 & 3 went on with the proof of Athanasius, reading letters. ⁴¹ |
| | 7 three P.M. read prayers in church |
| | 8 went back to Athanasius, putting notes. |
| | 9 dinner |
| | 10 after dinner to Athanasius, and sent off proof. ⁴² |
| | 11 then to Life of (Lockhart's or Dalgairn's) St Gilbert for the Series. ⁴³ |
| | 12 vespers-compline |
| | 13 writing letters till eleven, when |
| | 14 went to bed |
| Aug 8 | 1 Up at ¼ past 5 |
| | 2 Six o'clock - office - dreamy |
| | 3 till nine at Athanasius |
| | 4 Terce |
| | 5 Athanasius - accounts - Whitmore |
| | 6 eleven - read morning service in church |
| | 7 Sext |
| | 8 at Athanasius. None |
| | 9 three o'clock - read service |

³⁹ Ibid., 221.

⁴⁰ In Newman's time, the Roman Catholic daily office consisted of: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline.

⁴¹ Newman prepared a translation of *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius*; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/albanasius/original/index.html#titlepage>.

⁴² At this point in this listing is a marginal note in parenthesis: "at various times very tired, languid, drowsy, sleepy all through the days."

⁴³ Newman planned a multi-volume *Lives of the English Saints*; the first volume is available at: <http://archive.org/details/a678908501newmuoft>.

10 walked with [Ambrose] St. John, visiting & praying with old H
 11 Vespers & compline
 12 at Athanasius, till I could not keep awake. 'Twas not mere
 sleepiness - but a sort of collapse of the whole of me - my head
 falling down &c.⁴⁴

From these schedules, one can observe that Newman's days were quite full and, by his own admission, quite tiring.

One of Newman's associates at Littlemore, William Lockhart,⁴⁵ provided a further description of life there, which he described as "a kind of monastery . . . of monastic life of retirement, prayer and study":

We spent our time at Littlemore in study, prayer and fasting. We rose at midnight to recite the Breviary Office, consoling ourselves with the thought that we were united in prayer with united Christendom, and were using the very words used by the Saints of all ages. We fasted according to the practice recommended in Holy Scripture, and practised in the most austere religious orders of Eastern and Western Christendom. We never broke our fast, except on Sundays and the Great Festivals, before twelve o'clock, and not until five o'clock in the Advent and Lenten seasons. We regularly practised confession, and went to Communion . . . daily, at the Village Church. At dinner we met together, and after some spiritual reading at table, we enjoyed conversation with Newman.⁴⁶

J. B. Dalgairns,⁴⁷ another member of the Littlemore community from 1842 to 1845, provided additional details concerning life in the "monastery":

Our rule . . . is made to take in two classes of individuals. We either fast until 5, or breakfast on dry bread and tea at 12. At dinner (i.e. at the 5 o'clock meal) we have every day salt-fish and a pudding of some sort. On four days in the week there is meat on table, but those who take it, are not allowed tea, either morning or evening [O]n the black letter days . . . we all breakfast at 12 on bread and butter and tea As to rules we have progressed thus far. First, Matins, Lauds, and Prime (expurgated) at 6, the other hours at the right time, except Vespers about the time of which we are not yet regular. Breakfast about 20 minutes past 8; tea-dinner at half past 5. Until 3 o'clock in the day, except during the meal, silence is observed, and again after Compline.⁴⁸

In short, Newman was no stranger to living an ascetical life. Yet the words of Geoffrey Rowell are important to remember, the "ascetic rigours of Littlemore . . . do of course reflect Newman's sense of a special call rather than a rule of general

⁴⁴ *AW*, 242-243; 245.

⁴⁵ William Lockhart (1819-1892) was the first Tractarian to become a Roman Catholic (1843).

⁴⁶ William Lockhart, *Cardinal Newman: Reminiscences of Fifty Years Since* (London: Burns & Oates, 1891), 10-11. See: Daniel J. Lattier, "Newman's Theology and Practice of Fasting as an Anglican," *Newman Studies Journal [NSJ]* 5/2 (Fall 2008): 56-68, and "Newman's Silence on Fasting as a Roman Catholic," *NSJ* 6/2 (Fall 2009): 38-48.

⁴⁷ John Dobrée Dalgairns (1818-1876), a scholar of Exeter College (Oxford), was received as a Roman Catholic by Fr. Dominic Barberi in September 1845; subsequently, he joined Newman in Rome for his Oratorian novitiate in 1847 and was stationed at the Birmingham Oratory until 1849, when he went to the London Oratory; he returned to Birmingham, 1855-1856, but went back to the London Oratory, where he succeeded Faber as superior.

⁴⁸ R. D. Middleton, *Newman and Bloxam: An Oxford Friendship* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 87-88.

application.”⁴⁹ Thus, Newman’s asceticism did not represent a kind of holiness that goes against the day to day holiness that he advocated elsewhere. Instead, Newman viewed exceptional self-denials as a special calling placed upon some but not all Christians. All Christians must live into their baptismal vows but all are not obligated to live lives of deep self-denial. For Newman, neither way of life was more holy than the other and he certainly would have agreed with José Morales that “[j]ust as the cloister or the convent do not necessarily make saints, so the world does not in fact pervert or render worldly the Christians who know how to live in it.”⁵⁰

In his *Essay on Development of Christian Doctrine* in 1845, Newman gave monastic life a unique setting in one’s Christian walk. He saw it as a useful penance for post-baptismal sins:

But there is one form of Penance which has been more prevalent and uniform than any other, out of which the forms just noticed have grown, or on which they have been engrafted,—the Monastic Rule. In the first ages, the doctrine of the punishments of sin, whether in this world or in the next, was little called for. The rigid discipline of the infant Church was the preventive of greater offences, and its persecutions the penance of their commission; but when the Canons were relaxed and confessorship ceased, then some substitute was needed, and such was Monachism, being at once a sort of continuation of primeval innocence, and a school of self-chastisement.⁵¹

Monasticism is then a special calling for some, particularly for performing penance for sin but it is not obligatory on all Christians, it does not require a “literal imitation.”⁵² As Placid Murray has written—“Newman never had a monastic vocation,” therefore it is impossible to imagine that he would have elevated the institution of monasticism above a non-monastic Christian life.⁵³

CONCLUSION

Newman believed that the earliest monks were simply trying to flee the world and die in peace. “Their one idea then, their one purpose,” he wrote in an essay—“The Mission of St. Benedict”—“was to be quit of [the world]; too long had it enthralled them. It was not a question of this or that vocation, of the better deed, of the higher state, but of life and death.”⁵⁴ For Newman, monasticism was a means to holiness just as living a day-to-day, non-monastic Christian life was also a way to holiness. In Newman’s thought, holiness is not achieved through a particular calling, such as monasticism, but through living faithfully into one’s calling, whatever that might be.

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Rowell, “Newman’s Pastoral Advice for a Sincere Christian Life in the Anglican Years according to his ‘Letters and Diaries,’” in Biemer-Fries, *Heiligkeit*, 228.

⁵⁰ Morales, “Holiness,” 158.

⁵¹ JHN, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (London: James Toovey, 1845), 423–424.

⁵² Newman, “The Apostolical Christian,” *SSD*, 290.

⁵³ Placid Murray, *Newman the Oratorian* (Leominster: Fowler Wright Books, 1980), 127.

⁵⁴ JHN, “The Mission of Saint Benedict,” in *Historical Sketches*, 2: 365–430, at 374; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/historical/volume2/benedictine/mission.html>; this essay was originally published in the *Atlantis* of January, 1858.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN AND 'THE CONSULTATION OF THE FAITHFUL'

DAVID P. LONG

This essay examines the strengths and weakness of Newman's argument in "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine" that the lay faithful throughout history are the guarantors of orthodox doctrine by examining Newman's understanding of the lay faithful, the sensus and consensus fidelium, and his historiographical methodology.

Since the earliest events of its history, the Christian community has worked to specify the proper functions of the Church. For example, the *Acts of the Apostles* described the institution of the diaconate as emerging from demands for equality in food distribution and material support of widows (Acts 6:1-7). St. Paul explained to the community in Corinth how its charisms and spiritual gifts should work together through the imagery of parts of the body functioning in harmonious unity (1 Corinthians 12), while the pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus discussed the selection of candidates for the offices of bishop, presbyter and deacon. Discussion of these topics has persisted for centuries; for example, in the middle of the 19th century, questions surrounding the roles proper to individuals in the Church had yet to be resolved: who could do what and why.

In a moment of unusual frankness in 1859, John Henry Newman published an essay "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine"—which favored consultation with the lay faithful in matters of doctrinal teaching and pastoral concern. In John Coulson's opinion, this essay "was an act of political suicide from which his [Newman's] career within the Church was never fully to recover."¹

'THE "LAY FAITHFUL"'

A quarter-century earlier, Newman had articulated in his *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (1833), what he believed was the starting point of doctrine: the personal investigations of the human mind:

As the mind is cultivated and expanded, it cannot refrain from the attempt to analyze the vision which influences the heart and the Object in which that vision centres; nor does it stop till it has, in some sort, succeeded in expressing in words, what has all along been a principle both of its affections and of its obedience.²

To further this development, Newman argued for fostering a well-educated lay

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¹ John Coulson, "Introduction to 'On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine,'" in John Henry Newman, *On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine*, edited by John Coulson (Kansas City, MO: Sheed and Ward, 1961): 2; hereafter cited: Coulson, "Introduction."

² John Henry Newman (hereafter cited: JHN), *The Arians of the Fourth Century* 2:3, available at <http://newmanreader.org/works/arians/index.html>. Citations to Newman's work are by chapter and section numbers.

faithful. As he wrote in 1851 in his *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*:

I want a laity, not arrogant, not rash in speech, not disputatious, but men who know their religion, who enter into it, who know just where they stand, who know what they hold, and what they do not, who know their creed so well, that they can give an account of it, who know so much of history that they can defend it. I want an intelligent, well-instructed laity; . . . I wish you to enlarge your knowledge, to cultivate your reason, to get an insight into the relation of truth to truth, to learn to view things as they are, to understand how faith and reason stand to each other, what are the bases and principles of Catholicism, and where lie the main inconsistencies and absurdities of the Protestant theory.³

Newman's view of the role of the laity contrasted sharply with that of most Church leaders of his day. He envisioned a group of the laity capable of engaging in the theological discussions of the age. Practically speaking, such a group would include the upper classes of British Catholicism, as well as those in the Oxford Movement who joined Newman in converting to Roman Catholicism. Most British Roman Catholic bishops, on the other hand, viewed the laity as a group to be directed and guided, but not consulted. As Richard Simpson (1820–1876), the original editor of *The Rambler*, lamented in commenting on the bishops' position:

The laity are to be kept in ignorance of all religious questions except those in the catechism, in order to misuse their obedience to a body of directors professionally educated to manage their religion for them. Religion is turned into administration, the clergy into theological practice, & the body of thinking laymen into a mass of suspects, supposed to be brooding on nothing but revelation, & only kept together by motives of fear, & by the external pressure of a clerical organisation.⁴

After Newman published "Consulting," Monsignor George Talbot commented in "a bumptious remark that the laity had no right to meddle in church affairs but had only to restrict itself to what laity knew well, namely, to hunt, to shoot, and to entertain."⁵ Evidently, both Simpson and Newman had every right to be concerned about the place of the lay faithful in the Roman Catholic Church in England.

Prior to writing "On Consulting," Newman had expressed his views on educating the lay faithful in his *The Idea of the University*, where he maintained that the development of an intelligent, well-instructed laity should take place in a university setting:

In a word, Religious Truth is not only a portion, but a condition of general knowledge. To blot it out is nothing short, if I may so speak, of unravelling the web of University Teaching. It is, according to the Greek proverb, to take the

³ JHN, *The Present Position of Catholics in England* 9:4, available at <http://newmanreader.org/works/england/lecture9.html#laity>.

⁴ Coulson, "Introduction," 18.

⁵ Edward Jeremy Miller, "Newman on the Voice of the Laity: Lessons for Today's Church," *Newman Studies Journal* (hereafter cited: NSJ) 3/2 (Fall 2006): 16–31, at 19; "George Talbot (1816–1886) was a representative at the Vatican on behalf of the British Catholic bishops. When British laity sent a petition in 1867 to the Vatican on Newman's behalf, Talbot denigrated the laity in this manner, further telling his patron, Archbishop Manning, that the laity are 'beginning to show the cloven hoof'" (Meriol Trevor, *Newman: the Light in Winter* [London: Macmillan, 1962], 408.)

Spring from out of the year; it is to imitate the preposterous proceeding of those tragedians who represented a drama with the omission of its principal part.⁶ At that time, Newman was frustrated in his endeavors—by mistrusting Irish bishops. During his years at the Catholic University of Ireland, Newman “saw in Ireland that the ecclesiastical powers were in fact jealous of the laity and, what is more, fearful of them, if their knowledge and education grew too great.”⁷ This fear eventually led to Newman to resign from the university rectorship and to return to England, where a series of events provided another avenue for advocating for the development of an educated faithful.

THE RAMBLER

The Rambler was a Catholic periodical that from its establishment in 1848 attempted to show that English Roman Catholics were intellectually serious and capable of reasonable discussion. As Paul Chavasse has observed, “The significance of *The Rambler* came from the fact that it was managed by laymen; its articles were of a high standard, equal to those in the great reviews; and it presented a Catholic interpretation of the questions of the day that was appreciated by Catholics and non-Catholics alike.”⁸ By January 1859, issues surrounding state support of Catholic schools in England led to a full-blown crisis at *The Rambler*. When an unsigned article in the magazine criticized the English bishops for their handling of the discussions on state-supported Catholic education, the bishops accused its editor Richard Simpson of disloyalty and demanded changes at the publication.⁹ Bishop Bernard Ullathorne of Birmingham (Newman’s bishop) and Cardinal Wiseman of Westminster asked Newman to assume editorial responsibility. After prayerful reflection and anguished thought, Newman reluctantly accepted the position—“seeing in his new task a means of serving the educated laity and helping to preserve a magazine that was vital to that particular work of education in the Church.”¹⁰ As editor, Newman was wary of falling into three traps *The Rambler* had experienced previously—“it had treated of theology proper, it had done so in magazine fashion, and it had allowed laymen to do so.”¹¹

With the May 1859 edition, however, Newman unexpectedly entered the same theological fray that Ullathorne and Wiseman hoped the magazine would avoid. In an unsigned editorial penned by Newman, *The Rambler* addressed the topic that previously prompted Simpson’s dismissal:

Acknowledging, then, most fully the prerogatives of the episcopate, we do unfeignedly believe, both from the reasonableness of the matter, and especially

⁶ JHN, *The Idea of a University* 3:10, available at <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/idea/index.html>.

⁷ Paul Chavasse, “Newman and the Laity,” available at <http://catholiceducation.org/articles/religion/re0345.html>. See JHN to Robert Ormsby (The Oratory, Birmingham, 23 July 1862) *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, 20: 240–242; hereafter cited: *LD*, and to T. W. Allies (30 November 1864), *LD* 21: 326–327.

⁸ Chavasse, “Newman and the Laity.”

⁹ Richard Simpson (1820–1876), a student at Oriel (1839–1843), served briefly as Vicar of Mitcham (1844–1845) before becoming a Roman Catholic (1846). A detailed discussion of the issues at the center of *The Rambler* Affair is provided by Coulson, “Introduction,” 2–6.

¹⁰ Chavasse, “Newman and the Laity.”

¹¹ Coulson, “Introduction,” 6.

from the prudence, gentleness, and considerateness which belong to them personally, that their Lordships really desire to know the opinion of the laity on subjects in which the laity are especially concerned. If even in the preparation of a dogmatic definition the faithful are consulted, as lately in the instance of the Immaculate Conception,¹² it is at least as natural to anticipate such an act of kind feeling and sympathy in great practical questions, out of the condescension which belongs to those who are *forma facti gregis ex animo*.¹³ If our words or tone were disrespectful, we deeply grieve and apologise for such a fault; but surely we are not disrespectful in thinking, and in having thought, that the Bishops would like to know the sentiments of an influential portion of the laity before they took any step which perhaps they could not recall.¹⁴

While definitely not desiring to create any division between laity and clergy, Newman then attempted to balance their respective responsibilities:

We are too fully convinced of the misery of any division between the rulers of the Church and the educated laity,—we grieve too deeply, too bitterly, over such instances as are found, either in the present day or in the history of the past, of such mutual alienations,—to commit ourselves consciously to any act which may tend to so dire a calamity. It is our fervent prayer that their Lordships may live in the hearts of their people; of the poor as well as of the rich, of the rich as well as of the poor; of the clergy as well as of the laity, of the laity as well as of the clergy.¹⁵

To state that the bishops were unhappy with Newman's position would be an understatement. He was asked to resign the editorship after only two issues—a request he was more than happy to oblige. Yet in July 1859, in the last number of *The Rambler* that he edited, he published an unsigned piece entitled "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine." In this essay, Newman's argument, like that in his *Arians of the Fourth Century*, centered on the historical examples of the faithful Church in the face of heresy and asserted that at such crucial moments, the laity had preserved the faith of the Church.

Such an observation was consistent with Newman's recognition of doctrine in continuous development and the Church slowly coming to greater understanding of doctrine through history. Within this process of development, there were times when the Church community saw doctrinal matters quite clearly and guarded against opaque viewpoints. At other times, the Church made cloudy judgments, and tensions between myopic and hyperopic positions led to crisis. There were even moments when the bishops and the lay faithful found themselves on opposing sides of a theological argument. In such moments, Newman viewed the faithful laity as not only participating in doctrine development, but also as the means of guaranteeing orthodoxy, especially when those empowered to defend true belief—the pastors of

¹² Prior to proclaiming the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (*Ineffabilis Deus*, 8 December 1854), Pope Pius IX had consulted the bishops of the world about the belief in this doctrine in their dioceses.

¹³ The Latin phrase is from 1 Peter 5:3: *neque ut dominantes in cleris, sed forma facti gregis ex animo* (not as dominating those in your charge, but as sincerely setting an example for the flock).

¹⁴ JHN, *The Rambler*, May 1859, "Judgment of the English Bishops on the Royal Commission," 122, available at <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/rambler/contemporary5-59.html>; hereafter cited: *Rambler*; italics in the original.

¹⁵ *Rambler*, 123.

the Church—failed in their mission.

Yet for Newman, none of these events was the ultimate calamity. He understood the entire Church as the guardian of tradition, whose development continued in the ebbing and flowing of doctrinal interpretations. For Newman the question was:

Whether it can, with doctrinal correctness, be said that an appeal to the faithful is one of the preliminaries of a definition of doctrine; and secondly, granting that the faithful are taken into account, still, whether they can correctly be said to be consulted.¹⁶

To support his claim, Newman looked to the history of the Church, where the lay faithful were both audience and protector of doctrine: “Doubtless their advice, their opinion, their judgment on the question of definition is not asked; but the matter of fact, viz. their belief, is sought for, as a testimony to that apostolical tradition, on which alone any doctrine whatsoever can be defined.”¹⁷ The laity, as the body of the Christian Church, are “witnesses to the antiquity or universality of the doctrines which they contain, and about which they are ‘consulted.’”¹⁸ For Newman, “the *fidelium sensus* and consensus is a branch of evidence which it is natural or it necessary for the Church to regard and consult, before she proceeds to any definition, from its intrinsic cogency; and by consequence, that it ever has been so regarded and consulted.”¹⁹

Newman felt compelled to elaborate on the meaning of the term “consult,” for that word had become a source of considerable misunderstanding:

The use of [the word “consult”] was in no sense dangerous to any lay reader, who, if he knows Latin, still is not called upon, in the structure of his religious ideas, to draw those careful lines and those fine distinctions, which in theology itself are the very means of anticipating and repelling heresy. The laity would not have a truer, or a clearer, or a different view of the doctrine itself, though the sentence had run, “in the preparation of a dogmatic decree, regard is had to the sense of the faithful;” or, “there is an appeal to the general voice of the faithful;” or, “inquiry is made into the belief of the Christian people;” or, “the definition is not made without a previous reference to what the faithful will think of it and say to it.”²⁰

After this digression, Newman discussed the Church’s doctrinal process, where “the body of the faithful is one of the witnesses to the fact of the tradition of revealed doctrine, and because their consensus through Christendom is the voice of the Infallible Church.” This dual character of the lay faithful emerges when the Church demands faithfulness and orthodoxy in the face of radical innovations.

I think I am right in saying that the tradition of the Apostles, committed to the whole Church in its various constituents and functions *per modum unius*, manifests itself variously at various times: sometimes by the mouth of the episcopacy, sometimes by the doctors, sometimes by the people, sometimes by liturgies, rites, ceremonies, and customs, by events, disputes, movements, and all those other phenomena which are comprised under the name of history. It

¹⁶ JHN, “On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine” 199, available at <http://newmanreader.org/works/rambler/consulting.html>; hereafter cited: “Consulting”; italics in the original.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 199–200.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 200.

follows that none of these channels of tradition may be treated with disrespect; granting at the same time fully, that the gift of discerning, discriminating, defining, promulgating, and enforcing any portion of that tradition resides solely in the *Ecclesia docens*.²²

SENSUS AND CONSENSUS FIDELIUM

Newman described the place of the lay faithful in the Church by using two Latin terms: *sensus fidelium* and *consensus fidelium*. While similar, these expressions are not equivalent and do not fulfill the same function in the Church. Hermann Geissler has explained their difference:

What effectively is the *consensus fidelium* at its core? With great theologians, Newman describes this *consensus* as witness for the Apostolic doctrine, as leadership by God's Spirit, as an answer to the prayers of the faithful. The *consensus fidelium* may be seen as a fruit and converging manifestation of the *sensus fidelium*, which is a gift of God that enables the faithful, in a profound agreement with the Church and under the guidance of its *Magisterium*, to adhere to the Truth and to apply it faithfully in daily life.²³

The *sensus fidelium* and *consensus fidelium* were rooted in Newman's reaction against the ecclesiological views of the English Catholic hierarchy. As Avery Dulles pointed out:

Although Newman did not attribute teaching authority to the laity, he trusted their consensus as a sign of the Holy Spirit. At this point in his career he seemed to find security in matters of faith neither in the individual bishop, nor in the body of bishops, nor even in the Pope, but rather in the united testimony of the lay faithful.²⁴

For Newman, the laity have a dual role that is largely underappreciated: first, the lay faithful guarantee the truth of the Catholic faith, and, second, they also serve as an agent of the Church's infallibility. As Lawrence King has pointed out:

The bishops may need to consult the views of the faithful, just as they may need to consult Scripture. The apostolic teaching is preserved in Scripture and also preserved in the Christian faithful. When the faithful are of one accord, they preserve this teaching infallibly. The Church remained infallible at all times, but the subjects by whom this infallibility was exercised had varied.²⁵

Newman's understanding of *sensus* and *consensus fidelium* borrowed heavily from the Italian theologian, Giovanni Perrone (1794-1876),²⁶ who served as the Chair of Dogmatic Theology at the Roman College. Newman quoted Perrone, whom he had

²¹ Ibid., 205.

²² Ibid. The *ecclesia docens* (teaching church) is often contrasted with the *ecclesia discens* (learning church).

²³ Hermann Geissler, "The Witness of the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine according to John Henry Newman," 1-17, at 15, available at <http://www.newmanfriendsinternational.org/newman/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/on-consulting-english1.pdf>.

²⁴ Avery Dulles, "Newman and the Hierarchy," *NSJ* 2/1 (Spring 2005): 8-19, at 14-15.

²⁵ Lawrence J. King, "Newman and Gasser on Infallibility: Vatican I and Vatican II," *NSJ* 8/1 (Spring 2011): 27-39, at 33.

²⁶ See Walter Drum, "Perrone, Giovanni," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 11:702, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/catben/11702b.htm>.

met in 1847, often and usually in the original Latin. Such an inclusion served several functions. First, Newman could claim the support of a highly regarded Roman theologian. Second, he could guarantee the accuracy of the quotation without the risk of misinterpretation through translation. Third, he could address the issue directly to educated lay faithful, who could read these quotations. Newman highlighted this in an ironic statement immediately preceding his presentation of Perrone's comments.

Without deciding whether or not it is advisable to introduce points of theology into popular works, and especially whether it is advisable for laymen to do so, still, if this actually is done, we are not to expect in them that perfect accuracy of expression which I demanded in a Latin treatise or a lecture *ex cathedrâ*; and if there be a want of this exactness, we must not at once think it proceeds from self-will and undutifulness in the writers.²⁷

Ironically, Newman did in "Consulting" what he specifically had hoped to avoid.

At the beginning of his presentation, Newman presented a definition of the lay faithful, who were presented in the light of "what he [Perrone] considered t[o] be the *sensus* and *consensus fidelium*, as a compensation or whatever deficiency there might be of patristical testimony in behalf of various points of the Catholic dogma."²⁸ Acknowledging that Perrone might have been "shaping his remarks in the direction in which he considered he might be especially serviceable to myself," Newman "observed, he [Perrone] not only joins together the *pastores* and *fideles*, but contrasts them; I mean (for it will bear on what is to follow), the 'faithful' do not include the 'pastors.'"²⁹ Perrone, in describing "the relation of that *sensus fidelium* to the *sensus Ecclesiae*," while "joining together in one his twofold consent of pastors and people," also spoke of the "unanimis pastorum ac *fidelium* consensio . . . per liturgias, per festa, per euchologia, per fidei controversias, per conciones patefacta."³⁰ This combination allowed for not only harmonious balance, but also mutual compensation or reciprocity: "the strength of one makes up in a particular case for the deficiency of another, and the strength of the 'sensus communis fidelium' can make up (e.g.) for the silence of the Fathers."³¹ Accordingly, Newman recognized "the force of the 'sensus fidelium,' as distinct (not separate) from the teaching of their pastors."³²

Regarding this *sensus fidelium*, Newman, relying on Perrone and the Spanish Jesuit theologian Gregory of Valencia (c. 1550–1603),³³ claimed:

That, in controversy about a matter of faith, the consent of all the faithful has such a force in the proof of this side or that, that the Supreme Pontiff *is able and ought to rest* upon it, as being the *judgment or sentiment* of the *infallible* Church. These are surely exceedingly strong words; not that I take them to mean strictly that infallibility is in the *consensus fidelium*, but that that *consensus* is an

²⁷ "Consulting" 204.

²⁸ Ibid., 206. At the time of their conversation, Perrone was in the process of publishing a work on the Immaculate Conception (*De Immaculato B. V. Mariae Conceptu: an dogmatico decreto definiri possit disquisitio theologica* [Rome: Ioannes Baptista Marini et Bernardus Morini, 1847]).

²⁹ "Consulting" 206.

³⁰ Ibid. "The unanimous consensus of the pastors and the *faithful* . . . evidenced through liturgies, feasts, through prayerbooks, through controversies about faith, through lectures."

³¹ Ibid., 207.

³² Ibid.

³³ See A. Lehmkühl, "Gregory of Valencia," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 7:23–25; available at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07021b.htm>.

indicium or *instrumentum* to us of the judgment of that Church which is infallible.³⁴

For Newman, the *consensus fidelium* is an active witnessing to doctrines that are passively accepted or believed. The *consensus fidelium* is faith in action, which in turn becomes the testimony presented through tradition. To support this claim, Newman looked to the development of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and again used Perrone as his source:

[Perrone] speaks of the “consensus fidelium” under the strong image of a seal. After mentioning various arguments in favour of the Immaculate Conception, such as the testimony of so many universities, religious bodies, theologians, &c., he continues, “Hæc demum omnia firmissimo veluti *sigillo obsignat* totius christiani populi consensus.”³⁵

Newman then pointed out that Perrone “proceeds to give several instances, in which the definition of doctrine was made in consequence of nothing else but the ‘sensus fidelium’ and the ‘juge et vivum magisterium’ of the Church.”³⁶

Newman saw the *consensus fidelium* at work in three contemporary examples. The first was the process utilized by Pius IX, in preparing the definition of the Immaculate Conception: “although he already knew the sentiments of the Bishops, still he had wished to know the sentiments of the people also.”³⁷ Furthermore, in that same papal declaration, “*Conspiratio*, the two, the Church teaching and the Church taught, are put together, as one twofold testimony, illustrating each other, and never to be divided.”³⁸ Secondly, Newman cited his own bishop, Bernard Ullathorne: “Nor should the universal conviction of pious Catholics be passed over, as of small account in the general argument; for that pious belief, and the devotion which springs from it, are the *faithful reflection* of the pastoral teaching.”³⁹ Finally, to illustrate the active *consensus fidelium*, Newman appealed to the “various ways in which theologians put before us the bearing of the Consent of the faithful upon the manifestation of the tradition of the Church:”

Its *consensus* is to be regarded: 1. as a testimony to the fact of the apostolical dogma; 2. as a sort of instinct, or [*pbronema*], deep in the bosom of the mystical body of Christ; 3. as a direction of the Holy Ghost; 4. as an answer to its prayer; 5. as a jealousy of error, which it at once feels as a scandal.⁴⁰

This *consensus fidelium* was not just another element of doctrinal development in the Church; this *consensus fidelium* constituted part of its organic development. As Newman had pointed out previously in his second lecture—“The Movement of 1833 Foreign to the National Church” in his *Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching*—a lecture which he quoted in “Consulting,”

We know that it is the property of life to be impatient of any foreign substance in the body to which it belongs. It will be sovereign in its own domain, and it

³⁴ “Consulting” 208.

³⁵ Ibid. “The consensus of the whole Christian people thus *impresses*, as it were, all these things with the firmest *seal*.”

³⁶ Ibid. “perennial and living magisterium.”

³⁷ Ibid., 210.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 211.

conflicts with what it cannot assimilate into itself, and is irritated and disordered till it has expelled it. . . . The religious life of a people is of a certain quality and direction, and these are tested by the mode in which it encounters the various opinions, customs, and institutions which are submitted to it. . . . submit your heretical and Catholic principle to the action of the multitude, and you will be able to pronounce at once whether it is imbued with Catholic truth or with heretical falsehood.⁴¹

NEWMAN'S HISTORIOGRAPHICAL MODEL

Newman maintained that the historical circumstances included in "Consulting" seemed more the exception than the rule:

It is not a little remarkable, that, though, historically speaking, the fourth century is the age of doctors, illustrated, as it was, by the saints Athanasius, Hilary, the two Gregories, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, and all of these saints bishops also, except one, nevertheless in that very day the divine tradition committed to the infallible Church was proclaimed and maintained far more by the faithful than by the Episcopate.

Although Newman acknowledged the role of the episcopacy in the transmission of doctrine, he insisted on the vital role of the laity:

Here, of course, I must explain:—in saying this, then, undoubtedly I am not denying that the great body of the Bishops were in their internal belief orthodox; nor that there were numbers of clergy who stood by the laity, and acted as their centres and guides; nor that the laity actually received their faith, in the first instance, from the Bishops and clergy; nor that some portions of the laity were ignorant, and other portions at length corrupted, by the Arian teachers, who got possession of the sees and ordained an heretical clergy;—but I mean still, that in that time of immense confusion the divine dogma of our Lord's divinity was proclaimed, enforced, maintained, and (humanly speaking) preserved, far more by the *Ecclesia docta* than by the *Ecclesia docens*; that the body of the episcopate was unfaithful to its commission, while the body of the laity was faithful to its baptism; . . .

. . . I see, then, in the Arian history a palmary example of a state of the Church, during which, in order to know the tradition of the Apostles, we must have recourse to the faithful.⁴²

The fact that Newman described these events as "not a little remarkable," as happening at "that time of immense confusion" and as "a palmary example" underscored his position that these events were crises, not common occurrences. In such critical instances, Newman maintained that even in the midst of strife, the community was instrumental in maintaining doctrine.

The approach that Newman used to support his presentation was historiographical. He illustrated orthodox and heretical events in the fourth century

⁴¹ JHN, "The Movement of 1833 Foreign to the National Church" *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, 2: 212–213; available at <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/anglicans/volume1/lecture2.html>, quoted by Newman in "Consulting"

⁴² "Consulting" 213.

and compared those events with ones of his own day. Such a historiography was “as striking an instance as I could take in fulfilment of Father Perrone’s statement, that the voice of tradition may in certain cases express itself, not by Councils, nor Fathers, nor Bishops, but the ‘*communis fidelium sensus*.’”⁴³ This historiography, reinforced with twenty-one examples of orthodoxy triumphant in the face of heretical opposition, was summarized in three statements:

[1] there was a temporary suspense of the functions of the *Ecclesia docens*. . .

[2] The comparatively few who remained faithful were discredited and driven into exile; the rest were either deceivers or were deceived” . . . [3, yet there remained] . . . the proofs of the fidelity of the laity, and the effectiveness of that fidelity, during that domination of imperial heresy.”⁴⁵

Newman again turned to Perrone to justify his claim regarding the orthodoxy of the laity:

[F]or the force of the testimony of the martyrs which belongs quite as fully to the faithful generally; viz. that, as not being theologians, they can only repeat that objective truth, which, on the other hand, Fathers and theologians do but present subjectively, and thereby coloured with their own mental peculiarities. “We learn from them,” he says, “what was the traditionary doctrine in both domestic and public assemblies of the Church, without any admixture of private and (so to say) subjective explanation, such as at times creates a difficulty in ascertaining the real meaning of the Fathers; and so much the more, because many of them were either women or ordinary and untaught laymen, who brought out and avowed just what they believed in a straightforward inartificial way.”⁴⁶

When evaluating Newman’s historiography, it is important to keep a critical eye on his arguments. While Newman found in the fourth century Church a historical parallel to his own time, does that parallel have merit? This approach led to “a seeming incongruity that Newman both denied that he was ‘teaching theology’ and marshaled a series of theological texts in support of his position.”⁴⁷ As Newman soon discovered, while “His intention had all along been ‘studiously’ to avoid the dangerous subject of theology, . . . he had ‘put’ his ‘foot into it’ against his ‘wish and expectation’ by merely ‘stating historical facts’ which he assumed ‘no one would deny.’”⁴⁸ These critiques highlight both significant strength and crippling weakness to Newman’s historiography; to critique his approach requires starting with the claim at the beginning of his argument:

As to the present, certainly, if there ever was an age which might dispense with the testimony of the faithful, and leave the maintenance of the truth to the pastors of the Church, it is the age in which we live. Never was the Episcopate of Christendom so devoted to the Holy See, so religious, so earnest in the discharge of its special duties, so little disposed to innovate, so superior to the temptation of theological sophistry. And perhaps this is the reason why the “consensus

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 227–228.

⁴⁷ John T. Ford, “John Henry Newman as a Contextual Theologian,” *NSJ* 2/2 (Fall 2005): 60–76, at 65.

⁴⁸ Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 489.

fideliū” has, in the minds of many, fallen into the background. Yet each constituent portion of the Church has its proper functions, and no portion can safely be neglected. Though the laity be but the reflection or echo of the clergy in matters of faith, yet there is something in the “pastorum et fideliū *conspiratio*,” which is not in the pastors alone.⁴⁹

In other words, Newman lamented the diminution, even the loss, of the voice of the laity in the development of doctrine. His phrase “if there ever was an age which might dispense with the testimony of the faithful” is not a suggestion for the future, but a reference to what was happening in his own day. He evidently feared that the English bishops were ignoring the views of the laity not only in doctrinal matters, but in practical affairs as well.

Accordingly, Newman looked to an as-yet-unnamed “something” where the lay faithful could best express their role in the Church. That “something” was liturgy and devotion, which touched the lives of the lay faithful most intimately:

In most cases when a definition is contemplated, the laity will have a testimony to give; but if ever there be an instance when they ought to be consulted, it is in the case of doctrines which bear directly upon devotional sentiments. . . . The faithful people have ever a special function in regard to those doctrinal truths which relate to the Objects of worship.⁵⁰

Newman’s presentation of the lay faithful as focused on devotional elements of Church life instead of dogmatic pronouncements served a dual purpose. On the one hand, Newman spoke to what he believed was the reality of Catholic life at the time. On the other, he considered liturgical worship and devotional practices as less controversial than dogmatic discussions and so more easily accepted: “While devotion in the shape of a dogma issues from the high places of the Church, in the shape of devotion . . . it starts from below.”⁵¹

Yet, by presenting such a model, Newman exposed the lay faithful to the very charges that he had worked to refute:

[T]he *Ecclesia docens* is more happy when she has such enthusiastic partisans about her as are here represented, than when she cuts off the faithful from the study of her divine doctrines and the sympathy of her divine contemplations, and requires from them *fides implicita* in her word, which in the educated classes will terminate in indifference, and in the poorer in superstition.⁵²

This statement left his argument open to criticism: did Newman unwittingly equate devotional attitudes “from below” with superstition? Did he discount the liturgical practices of the faithful as a “poor man’s practice,” while a disaffected educated class languished in indifference? Worse, are the poorer classes suffering in superstition because of the bishops’ inattentiveness?

A second source of weakness appeared with Newman’s stress on the devotional life of the lay faithful, for with the importance of the devotional, he seized the opportunity to expand the term “lay faithful” itself. With his historiographical presentation of liturgy and devotion at the forefront of Church life, he confronted the

⁴⁹ “Consulting” 228.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, 230.

clericalized Church in nineteenth century England by returning to the Church of the fourth century, which could

make it abundantly clear that the “faithful” comprised not only laity but also “presbyters,” “holy virgins,” and “monks,” in other words priests and religious. It was not just the laity but the faithful or baptized Christians—whatever their canonical status in the Church—who upheld the orthodox faith against the Arian heresy despite the failure of the body of the episcopate to stand firm.⁵³

Although moving the Church population closer to a lived faith experience, such an ecclesiological approach remained contradictory. Priests and religious, in spite of their roles in the liturgical life of the Church, are not, strictly speaking, members of the lay faithful. Sacramental ordination and religious profession give priests and religious a different status. Moreover, Newman’s apparent desire to include the clergy in an expanded role for the lay faithful seemingly conflicted with his statement in his editorial in *The Rambler* of May 1859: “It is our fervent prayer that their Lordships may live in the hearts of their people; of the poor as well as of the rich, of the rich as well as of the poor; of the clergy as well as of the laity, of the laity as well as of the clergy.”⁵⁴

That editorial indicated that there are not two distinct groups in the Church (as he had done in July 1859), but three: the bishops, the educated laity, and the clergy. As Ian Ker has observed, the argument, when presented in Newman’s way, simply became untenable.

I also referred to a note Newman added to an appendix to the third edition of *The Arians of the Fourth Century* when he republished it in 1871. This note contains part of the article, together with some amendments and additions, including a remarkable sentence, which not even G. K. Chesterton at his most paradoxical could outdo: “And again, in speaking of the laity, I speak inclusively of their parish-priests (so to call them), at least in many places . . .”⁵⁵

Perhaps the most vocal critic of Newman’s historiographical approach has been Michael Slusser, whose essay—“Does Newman’s ‘On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine’ Rest Upon a Mistake?”—maintained: “The strongest support for Newman’s thesis is provided by the cases where the laity were loyal to those bishops who upheld Nicaea, while they opposed or rejected bishops who supported Arian doctrine.”⁵⁶ However, as Slusser pointed out:

We should dismiss the “romantic suggestion” that the ordinary faithful as a body clung to Nicene orthodoxy despite the vacillation of their bishops. But this alleged orthodoxy of the laity in the Arian controversy was Newman’s principal argument in “On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine”, and the only one he developed. If the laity were not orthodox as he said, does his advocacy of their dogmatic authority rest on a mistake? Should his call to dogmatic theology to pay attention to the *sensus fidelium* be considered unfounded?⁵⁷

⁵³ Ian Ker, “Newman, The Councils and Vatican II,” *Communio* 28 (Winter 2001): 708–728, at 726.

⁵⁴ *Rambler*, 123.

⁵⁵ Ker, “Newman, The Councils and Vatican II,” 726.

⁵⁶ Michael Slusser, “Does Newman’s ‘On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine’ Rest Upon a Mistake?,” *Horizons* 20/2 (1993): 234–240, at 236; hereafter cited: Slusser, “Mistake.”

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

Slusser, moreover, apparently discounted Newman's evaluation of the fourth century: First, while Newman's nomination of the ordinary people as the persistent and persuasive voice of orthodoxy can be dismissed as a romantic suggestion, no other category of believers at the time is any more deserving of the nomination. Emperors, bishops, and monks can be found among the supporters of virtually all the competing doctrinal formulations, and the Bible was invoked by all parties, without producing agreement.⁵⁸

A reader investigating the ecclesiological character of the fourth century Church may be skeptical of Slusser's claim that the role of the bishop, the holy man, is not the same today as it was in the fourth century. Then the bishop was catechist and mystagogue, the visible embodiment of people's hope for salvation. Such was the organic union between bishop and church that it may be anachronistic to contrast the faith of the people with the faith of their bishops.⁵⁹

In Newman's time, a bishop was not the primary catechist or mystagogue of a small community centered around him. While the ordinary members of the local fourth-century Christian community may have encountered their bishop on a regular basis, whether at the Eucharist or in the marketplace, the ordinary members of the nineteenth-century Christian community did not have that same familiar relationship: the English bishops of Newman's day were customarily addressed as "Your Lordship" or "Your Grace"—hardly terms of familiarity. For Newman, the contrast between the lay faithful and the *magisterium* was rooted in a clerical attitude that in the fourth century, probably never existed.

Slusser proposed a third critique:

Because of modern preoccupations with dogma, and because the early church historians and Athanasius were preoccupied with dogma, we describe the Arian controversy as a battle between orthodoxy and heresy. This may be reductionistic; right doctrine and the language to express it were no doubt important, but so was the need to achieve the goal of living the Christian life.⁶⁰

In this case, Slusser pointed to the historical circumstances of St. Parthenius of Lampsacus, whose example may have been more commonplace than previously thought:

What is strange is that such a great saint not only does not appear to have defended the cause of St. Athanasius, which was that of the Church's faith, but on the contrary remained in the communion of the bishops of Asia, even that of Theodore of Heraclea who had been condemned by name and deposed by the Council of Sardica. . . .

⁵⁸ Ibid. Such a claim of equivalency, however, can also be charged against Newman's examples of "the holy virgins and brethren," a "persecution against all," "some," "others," "monks," "members not few in numbers" and the like. While "all" is an inclusive number, the other descriptive words remain open to interpretation: how many faithful are included in "some" or "others"? How many "holy virgins and brethren" were part of a fourth century Christian community? Did the presence of "members not few in number" stem the tide of heresy, or were there members "LESS few in numbers" on the other side of the debate? From these questions emerges another weakness in Newman's historiographical approach: when using indefinite qualifiers such as "some" or "others," a reader is left wondering how many is "some"? See the descriptions of the faithful laity in "Consulting," 219–227.

⁵⁹ Slusser, "Mistake," 239.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 240.

The saving grace in times of doctrinal dispute and disunion may not be disclosed either in the witness of the laity or in that of the bishops, seen as distinct voices in the church, but in those local churches where the faithful, including the bishops, live the Christian life intensely without succumbing to envy, anger, or partisan spirit.⁶¹

Slusser concluded his investigation with the following assessment:

The real mistake in Newman's proposal may lie less in the weakness of his historical evidence than in his and our overestimation of the importance of verbal formulations, and our willingness to see those who disagree with us as tools of the Adversary. If the *sensus fidelium* becomes just another weapon for use in doctrinal combat, we shall surely have failed to learn the lesson of the Arian controversy.⁶²

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Newman may well have been on the right track when he emphasized the liturgical and devotional elements of the lay faithful over dogmatic pronouncements. Slusser argued a similar point in maintaining that "living the Christian life intensely without succumbing to envy, anger, or partisan spirit" and not the orthodoxy of the laity, became the saving grace for the Church of the fourth century. Terrence Merrigan has made this point in another way:

Newman's vision of dogmatic formulae is not of lifeless propositions restraining the religious impulse or circumscribing rational thought. It is, instead, a vision of religious truth as truth that finds its initial expression in the concrete life of the believing community, and is subsequently distilled into articles of faith by the operation of the communal intellect. Dogmatic formulae are the ripened fruit of the believers' experience of the religious object.⁶³

In "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine," Newman maintained that the most complete expression of a vibrant ecclesiology was one where the bishops, clergy and laity contributed to the life of the Church fully and actively through the charisms, through the spiritual gifts, given to each group. To support his claim, Newman turned to historical precedents and found in the history of the Church examples of the lay faithful complementing the work of the magisterium. In so doing, Newman worked for the development of a well-educated lay faithful in the English Church, since he believed that the laity, both as a group and as individual believers, were the best missionaries for the Gospel message. However, Newman's historiography included significant weaknesses that hampered his arguments. Perhaps he was trying too hard to find the perfect parallel for his nineteenth-century situation and so used the historical developments of the fourth-century Church as a "proof text."

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Terrence Merrigan, *Clear Heads and Holy Hearts: The Religious and Theological Ideal of John Henry Newman* (Louvain: Peeters, 1991), 250.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S VIEW OF POETRY

MICHAEL T. WIMSATT

After considering the life-long influence of poetry on Newman and his critical analysis of poetry, this study examines his poetic output during his Mediterranean voyage (1832-1833) and concludes by considering both the spiritual implications and the literary observations of his famous poem "The Pillar of the Cloud."

Well into his time as a Trappist monk at the Abbey of Gethsemani in Kentucky, Thomas Merton (1915-1968), reflecting upon the varied scope of his many literary efforts, lamented that poetry had not occupied a more central place in his writings.¹ One may wonder whether John Henry Newman (1801-1890) might have shared this conclusion of his fellow convert, Thomas Merton. To be sure, both authors wrote on a staggering scale of both breadth and depth, of which their poetic efforts represent only a small contribution, if not in terms of public appreciation, then certainly by sheer volume. Acknowledging the irregularity of his poetic output and his minimal public commentary on his own works, one cannot help but appreciate the ways in which Newman turned to poetry at key times in his life. And if he did not confess, like Merton, that he had somewhat undersold his identity as a poet, at the very least, Newman would have no reason to wish poetry was less a part of his life than it was.

NEWMAN AND POETRY

While Newman's most prolific forays into verse came to birth in one brief season as a traveler on the Mediterranean,² poetry was in many ways a part of his life, even if a less immediate one, from beginning to end. Not incidental to his early exposure to poetry was the personal interest of his father, John Newman (1767-1824). Francis³, John Henry's youngest brother, remembered that their father

learned his morality more from Shakespeare than from the Bible. But whatever he [his father] was, he was not irreligious. He believed in God and admired certain religious books.⁴

This interest in lyricism within the Newman household manifested itself at an early age for John Henry in both reading and even writing, not as a replacement for religious identity, as the quotation may suggest, but as a meaningful counterpoint and creative outlet. This great fondness for hymns became a constitutive part of his early

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¹ See Thomas Merton, *A Search for Solitude: Pursuing the Monk's True Life, The Journals of Thomas Merton*, Volume 3: 1952-1960, (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1996), 350.

² Newman (hereafter JHN) departed England on 8 December 1832 and returned to Oxford on 9 July 1833.

³ Francis William Newman (1805-1897), who studied at Worcester College, Oxford, obtained a double first and was elected a fellow of Balliol; he was later Professor of Classical Literature at Manchester (1840-1846) and Professor of Latin at London (1846-1869).

⁴ Bro. Zeno, *John Henry Newman: His Inner Life* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 1987), 12; hereafter cited: Zeno, Newman.

childhood. In these hymns, the young Newman found an unshakeable gravity and witnessed the close proximity of creative word and music that often gives birth to poetry.

During his childhood, Newman developed an interest in collecting his own personal writings, often documenting the contours of his young life.⁵ Not infrequent among his writings were what amounted to his earliest attempts at verse-writing. According to Zeno, "The style and language of his poems betray the influence of the Evangelical school—as do many of his early writings—but these thoughts express his real feelings, the feelings of a clever boy of fifteen who wishes to lead a truly Christian life."⁶ This observation presents a central theme for Newman's entire life, that of honesty in one's own interior life; such interiority is also the forum in which one avails oneself of God in a language that, if not outright poetry, yearns beyond the reaches of ordinary prose.

Newman's first major poetic work came to life in the fall of 1818 with the arrival of the new academic year at Oxford. Along with his close friend, John William Bowden (1798–1844), Newman contributed to a

verse 'romance' called *St Bartholomew's Eve*, which was 'founded on the Massacre of St Bartholomew. The subject was the issue of the unfortunate union of a Protestant gentleman with a Catholic lady, ending in the tragical death of both, through the machinations of a cruel fanatical priest . . .'. Newman was responsible for the theology of the poem, which was strongly anti-Catholic.⁷

Newman's earliest poems—which he collected in *Verses on Various Occasions* (1867) and dedicated to Edward Badeley⁸—date from 1818. There is no reference there to *St. Bartholomew's Eve*, nor is there a note of anti-Catholicism in his poems dating from the same era. In fact, one observes an increasing identification with Catholic themes in a number of his writings.

Before looking at Newman's works, one should consider the curious fact that Newman never fully confessed his identity as a poet. Although from a very early age, Newman wrote, and continued to write, what amounted to poetry, his reticence to draw attention to his facility in poetry seems consistent with his general personality. In his dedication to Edward Badeley of *Verses on Various Occasions*—where he not once alluded to being a poet—he shied away from even conceding a minimal regard for his poetry:

And I must frankly confess, as to to the latter difficulty, that certainly it never would have occurred to me thus formally to bring together under one title effusions which I have ever considered ephemeral, had I not lately found from publications of the day, what I never suspected before, that there are critics, and

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁷ Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), 11; hereafter cited: Ker, *Biography*. The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre began on 24 August 1572, when King Charles IX of France ordered the assassination of Protestant leaders in Paris, thereby kindling mob violence that resulted in the deaths of thousands of Protestants throughout France. *St. Bartholomew's Eve: a tale of the sixteenth century, in two cantos* (1821) is available at: <http://archive.org/details/bartholomew00newmuoft>.

⁸ Edward Lowth Badeley (1803/4–1868), a graduate of Brasenose (1823) and MA (1828), was called to the bar in 1841; he became a Roman Catholic in 1852 in the wake of the Gorham case; he served as an assistant counsel for Newman during the Achilli trial and later advised Newman that Kingsley's apology was inadequate—advice that prompted Newman to write his *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1864).

they strangers to me, who think well both of some of my compositions and of my power of composing.⁹

Newman's emphasis on his poetic works as "ephemeral" is consistent with a personal conclusion that Newman related to his sister Jemima that "he could not write poetry 'except in a season of idleness—When I have been doing nothing awhile, poems spring up as weeds in fallow fields.'"¹⁰ Although it might sound commonplace for an author to use an image of blossoming as quite favorable and appropriate concerning the creation of poetry; it would seem far less likely to expect that such creative fertility would be depicted courtesy of weeds emerging in a fallow field. Clearly poetry stands out in surveying Newman's life as an essential element to Newman's identity, though it was rarely a priority.

NEWMAN ON POETRY: 1828

Newman's two most definitive statements on poetry date more than two decades apart. The first, "Poetry, with reference to Aristotle's Poetics" was completed in October 1828 and published the following January in the *London Review*, a short-lived publication edited by Joseph Blanco White.¹¹ Blanco White approached Newman in hopes of a secular contribution to the fledgling publication. Geoffrey Tillotson has described the situation:

Newman took about two months to write his 11,000 words: Blanco Whites's letter asking for the essay bears the date September 11, 1828, and his letter rejoicing over its receipt the date November 8 . . . His essay is one unusually packed with matter, and packed with matter which is drawn from a wide and seemingly fresh reading in Greek drama and English poems and novels. And in 1828 Newman was unused to writing for print: the only things he had published so far (apart from the undergraduate poem St. Bartholomew's Eve, of which he was part author only) . . . were three articles in the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*.¹²

While Newman was writing in the Fall of 1828 under the auspices of a secular contribution to *London Review*, his actual contribution did not present poetry as an endeavor detached from Christianity, but with profound implications for Christianity and how one lives the Christian life.

Newman began his essay by attempting to describe what a poet sets out to do in poetry. With an emphasis on an organic development that would be characteristic of a number of his later works, Newman attended to the catholicity of poetry in bringing many diverse elements into consonance:

Moreover, by confining the attention to one series of events and scene of action it bounds and finishes off the confused luxuriance of real nature; while, by a

⁹ JHN, *Verses on Various Occasions*, v-vi; hereafter cited: VVO; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/verses/index.html>.

¹⁰ Ker, *Biography*, 138.

¹¹ Joseph Blanco White (José María Blanco y Crespo, 1775-1841), son of an Irish father and Spanish mother, was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1799; after leaving Spain in 1810, he was ordained an Anglican priest in 1814; a member of the Oriel Common Room (1826-1832), he went to Dublin when Whately became Archbishop, but latter returned to England, where he adopted Unitarianism.

¹² Geoffrey Tillotson, "Newman's Essay on Poetry," in *John Henry Newman: Centenary Essays* (Westminster, MD: Newman Book Shop, 1945), 179; hereafter cited: Tillotson, "Newman's Essay."

skillful adjustment of circumstances, it brings into sight the connexion of cause and effect, completes the dependence of the parts one on another, and harmonizes the proportions of the whole.¹³

These words have a way of reminding us strongly of Newman the emerging theologian. While it may not be a surprise that his reflections on poetry should bear some of the academic marks of one predominantly accustomed to theological endeavor, at the very least, one can observe that for Newman a similar set of operative principles were in force.

While giving due attention to the more academic disciples of poetry, Newman was also deeply interested in the moral implications of the art itself:

When originality is found apart from good sense, which more or less is frequently the case, it shows itself in paradox and rashness of sentiment, and eccentricity of outward conduct. Poetry, on the other hand, cannot be separated from its good sense, or taste, as it is called; which is one of its elements. It is originality energizing in the world of beauty; the originality of grace, purity, refinement, and good feeling. We do not hesitate to say, that poetry is ultimately found on correct moral perception; that where there is not sound principle in exercise there will be no poetry.¹⁴

In characteristic fashion, Newman linked poetry with the highest form of aesthetics, the transcendentals, while also taking the opportunity to introduce the implications of poetry as likewise touching upon particular moral virtues:

It may be added, that the virtues peculiarly Christian are especially poetical—meekness, gentleness, compassion, contentment, modesty, not to mention the devotional virtues; whereas the ruder and more ordinary feelings are the instruments of rhetoric more justly than of poetry—anger, indignation, emulation, martial spirit, and love of independence.¹⁵

With these few words, Newman situated the entire Christian moral life within an inclination toward what could be identified as a system of poetic virtues.

Clearly Newman was suggesting that poetry need not, indeed should not, belong exclusively to a well-defined class of academics. For Tillotson:

Newman's view that poetry exists independently of composition carries psychological and religious implications which he develops. If he will not limit poetry to the written poem, it is in the interests of the inner life; and where Newman was concerned, the inner life meant the inner religious life. And the inner religious life, the inner Christian life.¹⁶

This sort of inner life is available to all Christians and strikes at the challenge before every Christian to be upright before God. Regarding poetry, Newman took this wisdom one step further. According to Tillotson, "The world has long been familiar with the proposition that the good poet should be a good man, but Newman inverts it and insists that the good man should be a poet: he can become a poet by an act of the same will which made him a good man."¹⁷

¹³ JHN, *Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics*, 4; hereafter cited: JHN, *Poetry*; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/essays/volume1/poetry.html>.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Tillotson, "Newman's Essay," 189.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Poetry, for Newman, is situated within the context of humanity and therefore religion itself should accompany and reflect this proximity:

Revealed Religion should be especially poetical—and it is so in fact. While its disclosures have an originality in them to engage the intellect, they have a beauty to satisfy the moral nature. It presents us with those ideal forms of excellence in which a poetical mind delights, and with which all grace and harmony are associated.¹⁸

This engagement of intellect and moral nature reflects a hallmark of Newmanian thought, and can certainly be interpreted as an effective way to situate his own efforts in theology as well.

Newman also took care to treat the form by which poetry is composed. The consistency of form with which he wrote from an early age until late in life reflected a deep regard for an established poetic framework:

A metrical garb has, in all languages been appropriated to poetry—it is but the outward development of the music and harmony within. The verse, far from being a restraint on the true poet, is the suitable index of his sense, and is adopted by his free and deliberate choice.¹⁹

Though Newman did not overtly express as much, one can see in his definition and the proximity of his comments to clear references to the moral life, that similar implications can be drawn between poetic form and structure and morality. Seeing verse as free and deliberate choice rather than restraint reminds one of the human response to moral imperatives.

NEWMAN ON POETRY: 1849

Newman's second significant treatment of poetry came in an 1849 lecture at St. Chad's School in Birmingham. He took as his subject "On the Characteristics of Poetry." One finds in some respects that though more than two decades have passed since his "Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics," there are significant strands of continuity. In the earlier essay he confessed: "There is an ambiguity in the word 'poetry,' which is taken to signify both the gift itself, and the written composition which is the result of it." By 1849, this ambiguity was not resolved. If anything, Newman preferred to leave the matter meaningfully unresolved:

It seemed as if some authority were wanting for speaking of poetry at all, for many persons now considered that poetry was a thing of a former, a bygone age, and thought that the useful arts ought now alone to be pursued. For those who had pursued the useful arts it would be absurd not to entertain the highest reverence. But the useful arts did not cultivate the mind. This was the province of literature, of poetry, and of criticism; these refined the mind by making it what it was not before, and thus obviated the distinction between the higher and the lower classes.²¹

Though alluding to an absence of tidy definition regarding poetry, clearly Newman

¹⁸ JHN, *Poetry*, 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

²¹ JHN, "About Poetry," in *Sayings of Cardinal Newman: A Collection of Speeches and Sermon* (Birmingham: St. Chad's Schools, 1849), 1; hereafter cited: JHN, "About Poetry."

did not consign poetry to "a bygone age." He set the stage early in his address for reconceiving the utility of poetry in a manner contrary to the popular tendency he contested.

Rather than situate poetry neatly within a greater family of sciences, Newman was content to embellish the virtues of its autonomy:

After all, however, the useful arts were so necessary and profitable, that they still held sway; but when a man had mastered their elements, he put aside the books from which he had gleaned the information, he might, indeed, even sell them. There was no inclination to repeat their tasks, unless for the sake of perfection; there was in them no attractive beauty; they were merely the teachers of the principles of his employment. Now poetry always delighted, for poetry was the science of the beautiful. A book of poetry was one they would never part with, for it might be read with pleasure again and again. It was, emphatically, the beautiful which refined and cultivated the mind; and by long contemplation of beauty, the mind itself, so to speak, became beautiful in the process.²²

This ability of poetry always to delight and to emerge with novel clarity as "the science of the beautiful" represents a masterful development within Newman's thought on poetry. The dignity of poetry rests not merely in its proximity to beauty; rather, the capacity for poetry to receive and to draw beauty into itself, or even to position itself as a home, however fleeting, for beauty, makes it stand apart. For Newman, "The question with the poet was not whether what he treated of was true or consistent, so far as reasoning went, but whether it was beautiful."²³

In expressing the nature of poetry as something that cannot be mastered, something to which other fields of study can perhaps lend themselves, one finds that poetry orients us to something far greater, which has the capacity to refashion us in its likeness. For Newman:

Poetry delights in the indefinite and various as contrasted with unity, and in the simple as contrasted with system . . . [for] it demands, as its primary condition, that we should not put ourselves above the objects in which it resides, but at their feet; that we should feel them to be above and beyond us, that we should look up to them, and that, instead of fancying that we can comprehend them, we should take for granted that we are surrounded and comprehended by them ourselves.²⁴

This line of thought represented a significant evolution from Newman's more systematic treatment of poetry in his essay for Blanco White. Rather than dissecting the identity and form of poetry, Newman's 1849 lecture addressed a more fundamental orientation to poetry as a gravitational point of reference drawing the human person toward fulfillment, and ultimately toward God.

Harold Weatherby in his study on John Keble and Newman as poets identified in Newman a fascination with paradox that is quite germane to his identity as a poet: "When all is said and done it is perhaps only in the language of paradox—which is

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ JHN, *Historical Sketches*, 2: 386–387; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/historical/volume2/index.html>.

the language of mystery—that we can do justice to an art whose existence is its meaning and whose meaning its existence.”²⁵ This emphasis on mystery remained consistent for Newman across the spectrum of his writings. Acknowledging that theology throughout history has repeatedly challenged the weight certain words can bear in upholding meticulously drawn theological principles, so is poetry confronted with expressing in finite syllables what ultimately rests beyond the most well-placed efforts of human language.

Newman’s attempts to grasp at the heart of such mystery, which is likewise the mystery at the heart of man, occupy a central place in his thought. According to Weatherby: “We must seek out that remarkably mysterious point of intersection in the soul where knowing and making unites—where meaning, without ceasing to mean, is translated into artistic being.”²⁶ For Weatherby as for Newman, this mysterious point of intersection can never be fully ascertained, though one may be convinced and even transformed by the belief that it does exist. In a way, poetry is the fruit of our efforts toward this mysterious point of intersection in addition to being the effort itself.

NEWMAN’S MEDITERRANEAN VOYAGE

As the calendar year 1832 drew to a close, an exerted and quite exhausted Newman was in need of a period of rest following the writing of his work on the *Arians*.²⁷ As he wrote in his *Apologia pro Vita Sua*:

At this time I was disengaged from College duties, and my health had suffered from the labour involved in the composition of my Volume. It was ready for the Press in July, 1832, though not published till the end of 1833. I was easily persuaded to join Hurrell Froude and his Father, who were going to the south of Europe for the health of the former.²⁸

Newman’s interest in accompanying his good friend was compounded by the merits of availing himself of the birth places of great classical thought as well as the foundations of Christianity. As a keen student of the Latin and Greek classics, a Mediterranean voyage promised a first-hand encounter with the great intellectual and religious centers that had helped to shape Newman’s entire academic career. Taken as a whole this three-fold opportunity was irresistible.

On 8 December 1833, the three travelers left Falmouth on the *Hermes* heading toward Malta. As Louis Bouyer described:

This voyage was intended to be in the nature of a retreat before entering upon a fresh task incomparably more important than any that had so far fallen to his lot. It was with this idea in mind that Newman agreed to undertake it. But we must not interpret the word “retreat” as signifying a period of relaxation, of

²⁵ Harold L. Weatherby, *The Keen Delight: The Christian Poet in the Modern World*, (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1975), 146; hereafter cited: Weatherby, *Keen Delight*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

²⁷ Newman’s *Arians of the Fourth Century* is available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/arians/index.html>. Only with considerable difficulty had Newman been able to complete his *Arians* prior to the deadline for publication; his work was the subject of criticism by a number of his academic peers.

²⁸ JHN, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, edited by David J. DeLaura (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), 38; hereafter cited: *Apologia*. As indicated in this passage, Newman no longer had tutorial responsibilities and so was free to embark on an extended voyage.

rest and recuperation in preparation for the toil and stress that lay ahead. We should rather speak of it, as Newman later on described the flight of the anchorites to the desert. It was anything rather than quitting the battlefield in search of a refuge of peace and tranquility. Far from that, it was a flight from a delusive peace, a peace that was no peace. Looked at in one way, it was like Jacob's wrestling with the angel.²⁹

Bouyer's brilliant appraisal of this decisive moment in Newman's life captures the many levels on which his existence was to be engaged by his pilgrimage on the Mediterranean.

While much of Newman's poetic output during his voyage was quite spontaneous and natural, in another respect, even before the *Hermes* left Falmouth, there was an expectation that poetry-writing would be a focal point of the expedition. As Ker has pointed out:

Towards the end of November 1832, Newman wrote to H. J. Rose to say that he and Froude were planning, on their return from the Mediterranean cruise, 'to systematize a poetry department' for the *British Magazine*, the review recently started by Rose 'to make a front against the coming danger'. Their 'object' would be 'to bring out certain truths and facts, moral, ecclesiastical, and religious simply and forcibly with greater freedom, and clearness than in the *Christian Year*'. . . . They could not promise 'greater poetry' than Keble's best-selling collection. But they would undertake or produce for each number four short poems, 'each bringing out forcibly one idea'. The section, which would take up a couple of pages, could be called '*Lyra Apostolica*'. To his pupil Frederic Rogers, who had taken a double first that year, Newman confided that they had 'hopes of making an effective quasi-political engine'—'Do not stirring times bring out poets? Do they not give opportunity for the rhetoric of poetry, and the persuasion?'³⁰

Newman's enthusiasm, and to an extent naiveté, betrayed the fact that his Mediterranean voyage represented his first departure from his native land. In his anticipation there was also a temptation to view his voyage as assuring him and his compatriots of a specified quantity of poetic output. There is very little to suggest that Newman was in any way prepared for the turmoil that awaited him, as the agent that would bring to birth a great *metanoia*, and the poetry that accompanied it. For Zeno:

There was something a little too rigid about the austerity of the thirty-year-old Newman. It had to be toned down a little. All the same he never deviated from his foundational principles.³¹

Bouyer described the dramatic transition that awaited Newman:

In his contact with the world, a world till then so novel, so unfamiliar to him, the traveller felt himself an exile, and the more there was to excite his wonder and admiration, the deeper grew his sense of isolation. But at the same time he becomes conscious of some power drawing him even nearer and nearer to God, his only home, wherefrom he learns more and more clearly that He is preparing

²⁹ Louis Bouyer, *Newman: His Life and Spirituality* (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), 128; hereafter cited: Bouyer, Newman. An account of Jacob wrestling with an angel is found in Genesis 35:1-7.

³⁰ Ker, *Biography*, 54.

³¹ Zeno, *Newman*, 133.

³² Bouyer, *Newman*, 132.

him, in all that he is going through, first to realise, and then to make known, the Word that He is waiting to declare to him.³²

It seems likely that it was through this identification and even self-understanding of being an exile that helped to produce in Newman the necessary vantage point for his poetic flowering to emerge.

In taking this step, Newman transported himself from mere traveller to a role which has so often been critical to salvation history, one oftentimes accompanied by divine favor. The richness of his poetry seemingly came from this very self-understanding of being more than a tourist, and of being more and more a pilgrim and even an exile from his native place. Such a step was also accompanied by an increasing sense of longing for the comforts and company of home. This emerging sense of homesickness began to possess his thoughts even amidst the satisfaction and exhilaration of beholding a world long regarded by Newman but never experienced first-hand.

In addition to the close company Newman experienced on the first half of the voyage, Newman also felt himself to be drawn closer to another sort of company. According to Zeno:

His trials, however, did not make him earthly-minded. His soul continued to dwell in the invisible world. The angels kept their place in this thoughts. His first poem, written during the journey, was a moving tribute to his guardian angel. He was convinced of his presence when conversing with others, when in grief or hidden dangers and even in this dreams of the future. He invited the angels to share his joy while admiring the magnificent beauty of the Sicilian scenery. And he wistfully remembered the smiling angels in the visions of his boyhood.³³

With the very first line of his first poem at the beginning of his travels entitled, "Angelic Guidance," Newman asked the question, "Are these the tracks of some unearthly Friend?"³⁴ Certainly such questioning reflects an interior state increasingly attuned to the spiritual life. Such spiritual companionship likewise carried over to the Communion of Saints—an increasing influence on his life—many of whom were becoming most real figures for Newman. Though weaned from the human bonds that kept his life upright in England, Newman was learning to confide in spiritual company to help sustain him and to make of his life an offering to God.

Newman's entry into Rome produced a variety of visceral responses. While the scenes of Rome appealed strongly to his aspirations toward beauty and nourished his need for poetic stimuli, he was simultaneously reluctant and perhaps incapable of being won over completely by the ancient city. According to Bouyer:

As touching Rome, he was the first to remark on the complexity of his own feelings. . . . But a sort of puzzling ambiguity seems to hang over this grandeur which he can in no wise dispel. The sight of the ruins of old Rome side by side with the untarnished memorials of the Church of the Fathers, nay, of the Apostles themselves, and, over the whole, the blossoming of the fairylike city of the Renaissance, appeals to the Romantic in him, allures him with its incomparable beauty, but at the same times gives him a feeling of uneasiness for some cause or

³³ Zeno, *Newman*, 65.

³⁴ *VVO*, 73.

causes which he cannot fathom.³⁵

Bouyer's depiction confirms that Newman's voyage was undertaken at multiple levels. To be sure, he is entranced at an aesthetic level, yet his deep tension and lack of ease at reconciling the local church of Rome with his own inherent longing for the universal Church in her catholicity parallels his own interior turmoil, and may even be said to allude to the growing incompatibility of his thought with that of the Church of England. Again and again with pen in hand, poetry emerged from the fertility of this creative tension at work within Newman.

Later the small band travelled to Naples; and when the Froudes decided to return to England, Newman made an abrupt decision to return to Sicily, a site that had already beguiled him during his time in Italy. It was there that a mysterious illness seized him, and at turns the very fate of his life was placed in the scales. It was in this moment, as Zeno wrote, "He felt like Job, entirely in the power of the devil, while God was fighting against him. He saw his faults in a clear light."³⁶ Newman later wrote of his near-fatal experience:

The fever was most dangerous; for a week my attendants gave me up, and people were dying of it on all sides; yet all through I had a confident feeling I *should recover*. I told my Serv^t [servant] so, & gave as a reason . . . that "I thought God had some work for me"—these, I believe, were exactly my words. And when, after the fever, I was on the road to Palermo, so weak I could not walk by myself, I sat on the bed on the morning [of] May 26 or May 27 profusely weeping, & only able to say that I could not help thinking God had something for me to do at home.³⁷

This near-death moment represents in many ways the apex of Newman's voyage on the Mediterranean. It was at this critical moment, at least figuratively if not literally, that Newman was as far removed as he would ever be from his home and his former life. Rising from his deathbed every step taken would be marked by a return, as a changed man, to take up his former life. Of this decisive moment, Zeno wrote:

It seems to have been the heroic act for which God had been waiting. Purified by illness and sorrow, by contrition and penance, there was no further danger that his extraordinary gifts, the admiration of his followers, the tremendous powers of his rare eloquence, the devotion of his countless friends, would make him proud. He was prepared; he could start his mission.³⁸

While expecting his restoration to health, Newman was immediately intent upon a return to England. Providence would dictate that further patience should temper a hasty return. Newman was forced to endure in Palermo a brief wait for the vessel which would return him home. Finally a ride on a boat carrying oranges was procured, though it was ultimately "becalmed for a whole week in the Straits of Bonifacio"³⁹ before Newman took up again his belabored return to England.

By the time he returned to his native shores, Newman, then age thirty-two, had

³⁵ Bouyer, *Newman*, 136.

³⁶ Zeno, *Newman*, 62.

³⁷ JHN, *Autobiographical Writings*, edited with Introductions by Henry Tristram (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1957), 122.

³⁸ Zeno, *Newman*, 66.

³⁹ *Apologia*, 40. The Straits of Bonifacio between Corsica and Sardinia are approximately 6.8 miles wide and hazardous due to their currents, shoals, and other obstacles.

to his credit penned a volume-worth of poems during the fateful winter and spring. Newman had written during his voyage on the Mediterranean—with the exception of “The Dream of Gerontius”—almost all the works that would comprise his poetic corpus. Upon his arrival at Iffley on 9 July 1833, Newman was a man newly-charged, if not altogether new. According to Ker, “However, although all his hair had come out on his return home (which had meant having to wear a wig), he was not only ‘quite recovered’ (except for weakness in his joints), but he was ‘better now’ than he had ever been all the seventeen years he had been in Oxford.” Newman’s colleagues gave testament to the changed man:

His joy at being well again and home, and his delight at being at last in the thick of the battle about which he had dreamed for so long, gave him such an extraordinary vitality that friends in Oxford found it difficult to recognize the man they had known. He had ‘a supreme confidence’ in a ‘momentous and inspiring’ cause . . .⁴²

Newman’s folio of poems bore the most immediate testimony to this life-changing encounter and chronicled the myriad passageways by which his life had been transformed.

THE KINDLY LIGHT

Leaving Leonforte, Sicily, and the site of his brush with death and short-term convalescence, Newman’s haste to return to England was tempered by incombiant weather which left his returning vessel becalmed for a week. Newman was left to wonder in these days at the meaning of his ill-fated affliction and the spiritual impulses that accompanied it:

My servant thought that I was dying, and begged for my last directions. I gave them, as he wished; but I said, “I shall not die.” I repeated, “I shall not die, for I have not sinned against light, I have not sinned against light.” I never have been able quite to make out what I meant.⁴³

While Newman’s bold certitude of survival may surprise us, it can be seen as somewhat in keeping with the resolute determination that had shaped his adult life. The final line of his reflection in which Newman admitted—“I never have been able quite to make out what I meant”—was quite uncharacteristic of the man himself.

One thinks naturally of Newman as the painstaking systematician and incisive logician, the perpetual master of his own words and seemingly the words of those he sets out to rebut. Clearly Newman regarded his Mediterranean voyage as being touched by something utterly inexplicable. He mentioned in his *Apologia* that he was “writing verses the whole time of my passage.”⁴⁵ It should not be too surprising then that Newman would make an earnest attempt to come to terms in poetry with his present, still baffling state of mind. His effort would come to represent in many

⁴⁰ At that time, Newman’s immediate family lived at Iffley, a village approximately two miles south of the city-center of Oxford.

⁴¹ Ker, *Biography*, 83–84.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 85–86.

⁴³ *Apologia*, 40.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

ways the most ambitious poetic effort of his life.

On June 16, Newman wrote "The Pillar of the Cloud", subsequently identified by its memorable opening words "Lead, Kindly Light":

LEAD, Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom
 Lead Thou me on!
 The night is dark, and I am far from home—
 Lead Thou me on!
 Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
 The distant scene—one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor pray'd that Thou
 Shouldst lead me on.
 I loved to choose and see my path, but now
 Lead Thou me on!
 I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
 Pride ruled my will: remember not past years.

So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
 Will lead me on,
 O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
 The night is gone;
 And with the morn those angel faces smile
 Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.⁴⁶

These three stanzas would become arguably the most famous of all his works. According to Bouyer:

We may read in the conclusion of all the trials he had been through, an ordeal so testing yet so revealing, and catch therein a prophetic glimpse of what the future had in store. And how many experiences are gathered up therein, merged in that mysterious protestation, "I have not sinned against the light."⁴⁷

For Tillotson, this poem

embodies a personal confession and a personal resolution. In the crucible of that illness the Newman of the future was, if not forged, at least, fashioned. Surrender, surrender to God's will, has now become the foundation of his spirituality.⁴⁸

Conceding the centrality of surrender for Newman, one can begin to see the multivalency of such a gesture, inasmuch as it may apply to an otherwise isolated moment in one's life or to a sweeping trajectory that encompasses the whole of life destined for God. The strongly pastoral tone of the poem reveals Newman writing on behalf of an effort to do justice to his own lived experience, yet also reveals him offering guidance as a shepherd of souls, clearly a charge he held with the highest regard. His words betrayed the dearest sensitivity and compassion toward the faltering steps made in the direction God. For Bouyer:

It was a thought which was always to be at the heart of his spirituality, namely,

⁴⁶ *VVO*, 156–157.

⁴⁷ Bouyer, *Newman*, 149.

⁴⁸ Tillotson, "Newman's Essay," 105.

⁴⁹ Ker, *Biography*, 79–80.

that light is only given to us gradually bit by bit, but that we are always given enough to see what we have to do next, and that when we have taken that step which has been lit up for us, we shall see the next, but only the next, step illuminated-while to attempt to see several steps ahead of the end of the path so not only futile but also self-defeating.⁴⁹

Newman's emphasis upon an intense focus regarding his immediate place in life can be taken as a reference to the similar immediacy of his own illness. Newman left England with ambitious plans both for his overseas writing regimen as well as for post-pilgrimage return to his native land. Newman came to understand that these well-laid plans meant little beside a feverish sickbed in a foreign land. The terrible weight of such immediacy had little regard for distant ambition. One may think in a similar vein of the rich fool of the parable who realizes his poverty before the words, "This very night your life will be demanded of you" (Luke 12:20). The poem also moves the reader away from a preoccupation with the past as well, as the author beseeched that "past years" not be the focal point. Time then is reduced to the immediate present in which one alone is actively capable of expressing faith and love toward God. With this comes an implicit forgetfulness of both past and future.

For Newman, light moves to the forefront of the poem and represents more subject than object, more friend than acquaintance. What sense can one make then of the title of the poem, wherein the word light finds no mention. For Edgecombe:

The pillar is not mentioned within the body of the poem, but it nonetheless provides a dependable beacon in the heart of darkness. This is made the more discomfiting by the fact that Newman stresses the solitude of his journey, in contrast to the communality of the Israelites'. In its typological context, the darkness of the Mosaic wilderness was simply that-darkness-whereas here it registers as an enemy about to close for combat.⁵⁰

Here can be found allusions to a Newmanian emphasis upon the moral life and the inescapable choice between forces of light and darkness.

The precision found in "Lead, Kindly Light" is part and parcel of Newman's thought across the spectrum of his writings.⁵¹ That it is found here should not be altogether surprising. The novelty of finding such precision here is that it is employed to express the self-offering made for love of God. Part of the intrinsic logic of the poem is that such abandonment to the will of God represents the certitude of foundation that can be observed in the symmetry of Newman's work. Its utter simplicity and even sparseness is part of the offering of one's self to God and a gesture in which nothing is wasted. As Edgecombe has pointed out: "Even the syntax,

⁴⁹ Rodney Stenning Edgecombe, *Two Poets of the Oxford Movement: John Keble and John Henry Newman* (Cranbury, NJ:Associated University Presses, 1996), 190.

⁵¹ In regard to its structure and form, part of the paradox of "Lead, Kindly Light" is that for all its emphasis upon utter abandonment and disregard for self, the poem observes as strict a uniformity in measure as can be observed in Newman. The symmetry of the three stanzas is startling: in the first stanza, forty-three words are spread across six lines, containing in consecutive lines, eleven syllables, then four, then ten, then four, then ten, then ten; in the second stanza, there are forty-four words spread across six lines, containing in consecutive lines, ten syllables, then four, then ten, then four, then ten, then ten; in the third and final stanza, there is an exact replication of the pattern in the second stanza, which amounts in its own right to a near mirror image of the first stanza. Of the 182 poems arranged chronologically in his *Verses on Various Occasions*, the "Pillar of the Cloud" is number 90, standing near the very middle of his composition, and perhaps auspiciously, representing the very heart of his poetic works.

stripped by apostolic necessity to a hard, almost inelegant residuum, sheds its verb and is connector in 'one step enough for me.' The total surrender implied by the forfeit sense of destination sounds yet another note of austerity."⁵²

The final lines, ushering in a pregnant hope with which the author leaves the reader, carry tones of resurrection and Easter joy amid the promises of angelic faces shining upon us. It is at once a foreshadowing of an end which is more of a beginning, and one of which the author seems to suggest we have only the barest of intimations in this life. Lest one doubts the reality of the coming joy that fulfills the Paschal Mystery, we have Newman's poem to remind us.

CONCLUSION

The same Newman one finds pouring out his spirit into poetry also stated that all heresy begins with the denial of mystery. In some measure, Newman would agree that poetry represents a safeguard and perhaps even a home for mystery. Christopher Dawson appraised Newman as "at once the embodiment and the contradiction of the spirit of his age"⁵³ and perhaps nowhere is the embodiment and contradiction of Newman himself more evident than in his poetry, often viewed as a mere addendum to his broader works, yet a seemingly necessary vessel for the communication of his orientation toward God. Let us leave with a reminder of Newman's response to the question of his great-nephew: "Which is greater, a Cardinal or a Saint?" Newman replied: "Cardinals belong to this world, and Saints to heaven."⁵⁴ If a cardinal belongs to this world and a saint to heaven, to which world then does a poet belong? Might the poet merit the felicitous and truly rare distinction of belonging to both?

⁵² Ibid., 191.

⁵³ Christopher Dawson, "Newman and the Modern World," *The Tablet* (August 5, 1972), 733; available at: <http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/5th-august-1972/5/newman-and-the-modern-world>

⁵⁴ Bouyer, *Newman*, 387.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S THE ARIANS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY: AN 'EMBARRASSMENT'?

JAMES J. CRILE

In spite of various criticisms, both at the time of its publication and more recently, Newman's The Arians of the Fourth Century can be recommended—indeed it offers a valuable critique of modern historical scholarship on Arianism.

*The Arians of the Fourth Century*¹ occupies a peculiar place both in Newman's corpus and in modern scholarship on Arianism. On the one hand, *The Arians* was Newman's first book, which according to Rowan Williams, marks the beginning of the "modern critical study" of Arianism;² on the other hand, "Newman regarded the book in later life with some real embarrassment."³ Williams has further argued that Newman's book, as an accurate guide to the history of the period, does the job "very poorly" and as "a guide to the theological or ecclesiastical history of the fourth century, the book cannot be sensibly recommended."⁴ Given the apparent agreement of Newman and Williams concerning the work's low value, can *The Arians of the Fourth Century* be sensibly recommended?

WAS *THE ARIANS* AN EMBARRASSMENT FOR NEWMAN?

The first notice of what would become *The Arians* began mid-stream in a letter from Hugh James Rose to Newman on 9 March 1831.⁵ Presumably Newman had given Rose some kind of proposal for writing a work on the *Thirity-nine Articles*, yet only Rose's response exists.⁶ Rose suggested doing a preliminary work on the church councils first. These volumes were to be included in a "Theological Library," of the publisher Rivington; the editing was done jointly by Rose and Archdeacon Lyall.⁷

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¹ For conveniences, references in the text are to the 1871 edition of *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, available at <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/arians/index.html>; the differences between the 1833 and 1871 editions are largely stylistic and typographical.

² Rowan Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 3; hereafter cited: *Arius*.

³ Rowan Williams, "Introduction" in *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, XLVI. This "Introduction" is only available in the hardcopy edition from Notre Dame Press (2001) and is not available at [newmanreader.org](http://www.newmanreader.org). References to the Notre Dame edition are given in the notes.

⁴ Williams, "Introduction," XXX V.

⁵ Hugh James Rose to JHN (Cambridge, 9 March 1831), *Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman* 2:321; hereafter cited: *LD*. Hugh James Rose (1795–1838), a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, was the founder of the *British Magazine*; the first planning meetings for the Oxford Movement took place at his rectory in Hadleigh (Suffolk).

⁶ *LD* 2:321. *The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* (1563) are an historic statement of Anglican doctrine; as part of the Elizabethan religious settlement, the *Articles* were intentionally broad in scope, so that most people—with the exception of Roman Catholics and some Protestants—could accept them; subscription to the *Articles* was required of students matriculating at Oxford during Newman's time.

⁷ JHN to Hugh James Rose (Oriel College, 23 October 1832), *LD* 3:103. William Rose Lyall (1788–1857), was Archdeacon of Colchester (1824–1841), Archdeacon of Maidstone (1841–1845), and Dean of Canterbury (1845–1857).

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Newman humbly accepted the work as given to "someone so little known as myself"; although he had not yet published a book, his reputation had preceded him. Rose felt that such an important work was "too difficult to be entrusted to ordinary hands."⁸

Although Newman agreed to write the work in March of 1831, he was pressed for time. On 24 August 1831, he indicated that he had been examining his materials for six weeks and was beginning to think about the shape of the work.⁹ By then, Newman's thought had morphed from the councils as plainly understood to a more historical, two-volume work that resembled something akin to a history of heresies in contrast to a history of the Councils strictly speaking.¹⁰ The scope of the work was clearly getting out of hand, and from Newman's correspondence to Rose on 12 September 1831, it was clear that Rose tried to reign him in a bit.¹¹

Newman's diary entries indicate that he was so hard at work by December of 1831 that he was not sleeping, was not bathing, and was getting sick.¹² On 17 February 1832, he wrote, "read part of 1st chapter of my work to M and Ss [mother and sisters]."¹³ Although it is unclear when Newman put pen to paper, by 9 April 1832, he was working so fervently on his book that he was neglecting his letter writing:

Now, my dear P, I doubt not you have been fuming at my silence since your letter, (if you have thought it worthwhile to recollect me)—but when you see the grand work I am to produce in September, I doubt not you will think it worth several ephemeral letters. I am writing on an extremely important subject—the historical view of the doctrine of the Trinity; and I really need all the good wishes and prayers of my friends, for it is very arduous—especially considering, as I do, that I am resisting the innovations of the day, and attempting to defend the work of men indefinitely above me (the Primitive Fathers) which is now assailed.¹⁴

Newman expected the book to go to press by mid-July of 1832, but he literally worked himself sick and lost a month.¹⁵ Newman sent a third of the manuscript to Rose on 5 July 1832, but said: "I am full of discontent about it, and see how much I might improve it, had I time to rewrite it—but I assure you great part of the whole has been written more than once or twice"; he asked Rose to "acknowledge receipt of the parcel" because he was "foolishly nervous about its safety."¹⁶ Newman nervously waited for some word from Rose, so that just eleven days later he wrote again:

Accidentally passing through Cambridge, I brought you some of my MS, but am truly concerned to hear of your indisposition . . . I would not write this, lest it should annoy you, but that I thought you might like to know how matters stood with me. About a fortnight since I sent you rather more than a third of my work—I had brought another third with me now—the remainder is ready, i.e.,

⁸ Hugh James Rose to JHN (Cambridge, 9 March 1831), *LD* 2:321.

⁹ JHN to Hugh James Rose (Oriel College, 24 August 1831), *LD* 2:351–352.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:352.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2:358–359.

¹² *LD* 2:377, entries span from 9 to 23 December 1831.

¹³ *LD* 3:17.

¹⁴ JHN to Simeon Lloyd Pope (Oriel College, 9 April 1832), *LD* 3:42–43 at 43.

¹⁵ JHN to Samuel Rickards (Oriel College, 5 June 1832), *LD* 3:53–54 at 54.

¹⁶ JHN to Hugh James Rose (Oriel College, 5 July 1832), *LD* 3:65.

two days work will finish it. Do what you will with me, as I can at any moment let you have the MS.—or if you can suggest any thing to me by which I can save you trouble, I will do it. I hear you are in town—should you be plagued by my blotted MS. I most willingly will come up and read it to you. Take me at my word.¹⁷

Newman was clearly interested to see what Rose thought of his work to the point that he was knowingly being a bit of a pest. His diary indicates that he finished *The Arians of the Fourth Century* on July 31, 1832.

In retrospect, it can be seen that Newman had a difficult time getting started, and if his statement about losing a month due to illness can be given credence, he probably wrote the entire work in the span of around seven months—all this while writing letters, sermons, etc. A considerable achievement, no doubt, yet clearly the circumstances were not ideal. Nonetheless, Newman viewed the work as quite important and was anxiously waiting to hear what the editors, Rose and Lyall, thought of it.

Newman quite missed the mark as to the point of the “Theological Library.” In a letter to Rose, Lyall said:

I doubt whether it will answer his [Rivington’s] purpose or Mr Newman’s either to publish it as part of the Theological Library—It is not in any true meaning of the word a history of the *Councils*, and never can become so. The present Volume is a *History of Arianism*—and presupposes so much knowledge on the part of his readers, that it is adapted only to a select class of students.¹⁸

Lyall’s remarks are accurate and to the point. In fact, Newman only directly addressed the Council of Nicea in the span of around 20 pages.¹⁹ However, it is not simply the aim of the project that was at issue but the way that Newman tackled certain issues—the main problem by far being his notion of the *disciplina arcani* [discipline of the secret]. Lyall remarked,

If Mr Newman’s work shall be published in the Theological Library, there are several parts that will require consideration—particularly in those places where he speaks of the *disciplina arcani*—I do not pretend to make my opinion the rule—but Mr Newman’s notions about tradition appear to me directly adverse to that which Protestant writers of our own church have contended for—according to them a ‘secret tradition’ is no tradition at all—quod semper, quod ubique, quod omnibus, is the very definition of authentic tradition. Mr Newman’s views seem to me more favorable to the Romanist writers, than I should like to put forward in the *Theological Library*—There are also several other passages and expressions which made my hyperorthodox nerves wince—a little—and which we must talk about hereafter if Mr Newman’s book is published with our names appended . . . I should much prefer putting the book forth as a separate publication . . .²⁰

When passing on Lyall’s criticisms, Rose went so far as to tell Newman: “Believe me, that I am not speaking the language of idle flattery when I express my firm conviction

¹⁷ JHN to Hugh James Rose (Cambridge, 16 July 1832), *LD* 3:67.

¹⁸ William Rowe Lyall to Hugh James Rose (Fairsted, 19 October 1832), *LD* 3:104-105.

¹⁹ *Arians*, 236-256 (Notre Dame edition).

²⁰ William Rowe Lyall to Hugh James Rose (Fairsted, 19 October 1832), *LD* 3:104-105, at 105.

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that such learning, such principle, and such writing as are exhibited in it, must place you at once very high among the writers of this age."²¹ Lyall also stated, "It is full of learning, and the tone and spirit in which it is written are excellent—the style also I like particularly: it is thoroughly *English*, and in many places strikingly good."²²

Thus, due to lack of fit and theological concerns, Newman's *The Arians of the Fourth Century* was eventually published as a separate volume on 5 November 1833. Years later, Newman referred to *The Arians* several times in correspondence. Writing of the 1833 edition, he said: "It is a very imperfect work, from the circumstances of its composition. I have nearly always had to write by the piece and to order."²³ When it came to revising it for the 1871 edition, he said: "I am not rewriting the 'Arians'—first because, as it stands, it is a record, and next because it would come to pieces if I attempted it. There is no part of it but might be done better. I am but correcting the text, and adding some notes and references."²⁴ Reflecting upon the circumstances of the composition of the work, he wrote in 1877:

But, please do not call my Volume on the Arians 'great' it is not even little. It was to have been, in Mr. Rose's intention, the beginning of a Manual on the Councils, and the gun went off in quite another direction, hitting no mark at all; and then too, I was obliged to finish it by a fixed day, and had to hurry the last pages especially, till I knocked myself up.²⁵

Five years later, responding to W. S. Lilly, Newman said:

I think you praise my *Arians* too highly; it was the first book I wrote, and the work of a year, and it is inexact in thought and incorrect in language. When at a comparatively late date I was led to re-publish it, I should have liked to mend it, but I found that if I attempted it would come to pieces, and I should have to write it over again . . . In saying this, I have no intention of withdrawing what you quote from me; on the contrary, I hold it as strongly as I did fifty years ago when it was written; but I feel the many imperfections of the wording.²⁶

Given that this quotation comprises nearly all of the letter, had its recipient truly thought Newman was embarrassed of *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, it would have been a unsuitable time for its publication in the September 1890 edition of the *Fortnightly Review*—the month following Newman's death.

In Rowan Williams' interpretation of these comments, Newman evinced "real embarrassment" with the work and "declined to undertake a full-scale revision on the grounds that he would need to rewrite the entire work *ab initio*."²⁷ Although Williams mentioned this embarrassment as a prelude to positive comments about the

²¹ Hugh James Rose to JHN (Harwich, 21 October 1832), *LD* 3:104.

²² William Rowe Lyall to Hugh James Rose (Fairsted, 19 October 1832), *LD* 3:104–105. Rowan Williams mistakenly dated this letter as 1831 in his "Newman's *Arians* and the Question of Method in Doctrinal History," in *Newman After a Hundred Years*, edited by Ian Ker and Alan G. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 272, n. 56; hereafter cited: "Newman's *Arians*."

²³ JHN to Malcolm Maccoll (Cambridge, 1 February 1867), *LD* 23:45–46 at 46.

²⁴ JHN to E. B. Pusey (The Oratory 28 August 1870), *LD* 25:197.

²⁵ JHN to Robert Charles Jenkins (The Oratory, 27 February 1877), *LD* 28:172.

²⁶ JHN to W. S. Lilly (The Oratory, 27 June 1882), *LD* 30:105; Newman's words were published in the *Fortnightly Review* in September 1890—the month following Newman's death. William Samuel Lilly (1840–1919), a Cambridge graduate and convert to Roman Catholicism, was secretary to the Catholic Union of Great Britain (1874–1912) and compiler of an anthology, *Characteristics from the Writings of John Henry Newman* (1875).

²⁷ Williams, "Introduction," XLVI, n. 29.

book's value, to say that "Newman regarded the book in later life with some real embarrassment" misconstrues Newman's words to a certain extent. In fact, it seems that Newman looked back on the work decades later with much the same misgivings he had as he was sending the manuscript in 1832. Newman the perfectionist knew *The Arians* could have been much better, but to say that he was embarrassed by it as he got older is a stretch. Whatever embarrassment Newman had about *The Arians* largely resulted from it being a hurried work completed early in his career.

RECEPTION OF THE ARIANS IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY

The literary merit of *The Arians* was noted from the outset. What criticism there was centered around Newman's notion of the *disciplina arcani*. Lyall's problems were theological, but some criticisms were also historical. Newman's key critic was John Kaye (1783-1853), the Bishop of Lincoln. Newman said,

The Bishop of Lincoln has been flooring part of my book—viz the historical part of the *Disciplina*. I have got my grounds, though I have not published them—so I suppose if the book comes to a second edition, it will be much larger. So many subjects are touched on in it, it was impossible for to give my reasons in a work *intended for* the Theological Library—so I expect to be thought ignorant on points, which I have examined and (rightly or wrongly) decided on.²⁸

Three points deserve note. First, Newman never expanded the section, and by the time he had written *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* twelve years later, the role of the *disciplina arcani* had faded and been replaced by a more comprehensive theory of doctrinal development. Second, from Newman's correspondence, many people have the impression that Newman rigidly held to the *disciplina arcani* as a system; however, he had only intended it as a "principle and feeling."²⁹ Third, the exact historical criticisms of Newman's time on this point can only be pieced together from his letters.

Although Lyall presented the theological criticism in letter form, the precise criticism of Newman on this issue—*historically* speaking—is less clear. Williams has presented a rather concise criticism of Newman on this point:

At the surface level, there is a real confusion in Newman's text: it is not clear whether he is saying that a full and satisfactory doctrine of the Trinity was actually believed and taught in the pre-Nicene period, but only to the spiritual elite; or that there was no adequate verbal account of this doctrine, although its essence was believed and taught, or that the language of the earlier period was correct but intermixed with metaphorical extravagance or unexamined idioms so that the unreflective reader may be misled. Different passages suggest these in turn.³⁰

Because Williams wrote this in the immediate context of Bishop Kaye, one could get the impression that these criticisms come as a summary of Kaye's systematized and devastating critique of Newman; however, this is not the case. Kaye's exact criticisms, which he sent to Rose, apparently are no longer extant.

²⁸ JHN to John Frederic Christie (Oriental, 14 January 1834), *LD* 4:174-175 at 174.

²⁹ *LD* 4:169.

³⁰ Williams, "Introduction," XXX-XXXI.

RECEPTION OF THE ARIANS IN THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY

Surprisingly little has been written about *The Arians of the Fourth Century*. In terms of historical scholarship on the Arian controversy, other than brief comments and footnotes here and there, Rowan Williams' introduction to *The Arians of the Fourth Century* and an earlier conference paper³¹ appear to be the only published writings dedicated to The Arians.³² Maurice Wiles dedicated a few short but substantial pages to it in his *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries*.³³ In terms of understanding Newman in his own context, there is a chapter on *The Arians* in Steven Thomas' *Newman and Heresy: the Anglican Years*.³⁴ Modern estimates of the value of Newman's *The Arians* are rather evenly split. As a history of the Arian controversy, it is viewed negatively; however, in other terms, evaluations have been much more positive. These will be addressed in turn.

Seen in terms of its value as an historical work, Newman's *The Arians* suffers from three different but related flaws.³⁵ First, as mentioned earlier, there is Newman's emphasis on and description of the *disciplina arcani*, the secret tradition of the church. Second, part of Newman's argument contains "quite virulent anti-Judaism."³⁶ While this is true and inexcusable, it is also quite obvious and even sadly understandable in terms of nineteenth century historical scholarship and pre-Holocaust Christian polemic against Jews in general.³⁷ In the post-Holocaust age, it is unlikely that the unsuspecting reader will chance upon Newman's work and end up an anti-Semite because of it. These two problems are simply elements of the third and biggest problem of *The Arians*. As Williams has said:

Newman's own perspectives and proposals are often flawed by a colossally over-schematic treatment and a carelessness in detail. There are, of course, areas in which he was no more astray than any other writer of the period, where insufficient textual evidence or critical analysis was available; but his Procrustean treatment of what evidence there was on several key matters remains a problem.³⁸

In this regard, Williams' primary concern was in the way Newman pitted the Church of Alexandria against the Church of Antioch: Alexandria is good, moral, and orthodox; Antioch is bad, immoral, and plagued with heresy.

This is no minor quip. Part of what makes *The Arians* easy to read is precisely this aspect of Newman's thought. No one personality (such as Athanasius) dominates the discussion. Newman organized his work in overarching terms which made his overall argument easy to follow. He reinforced this contrast again and again. In fact, the characterization of Alexandria versus Antioch specifically occupied no less than the first hundred pages of the work, and it was central to the originality of his thesis.

³¹ Williams, "Newman's Arians," 263–285.

³³ Maurice Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 165–174; hereafter cited: *Archetypal Heresy*.

³⁴ Steven Thomas, *Newman and Heresy: the Anglican Years* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 20–49; hereafter cited: *Newman and Heresy*.

³⁵ Williams diagnosed these flaws but did not emphasize their interrelatedness.

³⁶ Williams, "Introduction," XXXIX.

³⁷ For instance, there are also anti-Semitic elements in the writings of other Victorians, such as Charles Dickens.

³⁸ Williams, "Introduction," XXXVI.

Accordingly, if Newman was incorrect on this point, his whole work would suffer. After summarizing Newman's main ideas, Williams said: "Unfortunately, this account is deeply flawed. Newman makes one composite monster out of hugely diverse material, ranging from the second to the fifth centuries . . ." ³⁹ Elsewhere Williams described Newman's account as "heavily distorted by polemical interest." ⁴⁰ In addition to Newman's treatment of the evidence from a chronological standpoint, the very notion of schools and parties in terms of the Arian controversy is a matter which is at the moment unpopular—even the very notion that there were so-called "Arians" at all is a matter of debate. ⁴¹

In addition to these weaknesses, it is rather obvious but perhaps necessary to mention the notion of scholarship in general. Scholarship moves on. Even if Newman's treatment of the evidence had been virtually flawless, his work would still seem quite dated due to advances in the availability of critical texts, etc., but also insofar as more recent works evince a notable change in tone. ⁴² Newman is much too polemical. ⁴³ Moreover, Arius is too much of a villain for Newman's work to demand a hearing in an age when scholars struggle to understand Arius on a more objective basis.

That said, aside from the history of the Arian controversy *per se*, the reaction has been quite the opposite. Williams readily admitted that the work is "a highly sophisticated contribution to a very sophisticated debate in the early 1830s," and despite historical misgivings acknowledged that it "is emphatically a powerful and original essay, questioning received wisdom on a number of major topics." ⁴⁴ Wiles has given credit to Newman's "lively pen pictures"; ⁴⁵ Thomas likewise praised the work's literary quality, saying it "could be described as Newman's first historical novel" ⁴⁶ and called Newman, "a writer of genius, a brilliant story-teller, a biting polemicist." ⁴⁷

The immediate historical context of the period is well described by Stephen Thomas in *Newman and Heresy: the Anglican Years*. ⁴⁸ In 1828, there was The Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. With the repeal of these Acts, a person could hold public office without subscribing to the *Thirty-nine Articles*. Then, in 1829, the Emancipation Bill allowed Roman Catholics to be elected to Parliament. Finally, 1832 saw the passage of the Reform Act, which was intended to reign in ecclesiastical abuse. While in theory, there seems to be nothing wrong with these measures, in the Church of England at the time, these decisions could be seen—as they were by Newman—as

³⁹ Ibid., XXXVII.

⁴⁰ Williams, "Newman's *Arians*," 281.

⁴¹ See Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 12–14, 105–110.

⁴² The change in tone is due to Robert C. Gregg and Dennis E. Groh's seminal work *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981; Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002).

⁴³ Williams overlooked the fact that, at the time Newman wrote *The Arians*, the writing of history tended to be apologetic and polemical; to expect Newman to write as a 21st century historian is anachronistic.

⁴⁴ Williams, "Introduction," XXXV–XXXVI.

⁴⁵ Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy*, 171.

⁴⁶ Thomas, *Newman and Heresy*, 43.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 2–3. Thomas considered it a bit of irony that Newman was a master of rhetoric yet accused the other side of being rhetoricians; Thomas failed to notice that Newman was not against rhetoric *per se*; Newman saw his enemies as arguing for argument's sake as opposed to arguing for truth: if Newman was a rhetorician, he was a good one; his enemies poor ones.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 20–49, 50.

a backdoor way of eroding the Church of England and promoting theological liberalism/latitudinarianism. Accordingly, Thomas aptly concluded: "It was not so much the reforms in themselves that he [Newman] opposed, as the motives he suspected behind them."⁴⁹ Thus, Newman's unrelenting assault against fourth-century Arianism in *The Arians* must be read against his opposition to liberalism in the nineteenth century.

NEWMAN'S ASSAULT ON ARIANISM

While there is benefit to discussing the modern assessment of Newman's work, its literary merit, its historical context, etc., no amount of such reading could adequately prepare the reader for what lies within the pages of Newman's *The Arians of the Fourth Century*. "Historical novel"? Yes. "Lively pen portraits"? Sure. Yet, to be completely honest, *The Arians* was an unrelenting and vicious assault on Arianism; yet it is not just about the Arian controversy but about urgent matters in his own time: matters of spiritual life and death.

As indicated in Newman's correspondence, the reputation of the pre-Nicenes was under attack, and Newman set out to defend their honor. This was not simply a matter of vindicating certain theologians. Rather, in terms of Newman's understanding of doctrine at the time,⁵⁰ there had to be some form of constant truth. By impinging on certain pre-Nicenes, and especially, the city of Alexandria, Newman's opponents were muddying the whole pool by claiming either 1) there is no truth, or 2) the "truth" is really Arianism. Newman detested both of these positions.

Thus, Newman came out of the gate defending Alexandria to the detriment of Antioch. Though Antioch began well, "This ancient and celebrated Church, however, is painfully conspicuous in the middle of the century, as affording so open a manifestation of the spirit of Antichrist, as to fulfil almost literally the prophecy of the Apostle in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians" (3). Newman then proceeded to link quickly various heretics in origins and education to Antioch: "Such is the historical connexion at the very first sight between the Arian party and the school of Antioch" (8). He went on to link Antioch to luxuriousness and loose morals, and through the influence of a Jewish princess, to magic and superstition to the point that the bishop of the city was seduced "from the orthodox faith" (9-12). Newman concluded: "I will not say that the Arian doctrine is the direct result of a judaizing practice; but it deserves consideration whether a tendency to derogate from the honour due to Christ . . .," and so on (18). After several more pages, he finally revealed his purpose:

However, it is of far less consequence, as it is less certain, whether Arianism be of Jewish origin, than whether it arose at Antioch: which is the point principally insisted on in the foregoing pages. For in proportion as it is traced to Antioch, so is the charge of originating it removed from the great Alexandrian School, upon which various enemies of our Apostolical Church have been eager to fasten it (23).⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ibid., 50.

⁵⁰ Williams, "Newman's *Arians*," 276.

⁵¹ Newman used the Jews precisely to attack Antioch, but did not give any further attention to the Jews (e.g., in articulating a replacement theology).

Newman then tied Arius, Asterius, and others to education in philosophy in the negative Sophistic sense (25–38). Within the first 38 pages of *The Arians*, Newman associated Antioch with all that was evil.

Newman then moved on to discuss the Church of Alexandria. Not only was Alexandria superior on every count, it was deeper, more mysterious, more honorable. Arius, though a presbyter of Alexandria, was educated in Antioch, and “so far from being favourably heard at Alexandria, he was, on the first promulgation of his heresy, expelled [sic] the Church in that city” (39). Yet Newman’s attack was not just on Arians but on people of his own day: “Infidels have felt a satisfaction, and heretics have had an interest” in disparaging Alexandria, charging the Church with arianizing (40). Newman, in his defense, however, offered simply to lay out “general principles” and leave the reader to judge their merit (40–41).

Here was the point where the *disciplina arcani* appeared in Newman’s thought. He had to account for the fact that what the pre-Nicenes said was not what the Nicenes said in regard to Christ. He reasoned that the Alexandrian Church of the early centuries was primarily aimed at proselytism. As such, the Alexandrians wrote with “tenderness and reserve,” not with the “openness of Christian men” (42) distinguishing between “doctrines suitable to the state of the weak and ignorant, and those which are the peculiar property of a baptized and regenerate Christian” (42–43). Newman said that this was done from charity because the pagans “were likely to be perplexed, not converted, by the sudden exhibition of the whole evangelical scheme” (47). Doing otherwise was casting “that which is holy to dogs” (47). Newman called this adapted teaching “exoteric teaching” (45)—this was a “bare outline” that would be filled in later by catechesis (53).

The catechumen learned little things and lesser doctrines, but “the exact and fully developed doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation . . . [were] . . . the exclusive possession of the serious and practised Christian” (45). Furthermore, “the sacred mysteries are revealed to individuals in proportion to their actual religious proficiency” (47). Thus, there was a difference between Christian and non-Christian but also some implied ranking among regenerate Christians as well. Here an ethical element was present: esoteric teaching was holy and therefore to be protected and kept secret.

Newman addressed an important objection: what about the writings of the Fathers? He noted that they were frequently laymen; so in these instances they would have known the true doctrines. Newman saw a somewhat strict enforcement to the end of the second century, but he also knew that history in general is messy, and so he allowed for lapses or even confusion about what to reveal as knowledge of Christian doctrines was spread to the public (52–53). Here, one can see two important elements of Newman’s way of working. First, his evidence was admittedly scattered throughout the centuries, both before and after Nicea. Though this might be “Procrustean” as Williams put it, in Newman’s context it made the theory have continuity. Second, although Williams has pointed to “confusion” in Newman’s text, in context it seems rather that Newman was making patristic history come alive. He admitted later that it was difficult to set in stone what was a “principle or feeling” or ultimately something that was based on history. Exceptions could prove the rule, and

history was not going to be extremely neat or tidy—history never is. Either way, to break out of Newman's "historical novel" if you will, is not an easy task.

What became of the secret tradition? Newman's presentation of the *disciplina arcani* throughout *The Arians* was rather melancholy. Simply put, due to the innovations of heretics, it was necessary to come out in creedal form with the true doctrine at Nicea. This was not a good day, rather it was a sad one. It was a necessary but unfortunate step: the most holy and sacred doctrine was cast before swine (140–141). In its beginnings, the Arian controversy was so devastating that "even in the heathen theatres, the divine doctrine became the subject of the vilest ridicule" (140–141).

Having framed the picture of Antioch versus Alexandria, Newman's characterization of heretics was especially convincing in portraying heretics as displaying characteristics of the Church of Antioch: "Arius began by throwing out his questions as a subject of debate for public consideration . . . composing and setting to music, songs on the subject of his doctrine for the use of the rudest classes of society" (139). He did have one nice thing to say about Arius: "His first attack on the Catholic doctrine was conducted with an openness which, considering the general duplicity of his party, is the most honourable trait in his character" (237). His characterization of Aetius is typical:

At Tyre he so boldly conducted the principles of Arianism to their legitimate results, as to scandalize the Eusebian successor of Paulinus; who forced him to retire to Anazarbus, and to resume his former trade of a goldsmith. The energy of Aetius, however, could not be restrained by the obstacles which birth, education, and decency threw in his way. He made acquaintance with a teacher of grammar; and, readily acquiring a smattering of polite literature, he was soon enabled to criticise his master's expositions of sacred Scripture before his pupils (337–338). Newman characterized the Arians as overly intellectually curious, Sophists, those "who had no fixed tenet, except that of opposition to the true notion of Christ's divinity" (220–223, 230), those who loved to dispute (274), as wanton and impious (277). Thus, when he quoted ecclesiastical historians, their language differed little from his own:

"When Eudoxius," says Socrates, "had taken his seat on the episcopal throne, his first words were these celebrated ones, 'the Father is [asebes], irreligious; the Son [eusebes], religious.' When a noise and confusion ensued, he added, 'Be not distressed at what I say; for the Father is irreligious, as worshipping none; but the Son is religious towards the Father.' On this the tumult ceased, and in its place an intemperate laughter seized the congregation; and it remains as a good saying even to this time" (277).

These characterizations were not at all surprising because Newman had set up the picture so brilliantly that the reader would not expect anything less of heretics: "In this at least, throughout their changes, the Eusebians [the Arian party] are consistent,—in their hatred of the Sacred Mystery" (274).

Because of the way Newman blended his theological opponents with heretics, the ultimate result is that the Arian controversy transcended the borders of the page. Heretics were not characters of yore; they were all around Newman and he

challenged his readers to come to a verdict and choose sides. The way he viewed both groups is the same—with no mercy.

No economy [as in the *disciplina arcani*, for instance] can be employed towards those who have been once enlightened, and have fallen away. I wish to speak explicitly on this subject, because there is a great deal of that spurious charity among us which would cultivate the friendship of those who, in a Christian country, speak against the Church or its creeds (85).

In this lies the difference between the treatment due to an individual in heresy, and to one who is confident enough to publish the innovations which he has originated. The former claims from us the most affectionate sympathy, and the most considerate attention. The latter should meet with no mercy; he assumes the office of the Tempter, and, so far forth as his error goes, must be dealt with by the competent authority, as if he were embodied Evil. To spare him is a false and dangerous pity. It is to endanger the souls of thousands, and it is uncharitable towards himself (234–235).

Newman had said of Arius: “At length the error of Arius appeared to be of so serious and confirmed a nature, that countenance of it would have been sinful” (238). Arians, in their searching did not demonstrate “earnest desire of sacred truth, and careful search into its documents, which alone mark the Christian inquirer” (219). Newman concluded the section on the Arians: “More than enough has now been said in explanation of a controversy, the very sound of which must be painful to any one who has a loving faith in the Divinity of the Son” (218).

The Arians of the Fourth Century then is less a dry history book and more of a manifesto to the Church of England in the nineteenth century. Newman arguably concluded the book with a sense of personal mission that was a thinly veiled critique of the liberalism, tolerance, and Arianism of his day:

And so of the present perils, with which our branch of the Church is beset, as they bear a marked resemblance to those of the fourth century, so are the lessons, which we gain from that ancient time, especially cheering and edifying to Christians of the present day. Then as now, there was the prospect, and partly the presence in the Church, of an Heretical Power enthraling it, exerting a varied influence and a usurped claim in the appointment of her functionaries, and interfering with the management of her internal affairs. Now as then, “whosoever shall fall upon this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.” Meanwhile, we may take comfort in reflecting, that, though the present tyranny has more of insult, it has hitherto had less of scandal, than attended the ascendancy of Arianism; we may rejoice in the piety, prudence, and varied graces of our Spiritual Rulers; and may rest in the confidence, that, should the hand of Satan press us sore, our Athanasius and Basil will be given us in their destined season, to break the bonds of the Oppressor, and let the captives go free (394).

Such was Newman’s characterization of Arianism.

CURRENT SCHOLARSHIP

In terms of contemporary scholarship, Newman's attitude would be quite out of place today. Yet, he could point the way forward in contemporary studies. Maurice Wiles, who is not unsympathetic to Arianism, diagnosed the modern problem in Trinitarian theology with precision. After arguing that the downfall of Arianism was due to the increasing state of beliefs that made belief in any more divine beings quite impossible, he stated:

But the death of Arianism eased and simplified the process of historical revision. Without a live enemy beating at the door, the pressure of prejudice diminished. The resultant interpretation of Arianism enhances the feeling of discomfort that for many adheres to the orthodox Trinitarianism today. For orthodox Trinitarian faith has now to be seen not only as something whose self-definition is couched in terms of the denial of a form of faith that no-one holds or even inclines to hold; it has also to be seen as a faith whose self-definition was established, often by unscrupulous means, over against an alternative form of faith that was consistently parodied and misrepresented.⁵²

The problem, then, is that the reassessment of the historical place of Arianism has resulted in a big historical conundrum. Yet, scholars "find themselves able to affirm the intrinsic and vital truth of orthodoxy over against Arianism."⁵³ As the pendulum swung to more objective attempts to understand Arianism on its own terms, more problems emerged. But if Newman's account currently has almost no historical validity in terms of recent scholarship on Arianism—and seems to present the problem, not the solution—how can his work help?

Ironically, the key is to look back toward Newman's overly-schematic presentation. As Maurice Wiles aptly noted when speaking of Newman's "lively pen pictures," "The vividness of the portraiture owes something to the *more immediate availability of corresponding contemporary models*."⁵⁴ Newman's portraits are fascinating to the reader because he had a vested interest in defending the truth in his own time. In trying to correct the over-polemical portraits of Arianism, perhaps modern scholarship has gone too far in the other direction, sometimes going so far as to dislike even the terms "heresy" and "orthodoxy"—which would certainly be shocking to Newman. However, this tolerance toward heresy results in a contemporary picture that is every bit as unhistorical—the idea that every heretic is actually a well-meaning, sincerely believing Christian, the idea that heretics in the mentality that Newman described simply do not exist. In spite of the problems with Newman's account of the Arian controversy, his account is refreshing because Newman's universalizing tendencies still ring true, even if some wish not to admit it. When Newman portrayed the "Christian inquirer" and the duplicitous Arian, he implicitly asked his conservative readers: do you know any Arians? Do you know any people who distort Christianity? In spite of Newman's distorted picture of Arianism, chances are that readers *do* know Arians, *do* know people who distort Christianity in

⁵² Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy*, 183.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 171; emphasis added.

the destructive *mentality* that Newman described. In other words, in Wiles' language, chances are that readers do have an *immediately available model* of Newman's duplicitous Arian in terms of their own personal experience. And if readers in the twenty-first century know this duplicitous Arian, then how much more so would they have existed, as Newman claimed they did, in the fourth century? For scholars to ask readers to believe otherwise, then, rings hollow and indeed contradicts the personal experience of readers. Thus, to achieve more balance, scholars would be well-advised to retain at least some of Newman's hatred for heresy.

“CONTINUITY OF PRINCIPLES” IN JOHN HENRY NEWMAN’S AN ESSAY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

LUCAS LABORDE

Although Newman’s Essay on Development has been studied both in itself and as a milestone in his spiritual journey, scant attention has been given to a detailed analysis of his “notes” for doctrinal development. The following study examines the second note of development—“continuity of principles”—in order to ascertain both Newman’s understanding of “principles” and the way these principles can have continuity

John Henry Newman’s *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*¹ was his last major work before he was received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1845. Gerard McCarren has observed that, rather than a quest for positive support for his decision, the intention of Newman’s *Essay* was to answer the objections that previously had kept him from becoming a Roman Catholic.² Accordingly, Newman’s *Essay* reflected the final stage of a long process that began with the Oxford Movement and his reading of the Fathers of the Church and harvested the fruits of many years of intense scholarly reflection and pastoral ministry. The ongoing relevance of Newman’s *Essay* can be attributed to the fact that its theological insights are intertwined with his faith journey: his *Essay* is as much a testimony as it is a treatise.³ The *Essay* has also become a required starting point for the study of doctrinal development in Christianity.⁴

Before writing his *Essay*, Newman had come to consider it very probable that the Church of Rome was the true heir of the Apostolic Church. Some difficulties still remained, particularly in regard to the authority of the Pope and devotion to Mary and the saints. Newman realized that doctrinal and devotional variations through time, however, were not peculiar to Roman Catholicism. Neither the Anglican Church nor the Protestant congregations of the nineteenth century could claim to replicate exactly the Church of the Apostles. Increasingly convinced that Roman Catholicism had a closer resemblance to the Apostolic Church than other traditions, Newman decided to examine the development of doctrine to verify this hypothesis. The key question of his *Essay* is then whether the teachings and practices of contemporary

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¹ John Henry Newman (hereafter: JHN), *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, Third (1878) Edition, available at: www.newmanreader.org; hereafter cited: *Development* (1878).

² Gerard H. McCarren, “Are Newman’s ‘Tests’ or ‘Notes’ of Genuine Doctrinal Development Useful Today?,” *Newman Studies Journal* 1/2 (Fall 2004): 48–61, at 56; hereafter cited: McCarren, “Notes.”

³ See John T. Ford, “Faithfulness to Type in Newman’s *Essay on Development*,” in *Newman Today*, edited with an introduction by Stanley L. Jaki (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989), 17–48, at 17–19; hereafter cited: Ford, “Type.”

⁴ See McCarren, “Notes,” 48–49 and Nicholas Lash, *Newman on Development: The Search for an Explanation in History* (Shepherdstown, WV: Patmos Press, 1975), 2; hereafter cited: Lash, *Development*.

Roman Catholicism were authentic *developments* of the original Christian idea, as found in the Church of the first centuries, or whether these developments were really *corruptions* of original Christianity. To verify his hypothesis, Newman proposed seven “tests” of authentic development: preservation of type, continuity of principles, assimilative power, logical sequence, anticipation of the future, conservative action on the past, and chronic vigor.⁵

Although Newman’s *Essay* has been studied both in itself and as a milestone in his spiritual journey, little attention has been given to analyzing each of the “notes” in detail.⁶ For example, in discussing the “second note”—the continuity of principles—what did Newman understand by “principles”? How principles can have “continuity”? A response to these questions is suggested by three passages in the 1878 edition of the *Essay*: Newman’s appeal to Butler’s idea of “principles” (Chapter 2);⁷ Newman’s description of the continuity of principles (Chapter 5); and his application of the second note to specific cases (Chapter 7). These passages have two distinctive characteristics: first, they are exploratory; second, their method is inductive. Moreover, Newman did not provide a strict definition of “principle”; rather, he described specific principles and studied cases in which the influence of principles is evident.⁸

NEWMAN’S USE OF “PRINCIPLE”

Before examining Newman’s text, two hermeneutical clarifications may prove useful. The first is Newman’s understanding of “idea,” which involves some ambivalence in his *Essay*: on the one hand, “idea” can refer to the whole system of Christianity, that is, to all of its possible aspects combined. This “idea” exists, but it cannot possibly be the object of an individual mind; it can only exist as contemplated by the mind of the Church. On the other hand, “idea” can refer to a particular aspect of Christianity, such as a particular doctrine, which can be grasped by an individual mind.⁹ When applying the second note—“continuity of principles”—to the development of ideas (Chapter 7), Newman dealt primarily with doctrines, not with the “system” or “Idea” of Christianity. This treatment in the second note contrasted with his first note (preservation of type), where he compared the type of Christianity in different centuries; there Newman was thinking of the all-encompassing “Idea,” which included the whole doctrine and its embodiment in the historical Christian

⁵ In the 1845-edition of *Development*, Newman used the word “tests”; in the 1878-edition, he used the word “notes.”

⁶ Ford, “Type” (44, n. 15), pointed out: “As T. J. Mashburn [“The Categories of Development: An Overlooked Aspect of Newman’s Theory of Doctrinal Development”, *Heythrop Journal* 29 (1988), 33–43] indicates, there has been little systematic discussion of Newman’s categories; nor has the relationship of the categories and the notes been sufficiently explored.”

⁷ See Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906). Newman was indebted to Butler’s *Analogy* for his idea of “principles” as a common element in Natural and Revealed Religion. A comparative analysis of these works, though obviously helpful to understanding Newman’s notion of “principle,” is beyond the scope of the present essay.

⁸ In the present analysis, the most relevant passages of the 1878-edition will be contrasted with those of the original edition: *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (London: James Toovey, 1845), edited with an introduction by J. M. Cameron (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1974); hereafter cited: *Development* (1845).

⁹ See Terence Merrigan, *Clear Heads and Holy Hearts: The Religious and Theological Ideal of John Henry Newman* (Louvain: Peeters, 1991), 71–73; hereafter cited: Merrigan, *Clear Heads*.

Church as well. In explaining the second “note,” he tried to explain the way that the “continuity of principles” could account for variations in specific doctrinal formulations. While principles need to be distinguished from doctrines or particular ideas, both principles *and* doctrines are included within the general Idea of Christianity.

The second key to interpreting Newman’s thought is its “polar” nature.¹⁰ He often expressed his thought by a careful balance of contrasting forces. These forces, which stem from a preceding unity containing them, maintain a dynamic unity. This is why it is relatively easy to misinterpret Newman—by citing only those phrases that reflect one of the forces in tension, while ignoring or overlooking the other set of forces. In order to grasp the unity of his thought, one must simultaneously hold opposing statements together. This apparent tension of forces is repeatedly found in Newman’s work; for example, the tension between: the dogmatic and the devotional; the religious and the secular; the prophetic and the hierarchical; conscience and authority; development and permanence. It is only in the harmonic tension of these contrasting forces that Newman’s meaning is grasped. In particular, this “polarity” seems useful in trying to comprehend the meaning and complementarity of principles.

“PRINCIPLES”: A LINK BETWEEN NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION

Newman’s first significant use of “principles” occurred in Chapter 2 of his *Essay*, where he considered “an infallible authority” as a development to be expected in Christianity.¹¹ In a passage that acknowledged the influence of Butler’s *Analogy*, Newman distinguished between the facts of revelation and its principles:

I will hazard a distinction here between the facts of revelation and its principles: — the argument from *Analogy* is more concerned with its principles than with its facts. The revealed facts are special and singular, {not analogous}, from the nature of the case: but it is otherwise with the revealed principles; these are common to all the works of God: and if the Author of Nature be the Author of Grace, it may be expected that, while the two systems of facts are distinct and independent, the principles displayed in them will be the same, and form a connecting link between them. In this identity of principle lies the *Analogy* of Natural and Revealed Religion, in Butler’s sense of the word. The doctrine of the Incarnation is a fact, and cannot be paralleled by anything in nature; the doctrine of Mediation is a principle, and is abundantly exemplified in its provisions (1878, 2.2.10).¹²

Newman admitted that revelation interrupted the order of nature and, in so doing, introduced a new order: an order with its own facts and doctrines, but ruled by the same principles that regulated the order of nature. Taking into consideration the fact of Christian revelation and the shared principles of the natural and the supernatural order, one can argue for the antecedent probability of an authority in matters of faith. A first parallel is that God provides the means for the continuity of what he

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

¹¹ See *Development* (1878), 2.2.9-11.

¹² The words between brackets {} were absent in *Development* (1845), 172.

established from the beginning:

The idea of creation implies that of conservation of creatures. In an analogous way, God vouchsafed the truths of Christian faith to the Church from the beginning, all at once. And yet, God “blesses its growth still, and provides for its increase (1878, 86).

A second parallel is from the principle of governance: authority and obedience are principles of religion and are to be found both in the natural and in the supernatural order. What conscience is in natural religion as an authority to be obeyed, such is the Church’s authority—Apostle, Pope, Bishop—in revealed religion. Conscience may not be infallible, yet it must always be obeyed. The same rule applies in the case of the Church’s authority: it must always be obeyed in order to grow in holiness, even when it commands something that appears excessive or difficult.

For Newman, principles are shared by Natural and Revealed Religion, since God is the origin of both. Accordingly, revelation can be intelligible, in spite of the singular character of its facts and doctrines.

“CONTINUITY OF PRINCIPLES”

In his most extended description of “principles” (Chapter 5), Newman outlined the seven “notes” before applying them to concrete cases (Chapter 7). His treatment of the second note provided his most systematic analysis of “principles.” In keeping with his inductive method, Newman described “principles” in a series of insightful—but somewhat overlapping—observations: each observation probably corresponded to particular cases that he had in mind. There is a congruity between the observations, but he made no special effort to systematize the different aspects observed, to solve the inherent tensions or to propose a formal definition of “principle.”

Newman began by describing principles in contrast to doctrines:

Principles are abstract and general, doctrines relate to facts; doctrines develop, and principles at first sight do not; doctrines grow and are enlarged, principles are permanent; doctrines are intellectual, and principles are more immediately ethical and practical. Systems live in principles and represent doctrines. Personal responsibility is a principle, the Being of a God is a doctrine; from that doctrine all theology has come in due course, whereas that principle is not clearer under the Gospel than in paradise, and depends, not on belief in an Almighty Governor, but on conscience. . . . Doctrines stand to principles, as the definitions to the axioms and postulates of mathematics (1878, 5.2.1).

What is noteworthy in this characterization is that: (a) Doctrines refer to concrete mysteries: Christ’s passion, the Eucharist, Scripture. Principles are abstract and general. (b) Principles are not evident at first sight, but are implicit in doctrines; accordingly,

doctrines need to be extracted from a careful consideration of revelation (see 1878, 5.2.2.). Sometimes principles have only been detected, as a matter of fact, as the elements that remain constant through doctrinal variations. (c) Principles are more immediately ethical, even though connected with doctrines, which are intellectual;

being of an ethical character, principles depend on conscience. (d) The most evident contrast is that doctrines develop while principles are permanent. Principles constitute a permanent basis on which the development of doctrines is based, yet the development of doctrines does not mean their alteration or abandonment; doctrines need to change their expression if their teaching is to remain the same (see *1878*, 1.1.7).¹³

For Newman, variations in doctrine and the permanence of principles should not be interpreted as if the original Christian doctrines could be changed or abandoned. Genuine developments retain both doctrine and principle:

A development, to be faithful, must retain both the doctrine and the principle with which it started. Doctrine without its correspondent principle remains barren, if not lifeless On the other hand, principle without its corresponding doctrine may be considered as the state of religious minds in the heathen world, viewed relatively to Revelation (*1878*, 5.2.3).

Newman claimed that the identity between the ancient church and the Catholic Church of a later period could be verified by detecting the same principles underlying its doctrines and practices. Principles were a guarantee of continuity: if they were kept, doctrines could develop, expand, apply to new cases, but they would remain essentially the same.

Pagans may have, heretics cannot have, the same principles as Catholics; if the latter have the same, they are not real heretics, but in ignorance. Principle is a better test of heresy than doctrine. Heretics are true to their principles, but change to and fro, backwards and forwards, in opinion; for very opposite doctrines may be exemplifications of the same principle. Thus the Antiochenes and other heretics sometimes were Arians, sometimes Sabellians, sometimes Nestorians, sometimes Monophysites, as if at random, from fidelity to their common principle, that there is no mystery in theology (*1878*, 5.2.3).

“Pagans” then can have the analogous principles of natural religion without genuine doctrine. A “pagan” can be obedient to conscience in a way analogous to a Catholic who is obedient to the Church’s teaching. Heretics, however, have subverted the principle; they do not obey any authority, natural or supernatural. That is precisely the root of heresy: abandonment of principle.

Such abandonment is not so much an act or a rejection of certain doctrines, but something comparable to a nation or an institution losing its spirit:

. . . when we talk of the spirit of a people being lost, we do not mean that this or that act has been committed, or measure carried, but that certain lines of thought or conduct by which it has grown great are abandoned (*1878*, 5.2.6).

Accordingly, principles are those leading ideas or practical criteria that constitute the essential aspect of a movement, nation or institution. Secondary criteria, doctrines, practices can change, the identity will subsist while the principles stand. If principles are abandoned, corruption ensues.

In sum, Newman’s description of “principles” (Chapter 5), contrasted “principles” with “doctrines.” Doctrines refer to concrete facts of revelation, whose understanding

¹³ See Lash, *Development*, 107.

and expression develop over time: the understanding and expression of doctrines need to change in order for the doctrine to remain the same. Principles, on the contrary, are abstract and general; they are implicit in doctrines; they are permanent; they provide impulse and consistency to both doctrine and action. Because of their permanent character, Newman considered them a “better test of heresy than doctrine” (1878, 5.2.3).

In the 1878-edition of Newman’s *Essay*, Chapter 7 on the application of the “Continuity of Principles” contained more additions to the 1845-edition than any other chapter. According to Nicholas Lash, these changes could indicate “that Newman attached greater importance to this ‘note’ in 1878 than he had done in 1845.”¹⁴ The most important additions concerned the principles of Christianity (1878, 7.1.2-5) and the illustration of the principle of Theology (1878, 7.3.1-3).¹⁵ Newman did not intend each illustration in his *Essay* to fit one of the notes of development to the exclusion of the others. On the contrary, McCarren has suggested that Newman possibly considered that authentic developments should evidence all of the notes;¹⁶ accordingly, the examples used for the illustration of one note could illustrate other notes as well. Nonetheless, the examples cited for a specific note seemingly contain an aspect particularly akin to it or can, at the very least, provide the empirical basis from which Newman inductively apprehended his notion of principle.¹⁷

TEN “PRINCIPLES” OF CHRISTIANITY

After considering “similarity of type” in the previous chapter, Newman rearranged the application of the second note in the 1878 edition by introducing what he considered the main principles of Christianity. Though Christian principles are “distinctive, numerous, various, and operative” (1878, 7.1.2), he limited his treatment to a few essential ones which stem from the core idea of Christianity: the Incarnation. By way of introduction (1878, 7.1.2-5), he indicated that principles, even if practical, are clearly dependent on doctrines; moreover, these principles are not a disorganized series, but an organic body. There is an architectonic arrangement of principles in this section, which is all the more striking insofar as Newman seldom used this kind of systematic approach:

1. The principle of *dogma*, that is, supernatural truths irrevocably committed to human language, imperfect because it is human, but definitive and necessary because given from above (1878, 7.1.4).

By dogma, Newman meant that revelation has a definite content, which comes from God, yet is given to us in human categories. Even though for Newman religion was ultimately a matter of relating to God, this relationship cannot take place without some definite truths arising from it and providing the framework for it. Newman expressed this relationship in describing his first conversion:

¹⁴ Lash, *Development*, 107.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 189, note 37.

¹⁶ See McCarren, “Notes,” 55-56.

¹⁷ The specific aspect of the second note was seemingly the relation between the speculative and the practical elements of development; other possible aspects of development may be the influence of external circumstances or the logical conclusion of its premises.

When I was fifteen, (in the autumn of 1816,) a great change of thought took place in me. I fell under the influences of a definite Creed, and received into my intellect impressions of dogma, which, through God’s mercy, have never been effaced or obscured.¹⁹

As his second principle, Newman referred to the human reception of dogma:

2. The principle of *faith*, which is the correlative of dogma, being the absolute acceptance of the divine Word with an internal assent, in opposition to the informations, if such, of sight and reason (1878, 7.1.4).

Newman highlighted the “absolute” character of the assent of faith: revelation, insofar as it comes from God, has to be our primary guide, above reason, experience and custom.²⁰

3. Faith, being an act of the intellect, opens a way for inquiry, comparison and inference, that is, for science in religion, in subservience to itself; this is the principle of *theology*.²¹

4. The doctrine of the Incarnation is the announcement of a divine gift conveyed in a material and visible medium, it being thus that heaven and earth are in the Incarnation united. That is, it establishes in the very idea of Christianity the *sacramental* principle as its characteristic (1878, 7.1.4).

Newman considered the sacramental principle as one of the fundamental principles of Christianity. Several Christian mysteries—Scripture, sacraments, the Church—portray the principle implicit in the Incarnation: “a divine gift conveyed in a material and visible medium” (1878, 7.1.4).

5. Another principle involved in the doctrine of the Incarnation, viewed as taught or as dogmatic, is the necessary use of language, e.g. of the text of Scripture, in a second or *mystical sense*. Words must be made to express new ideas, and are invested with a sacramental office (1878, 7.1.4).

The mystical sense of Scripture is the logical expression of the sacramental principle when applied to Scriptures. The definite truths that come from God express realities which are above human experience; thus, there must be a divine pedagogy that goes beyond the literal meaning of human language.

6. It is our Lord’s intention in His Incarnation to make us what He is Himself; this is the principle of *grace*, which is not only holy but sanctifying.

7. It cannot elevate and change us without mortifying our lower nature:—here is the principle of *asceticism* (1878, 7.1.4).

These two principles are analogous to those of dogma and faith: the intention that guides the divine economy is to convey to believers the life that is in Christ; the reception of this gift requires a struggle against all tendencies that go against it.

8. And, involved in this death of the natural man, is necessarily a revelation of the *malignity of sin*, in corroboration of the forebodings of conscience (1878, 7.1.4).

The need to fight against tendencies contrary to grace made Newman aware of the

¹⁸ See Lash, *Development*, 108–109; 140–141.

¹⁹ JHN, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, 4, available at: www.newmanreader.org/works/apologia65/index.html.

²⁰ Newman probably perceived the lack of this principle in the “latitudinarians” of his time, who considered matters of faith as one tradition among others.

²¹ As further explained below, this principle consists in the correct use of reason in matters of revelation—subservient to the principles of faith.

evil even in seemingly innocent worldly pursuits whenever they became the ruling principle of conduct. He also noted the correspondence between revealed morality and the voice of conscience.

9. Also by the fact of an Incarnation we are taught that matter is an essential part of us, and, as well as mind, is *capable of sanctification* (1878, 7.1.4).²²

Newman added a tenth principle in a footnote: the principle of development (see 1878, note, 7.1.5.). This principle explained how Christianity kept its identity while experiencing variations in history. These historical variations stemmed from a living principle. He did not regard historical development as incidental to Christianity, but as the necessary organic growth of an “Idea” that became an animating principle in history.

The ten principles that Newman extracted from the core “Idea” of Christianity imply that God’s saving action in history is based upon a number of implicit principles—for example, that human language is capable of conveying a divine message and that matter can be an instrument of sanctification; these principles become the animating laws of the life of the Church and of the individual believer. The unfolding of the Christian Tradition mirrors the *mirabilia Dei*, God’s saving and revealing works. In other words, the fact that the principles that account for the development of the Church’s doctrine result from the doctrine of the Incarnation implies that the second “note” refers not only to the historical process of development that has taken place in the life of the Church, but also to biblical revelation, which was given gradually over the course of centuries; accordingly, the development of Christian doctrine assumes and continues to apply the same principles that were part of the “divine pedagogy” of the Old Testament in preparing for the New.²³

Newman next illustrated the continuity of principles in four areas: faith, theology, Scripture and dogma. Again, he proceeded “inductively”—from particular cases to general laws, rather than vice versa. These cases offered not only an application of the second “note,” but are also a “concrete image” that constantly adjusts our understanding of the abstract principle.²⁴

²² *Development* (1878), 7.1.4. Newman may have considered this principle—a logical consequence of the sacramental principle—particularly important, given the tendency of the Evangelicals of his time to spiritualize the church and religious expression in general.

²³ See *Dei Verbum* § 15: “These books [of the Old Testament], though they also contain some things which are incomplete and temporary, nevertheless show us true divine pedagogy.” This continuity between Natural and Revealed Religion should not be over-emphasized; however, it is important to note their distinction, as Nichols highlights, quoting *Development* (1878), 2.1.12. The development of doctrine in the Church should not be understood as a continuing revelation, but as the unfolding of revelation that has already been given. See Aidan Nichols, *From Newman to Congar: The Idea of Doctrinal Development from the Victorians to the Second Vatican Council* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), 56.

²⁴ For Newman, an analogous case of a regulating activity is exercised by the imagination over abstract ideas. As Edward Sillem (*The Philosophical Notebook of John Henry Newman*, edited at the Birmingham Oratory by Edward Sillem [Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1969-1970], 1:122) observed: “It is the imagination which, by the medium of its images, feeds the mind with the particular objects it thinks of, which presents things to the mind in the never ending multiplicity and variety of their aspects, which is for ever drawing the reason away from an exclusively immobile contemplation of things under a limited number of abstract ideas it is all too inclined to rest in . . . The image, as it were, scintillates in the mind under an ever changing variety of aspects, and thus our thinking is kept in constant movement as we variously see the things before us through different images.”

FAITH

Newman’s unfolding of the principle of faith is compelling:²⁵

That belief in Christianity is in itself better than unbelief; that faith, though an intellectual action, is ethical in its origin; that it is safer to believe; that we must begin with believing; that as for the reasons of believing, they are for the most part implicit, and need be but slightly recognized by the mind that is under their influence; that they consist moreover rather of presumptions and ventures after the truth than of accurate and complete proofs; and that probable arguments, under the scrutiny and sanction of a prudent judgment, are sufficient for conclusions which we even embrace as most certain, and turn to the most important uses (1878, 7.2.1).

This passage indicates the practical character of principles. One of the characteristics of those truths that are apprehended through “real assent” is that they have an image and awaken the emotions. One can notice some similarity in the way the principle of faith and real assent function.²⁶ Principles, though grounded in the intellect, have practical and emotional components; principles act as implicit premises of the practical intellect. In effect, Newman characterized the principle of faith as a disposition to accept a message as received from God when it is endorsed by sufficient probable arguments. Newman contrasted faith with the rationalistic mindset that accepts only what is strictly demonstrated. Faith as a principle includes the restless desire to find its object. There is a positive desire in a person who acts upon the principle of faith, in contrast to the minimalist and contented attitude of a person who is guided by rationalistic principles.

In addition to its correlation with “real assent,” the “principle of faith” is an application of the dictate of conscience to the object of revelation. The “principle of faith” is a “moral figure” or “ethos”: the result of adopting a series of moral dispositions that are linked to one another. This resonates with an idea contained in Aristotle’s *Ethics*:²⁷ the different virtues manifest a certain unity or ultimate disposition, “ethos” or “character,” which could easily be linked to the biblical concept of “heart.” The continuity of the principle of faith is evident in the fact that those who follow the contrary principle of rationalism—Locke, Celsus—have objected to, and have been rejected by, Catholicism.

THEOLOGY

While the principle of rationalism (advocated by Locke, Hume, and others)

²⁵ The section on faith is structured as follows: (§§ 1–3) the principle of faith and its opposite principle, rationalism; (§§ 4–5) the principle of faith as presented by early Christian authors: Origen, Irenaeus, Eusebius and Augustine; (§§ 6–9) the principle of faith as presented by medieval and early modern authors: Aquinas, Suárez and Vásquez.

²⁶ “Though Real Assent is not intrinsically operative, it accidentally and indirectly affects practice. It is in itself an intellectual act, of which the object is presented to it by the imagination; and though the pure intellect does not lead to action, nor the imagination either; yet the imagination has the means, which pure intellect has not, of stimulating those powers of the mind from which action proceeds. Real Assent then, or Belief, as it may be called, viewed in itself, that is, simply as Assent, does not lead to action; but the images in which it lives, representing as they do the concrete, have the power of the concrete upon the affections and passions, and by means of these indirectly become operative” (JHN, *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent*, 89; hereafter cited: GA; available at: www.newmanreader.org/works/grammar/index.html).

²⁷ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 3.5, 1113b–1115a.

dissolves the principle of faith, the principle of theology is its true complement. For Newman, the principle of theology is exemplified in the text of the New Testament in cases in which the certitude of faith and the exercise of reason are combined. One such case is the example of the centurion who proposed an analogy between his profession and the authority of Christ (Luke 7:1-10). Newman considered it a remarkable fact—unparalleled in other religions—that reason was always active in Christianity, especially in those instances when faith takes clear precedence over reason.²⁸

This passage about the centurion exemplifies the “polarity” of Newman’s thinking. The principle of faith could oppose reason in such a way that no room would be left for rational discourse. Genuine faith, however, is only opposed to what could be called a “totalitarian” use of reason—to use Josef Pieper’s expression.²⁹ There is no contradiction between the principle of faith and a rational principle that is open to the attitude and the data of faith. Such is, precisely, the principle of theology: reason, both lodged within the principle of faith and inquiring about its contents and its sources.

Newman illustrated how the principle of theology had always been active in the Church, but the emphasis of his argument shifted in this section. He was not so much interested in marshalling historical cases that showed how the principle of theology produced authentic developments. Rather, he focused on the fact that the principle of theology behaved as a subsidiary of the principle of faith; moreover the principle of theology was subsidiary to the principles of faith precisely in the correct use of its alleged adversary: reason. The principle of faith, while opposing a rationalistic attitude, did not result in the rejection of reason, but found a way to assume reason under the right ethos: the quest to understand what has been believed.

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

Newman detected the principle of the spiritual sense of Scripture in the way that the Church and its doctors have always considered Scripture a reference-point for their faith, the source they always utilized in order to proclaim the Christian message and to confirm their theological conclusions. To illustrate this principle, Newman listed some teachings of the Fathers: Methodius on celibacy; Irenaeus on the dignity of the Virgin Mary; Cyprian on martyrdom and purgatory; Ignatius on the unity of Christians; etc (see *1878*, 7.4.2). Newman then referred to Salmerón³⁰ and Cornelius á Lapide³¹ as exegetes who adopted the same principle: they appealed to Scripture as the source and constant reference point of the Church’s life and thought (*1878*,

²⁸ According to *Development* (1878), 7.1.4, the principle of faith requires a person to follow the guidance of revelation when seemingly opposing information from experience or reason is found.

²⁹ A reason that does not leave room for any object which it cannot grasp on its own power can be described as “totalitarian.” Josef Pieper (*Leisure: The Basis of Culture* [San Francisco: Ignatius, 2009], 22–24) referred to the world of “total work” as a mentality in which no human activity is allowed if it is not justified as some kind of productive “work.”

³⁰ Alfonso (Alphonsus) Salmerón (1515–1585), a biblical scholar and an initial member of the Society of Jesus founded by St. Ignatius Loyola, wrote sixteen volumes of Scriptural commentaries: eleven on the Gospels, one on Acts, and four on the Pauline Epistles.

³¹ Cornelius Cornelii a Lapide (né Cornelis Cornelissen van den Steen; 1567–1637), a Flemish Jesuit and exegete, wrote commentaries on all the books of Scripture with the exception of Job and the Psalms. These commentaries explained not only the literal, but also the allegorical, tropological, and anagogical sense of Scripture and provided quotations from the Church Fathers and the later interpreters of the Middle Ages.

7.4.3–4). Newman summarized this section: “It may be almost laid down as an historical fact, that the mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together” (1878, 7.4.5).

In the final paragraphs of this section, Newman considered two other scholars: Caesar von Lengerke,³² in whom orthodoxy and mystical sense were joined; and John Hales,³³ a latitudinarian who rejected the use of the spiritual sense in biblical interpretation (1878, 7.4.6–7). These examples indicate that the principle of the spiritual sense of Scripture is not so much the conclusion of an argument as a matter of historical verification. Moreover, the union of these two elements—spiritual sense and orthodoxy—verified in the history of the Church, results from the sacramental principle, which is one of the key principles operative in the doctrine of the Incarnation: the humanity assumed by Christ is a means of manifestation and an instrument of the Divine Person. In this way, the principle of theology shows again that principles, while underlying the development of doctrines, are also expressed in an ethos. Principles are a common root from which *theoria* and *praxis* originate.

DOGMA

Newman considered “dogma” not simply as a statement solemnly defined by the Church;³⁴ dogmatic statements were the tangible results of a much broader principle: “That opinions in religion are not matters of indifference, but have a definite bearing on the position of their holders in the Divine Sight, is a principle on which the Evangelical Faith has from the first developed . . .” (1878, 7.5.1). This principle had antecedents in the Old Testament, but unfolded more clearly in the New. Newman attributed to the dogmatic principle the attitude of many Fathers who rejected any contact with people professing heterodox doctrines. He stated that the dogmatic principle would have caused a complete fragmentation of Christianity, unless the norm to which Christians had to adhere was “definite, and formal, and independent of themselves” (1878, 7.5.3). Both faithfulness to received doctrine and rejection of heresy were unvarying characteristics of the Fathers, even of those who were open to adopting elements of Hellenistic culture and philosophy to aid their teaching. The Fathers considered it their duty to hold fast to what they had received from of old; in contrast, “the very characteristic of heresy is this novelty and originality of manifestation” (1878, 7.5.6).

Newman also indicated that the development of doctrine took place as a consequence of the dogmatic principle:

And, since the reason they [the Fathers] commonly gave for using the anathema was that the doctrine in question was strange and startling, it follows that the truth, which was its contradictory, was also in some respect unknown to them hitherto; which is also shown by their temporary perplexity, and their difficulty of meeting heresy, in particular cases. ‘Who ever heard the like hitherto?’ says St. Athanasius, of Apollinarianism . . . (1878, 7.5.6).

Finally, Newman claimed that the dogmatic principle continued to exercise an

³² Caesar von Lengerke (1803–1855), a German Bible scholar was professor of Theology in Königsberg.

³³ John Hales (1584–1656), an English cleric, theologian and writer, whose posthumous works—including his *Golden Remains*—earned him the title of “Ever-memorable.”

influence during the Middle Ages and Modernity, occasionally expressing itself in the coherent systematic character of Christian doctrine: "The Church's consistency and thoroughness in teaching is another aspect of the same principle . . ." (1878, 7.5.7).

In his final remarks in Chapter 7, Newman concluded that the continuity of principles and their operative vigor were hallmarks of authentic developments of Christianity; in contrast, heresies unavoidably exhibited a discontinuity with the principles of Christianity: some heretics rejected the allegorical sense of Scripture; other heretics replaced the principle of faith with human knowledge; and all who left the Church abandoned *ipso facto* the sacramental principle:

Moreover, if it be true that the principles of the later Church are the same as those of the earlier, then, whatever are the variations of belief between the two periods, the later in reality agrees more than it differs with the earlier, for principles are responsible for doctrines (1878, 7.6.1).

In this concluding sentence, Newman connected his first note of development—preservation of type—with the second: not only do individual doctrines show a continuity of principles, but through them the general "Idea" of Christianity, embodied in the Church, also appears as a *continuum*.³⁵ For Newman, the "Idea" of Christianity is the result of combining all its possible aspects or "views."³⁶ Principles, which are more clearly discernible in the development of particular doctrines—certain "views" of Christianity—ultimately explained for Newman the development of the "sum total" of these views (1878, 1.1.2). But some overarching principles also function as a link among different "views." The sacramental principle, for example, contains references to the Incarnation, Scripture, the sacraments, the church, etc.³⁷

The main lines of Newman's analysis in Chapter 7 can be recapitulated as follows: his consideration of the principles of faith and of the spiritual sense of Scripture indicated that there is a moral *ethos* corresponding with doctrine, and, accordingly, a systematic/logical and historically verifiable harmony of principles. The principle of theology is an instance of how principles complement and balance each other. A related idea is evidenced by the treatment of the principle of dogma: this principle stimulates development (principles 1 and 10). Under this principle, the link between the first and second notes becomes evident, since the "Idea of Christianity" develops in and through its particular "ideas" or doctrines.

³⁴ For an understanding of dogma at Newman's time, see Daniel Coghlan, "Dogma," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 5:89–93, at 89 (available at: www.newadvent.org/cathen/05089a.htm): "But according to a long-standing usage a dogma is now understood to be a truth appertaining to faith or morals, revealed by God, transmitted from the Apostles in the Scriptures or by tradition, and proposed by the Church for the acceptance of the faithful. It might be described briefly as a revealed truth defined by the Church; . . . A dogma therefore implies a twofold relation: to Divine revelation and to the authoritative teaching of the Church."

³⁵ See J.-H. Walgrave, *Newman the Theologian: The Nature of Belief and Doctrine as Exemplified in His Life and Works* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1960), 267–268; hereafter cited: Walgrave, *Theologian*. Walgrave agreed in establishing this link between the general Idea of Christianity and particular doctrines based on the notion of principles, though his explanation of this link is slightly different in details from his interpretation of Newman.

³⁶ Lash, *Development*, 50, has pointed out: "An 'aspect' is any partial knowledge of the idea (and so of the object) from a particular point of view: 'The idea which represents an object or supposed object is commensurate with the sum total of its possible aspects' [*Development* (1878), 1.1.2]."

³⁷ See Lash's comparison of "principles" and "doctrines" in his *Development*, 107–108.

DIFFERENCES: THE 1845- AND THE 1878-EDITION OF THE ESSAY

In regard to the treatment of “principles,” there were several differences between the 1845- and the 1878-edition of the *Essay*. First, the addition of the ten principles of Christianity in the 1878 edition (1878, 7.1.2-5) stressed the objective character of principles; even though still ethical and dependent on conscience for their subjective appropriation, the principles which explain the development of Christianity are derived from revealed Christian doctrine, in which they are implicitly contained. Second, by adding an illustration of the principle of theology (1878, 7.3.1-3), Newman showed how the principle of theology allows reason to function correctly when included under the principle of faith. In addition, this note emphasized the correlation between the speculative and ethical aspects of principles. Third, in the 1845-edition, after the illustrations of the second note, Newman provided a series of cases for the second and third notes together (1845, 351-376). In the 1878-edition, illustrations for these two notes were separated (1878, chapters 7 and 8). This may be an indication that in 1878, Newman saw the second note as more distinct and significant than at the time he originally wrote the *Essay*.

Even though these changes do not indicate any substantial change in Newman’s notion of principle, the emphasis on the speculative character of principles in the 1878-edition—an aspect already present, though not as emphatically, in the 1845-edition—is noteworthy. This speculative and ethical character of principles allowed Newman to understand principles as a link between the realms of thought and action.

“CONTINUITY OF PRINCIPLES”

Newman’s concept of “principle” is both analogical and complex, which makes it difficult to systematize its various aspects in a precise definition;³⁸ nonetheless, it seems possible to enumerate four complementary aspects:

1. Principles, which are general laws implicit in Christian doctrines, are more perceptible in core doctrines such as the Incarnation.
2. Principles can be traced in the practice of the Church through the centuries; there is a correspondence between principles of divine action in revelation and principles of doctrinal development in the Church.
3. Principles, being of a moral nature, energize developments by actualizing ideas in the realm of practical application (devotions, customs, teaching, moral criteria, defense of the faith, etc.).
4. Principles are interconnected and form a system in which some principles are central and others are dependent on these central principles.

Newman’s presentation of “principles” coincides to some extent with the classic understanding of scientific principles as the axioms and functioning rules which establish and advance the knowledge of that science.³⁹ “Principles” can be self-

³⁸ According to Lash, *Development*, 107, “As with any key term in Newman’s writings, summary definition [of principle] is impossible: one can only observe the use which he makes of it in different contexts.” See Walgrave, *Theologian*, 121-122, who referred the analogical character of Newman’s notion of “principle” to the diverse origin and value that principles have for each individual.

³⁹ Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 5, 1013a 15-17; *Posterior Analytics*, 1.2, 71b-72a; 1.9, 75b-76a; 1.28, 87a-87b; 1.32, 88b; 2.9, 93b.

evident or they can be the object of a more general science; in either case, sciences tend to take their principles for granted. The “principles” of Christianity are, accordingly, the more abstract and general truths that are implicit in the revelation of its doctrines. Christian revelation itself is concrete: it includes specific places, ordinances, names, rites, etc. Yet, these implicit “principles” act as a thread that connects facts into a coherent system. The mystery of the Incarnation and the Eucharist are facts and, in their external appearance, quite different from one another, but they both correspond to the sacramental principle: “a divine gift conveyed in a material and visible medium” (1878, 7.1.4).

What can be deduced from Newman’s *Essay on Development* is that “principles” are not directly revealed, but are implicit in Christian doctrines. As he indicated in Chapter 2, Newman derived this understanding of “principles” from Butler’s *Analogy*: these same implicitly revealed principles can be apprehended in the natural order. This is what makes the message of revelation comprehensible to the human mind and what makes the science of theology possible. Analogy is not arbitrary, but a principle derived from the doctrine that the Author of Nature and the Author of Grace are the same (1878, 2.2.10).

Yet there is a sense in which Newman’s notion of “principles” in his *Essay* was quite original and in which his notion clearly differs from the classic use of “principles” as the foundational truths of a science. Newman treated “principles” as simultaneously speculative and practical, while in classic philosophy,⁴⁰ principles of the speculative and practical intellect are usually distinct. In Newman’s *Development*, “principles” are described as laws regulating the development of doctrines as well as criteria underlying actions.⁴¹ Accordingly, Newman established a correlation between doctrine and practice. The moral *ethos* of the Church is in tune with its doctrine through the guiding activity of identical principles. Because principles have moral implications, they unavoidably result in moral figures.⁴² This indicates why Newman’s presentation of “doctrinal principles” is blended with lively descriptions of personality-types. Such types and their corresponding doctrines are two faces of the same implicit principle.

How can principles have continuity? Newman’s overall argument in his *Essay* is that the Roman Catholic Church of the nineteenth century in spite of many historical variations is the heir of the Apostolic Church. This identity is possible, among other reasons, because the same principles are maintained through historical changes. For Newman, the principles implicit in the apostolic preaching were the same principles supporting the doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church of his time.

As previously mentioned, Newman viewed “principles” as the hinge between doctrine and action. This allowed doctrines to develop through their immersion in the current of the living tradition. Because of the dual function of “principles,”

⁴⁰This distinction can be traced back to Aristotle (*Physics*, 7.3, 247a-248a; *On the Soul*, 3.7, 431a-431b). For further systematization of speculative and practical principles, see Aquinas, *In Aristotelis libros Posteriorum Analyticorum*, 1.41.7; *In Aristotelis De Anima, librum I reportatio*, 1.1.3; *In Aristotelis libros Physicorum*, 7.6.7; *Summa Theologiae*, II-II, 47.6.c.

⁴¹Lash, *Development*, 142, has pointed out that Newman’s “conception of revelation, and of the doctrinal statements in which the response of faith to that revelation is articulated and symbolically expressed, is such that the notion of truth which he employs cannot be restricted to ‘notional’, speculative, or theoretical truth, but also necessarily includes a personal, ‘ethical’, or existential dimension.”

⁴²See *Development* (1878), 99-100.

doctrines could easily have a regulating role over practical aspects of the Church’s life. At a later stage, reflection upon an action could cast new light upon the doctrine that originated it. An example that Newman related to the fourth note (Logical Sequence) might well be applied to continuity of principles: the development of the doctrine on the forgiveness of sins committed after baptism. The Church developed its penitential practice, which was voluntarily adopted by those willing to live a more strict Christian life. From this, the doctrine of purgatory developed, which influenced the development of monastic life. Without its historical development in the living tradition of the Church, the doctrine of forgiveness would never have resulted in the doctrine of purgatory or the practice of monasticism through theological argumentation alone. Such hybrid speculative-practical developments have a satisfactory explanation in a theory like Newman’s, where doctrine and history are linked by principles that are operative in both.⁴³

This dual function of principles, which can and does prompt developments both in doctrine and in action, in such a way that these developments correct and stimulate one another, enabled Newman to explain how principles can have continuity. An additional element that allows for the continuity of principles is the multiplicity of doctrines and practical consequences in which a “principle” will tend to manifest itself over time, while remaining constant as a unifying and regulating center of its different manifestations.

How then does a Christian identify principles and apply them in specific situations? Though Newman maintained that principles were rooted in an ethical disposition, he did not use the principles mentioned in his *Essay* to anticipate possible developments in the future. Rather, the principles were extracted from cases that had happened in the past. It was to those past cases that Newman applied his principles, to ascertain whether the historical changes in Christianity were consistent with them and, if so, whether they could be considered authentic developments instead of corruptions. Even when used for past cases, that does not mean that it is easy to identify and apply principles. As John Ford has noted, personal skill and knowledge are needed in order to apply the notes of Newman’s *Essay*: the notes will not yield automatic results (in their application); the results depend on the qualifications of the person applying the notes; just like an expert detective, examining the evidence, can solve the mystery of a crime, while others, having the same evidence, cannot.⁴⁴ The application of principles to particular doctrines and practices involves the same difficulty as the application of universal ethical principles to particular cases: both applications require the virtue of prudence.

Newman’s presentation of “principles” reflects the way in which he proceeded in his own spiritual journey: it was a process that included both mind and heart. In his view, doctrine and spiritual life could never be separated. His notion of principle was an attempt to express in an intelligible way the point of intersection between doctrine and life, an attempt to explain the identity of Christianity through time, an attempt to articulate his personal journey of faith.

⁴³ Merrigan, *Clear Heads*, 92, has observed: “It is basic to Newman’s conception of the idea that it resists exhaustive propositional articulation, and that its progress, so to speak, is dependent on intense devotional and ethical practice.”

⁴⁴ Ford, “Type,” 38–39.

A SERMON OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN AT ST. CLEMENT'S: "ON THE NATURE OF THE FUTURE PROMISE"

ATTILIO ROSSI

This study considers Newman's sermon—"On the Nature of the Future Promise"—which he preached on 4 September 1825 at St. Clement's Church, Oxford—likely with his mother and sisters present in the congregation; in addition to treating Newman's style of preaching and Evangelical theology, this sermon's theological and pastoral dimensions are also examined.

Much has been written about John Henry Newman's preaching style, but there has been comparatively little analysis of the content of his sermons.¹ After his ordination as a deacon in the Church of England on 13 June 1824, Newman began serving as a curate at St. Clement's, a parish then located across the Magdalen Bridge from the main part of Oxford.² Newman's sermons at St. Clement's were his first attempts at a preaching-style that eventually became very well received, yet which he was still in the process of developing and refining. He did not publish these early Anglican sermons and later affixed a note on a bundle of them:

None of these Sermons are worth of any thing in themselves, but those preached at St. Clement's, 1824–26, up to No. 150 inclusive, will show how far I was an Evangelical when I went into Anglican Orders.³

Among these sermons was one—"On the Nature of the Future Promise"—which he preached at St. Clement's on 4 September 1825—three months after his ordination as an Anglican priest on 29 May 1825.⁴

That September, Newman had a number of concerns. At the beginning of the month, he had started to read material in preparation for writing an article for the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* on the neo-Pythagorean philosopher Apollonius of Tyana.⁵ Apollonius was a contemporary of Jesus who became a wandering teacher with a mythical reputation of performing miracles. The writer Philostratus was supposedly asked to write a biography of Apollonius by the empress Julia Domna

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¹ See W. F. Mandle, "Newman and his Audiences: 1825–1845," *The Journal of Religious History* 24/2 (June 2000): 149–150; hereafter cited: Mandle, "Audiences."

² For a brief history of St. Clement's, see: <http://www.stclements.org.uk/home/about/history/>.

³ *John Henry Newman. Sermons 1824–1843*, Volume III: *Sermons and Lectures for Saint's Days and Holy Days and General Theology*, edited by Francis J. McGrath and Placid Murray (Oxford: Clarendon, 2010), vi; hereafter cited: *Sermons* 3. "No 150" relates to the fact that Newman numbered his Anglican sermons in the order in which he wrote them.

⁴ "Sermon 68, No 102. On the Nature of the Future Promise" (hereafter cited: "Future Promise") in John Henry Newman. *Sermons 1824–1843*, Volume V: *Sermons Preached at St. Clement's, Oxford: 1824–1826 and Two Charity Sermons: 1827*, edited by Francis J. McGrath (London: Oxford University, 2012), 299–304; hereafter cited: *Sermons* 5.

⁵ See Newman's diary entries, *The Letters and Diaries of John Henri Newman* 1: 256; hereafter cited: LD.

(170–217) as a means of counteracting the rising influence of Christianity;⁶ however, this biography has dubious historical value.⁷ In his article, Newman claimed that the purported miracles of Apollonius were only a fraudulent imitation of the miracles of Jesus.⁸ Newman's presentation of Greek philosophy—which achieved some knowledge about truths similar in part to those of revelation—seemingly resurfaced in this sermon, which contrasted philosophers' idea of heaven with its Biblical counterpart.

Another important concern for Newman at the time he delivered this sermon was an on-going argument with his brother Charles (1802–1884), who had announced that he was abandoning Christianity in favor of the rational principles of life formulated by Robert Owen.⁹ Charles claimed that the Bible and Christianity were full of errors, lies, and irrelevant doctrines that produced more evil than good. Newman's argument with Charles—which required considerable time for collecting material and for writing a series of letters—occupied Newman from the beginning of March to the end of September 1825.¹⁰

Newman preached two sermons on September 4. At the morning service, his sermon presented holiness as the very purpose of revelation; he also announced to his parishioners a series of sermons on revelation—to commence immediately. The theme of revelation—evidently suggested by his on-going argument with Charles—was treated by Newman for the first time in a systematic way.¹¹ This fraternal dispute was seemingly echoed in his afternoon sermon—"On the Nature of the Future Promise"—which contrasted the scriptural account of heaven with the views of the after-life proposed by philosophy or human wisdom.

Another personal concern that may have influenced Newman's decision to preach about the afterlife were two recent deaths in his family. His father had died a year earlier on 29 September 1824. Although there were differences between Newman and his father, they were united by mutual love and respect. Nonetheless, after his father's death, Newman recorded his guilty feelings:

I have sometimes thought with much bitterness that I might have softened his afflictions much by kind attentions which I neglected. I was cold, stiff, reserved. I know I hurt him much . . . I hardly said a word. Why could I not have said how much I owed to him, his kindness in sending me to Oxford, etc.¹²

In addition, just three months earlier on 29 May 1825, Newman had lost his paternal grandmother, whom he considered the person chiefly responsible—along

⁶ Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman. A Biography* (New York: Oxford University, 1988), 26; hereafter cited: Ker, *Biography*.

⁷ *Apollonius of Tyana*, available at: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/30068/Apollonius-Of-Tyana>.

⁸ John Henry Newman (hereafter: JHN), *The Apollonius of Tyana*, available at <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/historical/volume1/apollonius/index.html>.

⁹ Robert Owen (1771–1858), a Welsh factory manager and social reformer, established experimental cooperative communities in New Harmony, Indiana, and elsewhere.

¹⁰ See JHN to Charles Robert Newman: (3 March 1825), LD, 1: 212–215; (24 March 1825), LD, 1: 219–221; (14 April 1825), LD, 1: 224–228; (7 July 1825), 240–241; (26 July?), LD 1: 246–248; (25 August 1825), LD, 1: 253–255. Simultaneously, Newman shared his concern about Charles' religious views in letters to his mother and sisters.

¹¹ See Francis McGrath, *John Henry Newman: Universal Revelation* (Macon, GA: Mercer University, 1997), 28–30.

¹² *John Henry Newman. Autobiographical Writings*, edited by Henry Tristram (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 208; hereafter cited: AW.

with his aunt Elizabeth—for helping him pass from youthfulness to maturity in religious matters.¹³ The deaths of these two close relatives during the preceding months seemingly resounded in his mind while he was preparing this sermon on eternal life.

Newman was primarily preaching to local people—rather than to faculty or students—in his congregation at St. Clement’s. In the spring of 1825, Newman’s mother and sisters had come to stay at the house of Richard Whately¹⁴ at St. Alban Hall and remained there until the end of September.¹⁵ During their stay at St. Alban’s, Newman’s mother and sisters attended Sunday services at St. Clement’s and were likely present when he delivered two consecutive sermons on eternal life: the first on August 14 and the second on September 4. Both sermons considered the popular belief that heaven is a place where relatives reunite. Although he pointed out that such a belief was not in Scripture, he considered the reunification of family members in heaven probable, even if not promised—which would certainly have been a consoling thought not only to him personally, but to his mother and sisters as well.¹⁶ In addition, the personal distress caused by the loss of loved ones was a factor in the broader process of maturation of the young Newman, who was beginning to discover that his Calvinistic and Evangelical ideas were unrealistic—they simply did not work in the actual context of his parish ministry.¹⁷

MINISTRY AT ST CLEMENT’S

St Clement’s was a working-class parish in a residential area of Oxford on the east side of the Cherwell in an area known as “The Plains.” In 1801, St. Clement’s had 400 parishioners; two dozen years later when Newman was curate, there were about 1400, with the likelihood of continuing growth in the coming years.¹⁹ Newman started his ministry at St. Clement’s in July 1824, three weeks after his diaconal ordination. Although it was not customary for Anglican deacons to preach on Sunday, he did so from the beginning, since the rector, John Gutch (1746–1831) was nearly eighty. Newman, however, was dissatisfied with his preaching, because he felt he was not having an effective impact on his listeners’ lives.²⁰ Possibly, he would have felt more comfortable with the middle- and upper-class audience of Oxford.²¹

In any case, most of Newman’s sermons at St. Clement’s were filled with the practical details of Christian life. Every aspect of his sermons was supported by abundant references drawn from the entire range of Scripture. Even though his

¹³ Ker, *Biography*, 25.

¹⁴ Richard Whately (1787–1863), a fellow of Oriel College and Principal of St. Alban Hall, where Newman was Vice Principal, was appointed Anglican Archbishop of Dublin in 1831.

¹⁵ Vincent Ferrer Blehl, *Pilgrim Journey: John Henry Newman 1801–1845* (New York: Burns & Oates, 2001), 68; hereafter cited: Blehl, *Pilgrim Journey*.

¹⁶ Colm McKeating, *Eschatology in the Anglican Sermons of John Henry Newman* (Lewiston: Mellen Research University, 1992), 248, note 124; hereafter cited: *Eschatology*.

¹⁷ See *AW*, 79, 206. Newman’s pastoral experience at St. Clement’s marked his initial step in moving away from Evangelicalism.

¹⁸ At the time of Newman’s curacy, St. Clement’s Church, which could only hold 200 people, was too small for the growing congregation; by 1825, Newman had collected £2000, for a new church, which was built in 1827–1828 at a cost of £6,032.

¹⁹ Cf. McKeating, *Eschatology*, xv, note 2.

²⁰ Cf. *Sermons*, 5: xix–xxiii.

²¹ Cf. Mandle, “Audiences,” 151.

sermons at St. Clement's were not yet the mature expression of Newman's later style and theological vision, they give an impression of the development of his thought. At the same time, these sermons contained some central elements that would become constant in his spirituality. These sermons, along with his pastoral zeal, eventually attracted more and more parishioners to St. Clement's.²²

Yet it was not only a question of audience, but also of preaching style. Newman followed a popular method of sermon-writing, elaborated by the prominent Anglican Evangelical, Charles Simeon (1759-1836). Simeon's method consisted in drawing up a skeleton outline with the main points of the sermon. Newman usually followed suit by dividing his sermons into three headings—though occasionally four or five. By 1831, he was convinced that instead of dealing with three or four topics in a sermon, it was better to consider only one subject and develop it in depth—just as a "marksman aims at the target and its bull's-eye, and at nothing else, so the preacher must have a definite point before him, which he has to hit."²³ His preaching eventually became more attentive to the particular congregation gathered around him and more focused on particular topics—omitting generalities and commonplaces.²⁴ In terms of Simeon's method, as well as Newman's later reflections, "On the Nature of the Future Promise" exemplified a style not yet mature.

The previous spring, 1824, Newman—at Whately's invitation—wrote an article on Cicero for the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*.²⁵ In this lengthy essay, Newman stated that he considered Cicero as the most attractive figure of classical antiquity and the greatest master of composition. Newman was so impressed by Cicero's rhetorical style that it became a source of inspiration for him and had a notable influence on his writing and preaching. His brother Francis maintained that Newman learned from Cicero the controversialist style which he always used when he had a thesis to attack or defend.²⁶ This sermon—"On the Nature of the Future Promise"—is one of many examples of this approach: its main thesis was presented in contrast to two positions that he rejected. Newman's attention to style—even in his sermons—was one of the factors that made him, not only an effective preacher, but also one of the most skilled rhetoricians in nineteenth-century England.²⁷

EVANGELICAL ESCHATOLOGY

By the end of the Middle-Ages, Western Christianity had elaborated an eschatological synthesis characterized by the assimilation of the concept of the Last Day with that of the day of a person's death. Great importance was attached to the moment of death, so that to die well became almost more important than to live well. Prayers for the deliverance of those in purgatory from their torment and the doctrine of indulgences were greatly emphasized. While maintaining the same general eschatological picture, the Reformation eliminated both the idea of purgatory—

²² Blehl, *Pilgrim Journey*, 60-61.

²³ This was Newman's later advice in his essay, "University Preaching," in *The Idea of a University*, 406; available at <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/idea/article6.html>.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 418-419.

²⁵ JHN, "Personal and Literary Character of Cicero," *Historical Sketches* 1: 239-300, available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/historical/volume1/cicero/index.html>.

²⁶ Ker, *Biography*, 24.

²⁷ Blehl, *Pilgrim Journey*, 5-6.

because of its link with indulgences—and the idea of satisfaction as counter to the principle of justification by faith. Many Reformers came to view human beings as divided into two groups: those destined for heaven and those relegated to hell. Among Calvinists, this view developed into a theology of predestination: the elect were predestined to salvation, while the reprobate were doomed to perdition.²⁸

Newman grew up in an Anglican household where religion consisted mainly in the reading of the Bible both in church and in private. At the age of fourteen, his reading of Voltaire's writings, Hume's essays and Paine's objections to the Old Testament threatened to have a negative influence on his religious growth. When he was fifteen, however, he experienced a conversion to a moderate form of Calvinistic Evangelicalism, which resulted "in isolating me from the objects which surrounded me, in confirming me in my mistrust of the reality of material phenomena, and making me rest in the thought of two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator"; as a collateral effect of his conversion, he "fell under the influences of a definite Creed."²⁹

Anglican Evangelicals, though not numerically strong, were characterized by their integrity, desire for holiness, organization, and money—characteristics that distinguished them from the lethargic religious practice of the Establishment. Evangelicals considered themselves the invisible Church of Christ—"real" Christians in contrast to "nominal" ones who, through baptism, claimed to belong to the visible Church. Evangelicals maintained that baptism had no real power to transform people's lives; instead, the individual person was transformed by the work of the Holy Spirit through a process of justification, conversion, and holiness. Scripture was the only visible expression of God's will able to lead people to holiness, their goal.³⁰

The adolescent Newman read the writings of Thomas Scott, who made a great impression on him, especially concerning faith in the Trinity, submission to the Scriptures and to the will of God in fear and love, and the need for holiness, which he emphasized over the popular stress on conversion.³² Newman also read William Romaine³³ and William Beveridge,³⁴ whose emphasis was upon predestination and the life to come.³⁵ Newman learned that eternal life and not this life should always be the center of our thought.³⁶

In 1824, Newman started his ministry in St. Clement's under the influence of Evangelical ideas and with great enthusiasm for the conversion of his parishioners.

²⁸ See Geoffrey Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians: A Study of the Nineteenth-Century Theological Controversies Concerning Eternal Punishment and the Future Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 18–31; hereafter cited: Rowell, *Hell*.

²⁹ JHN, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, 4; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/apologia65/chapter1.html>.

³⁰ Cf. McGrath, *Universal Revelation*, 25–26.

³¹ Thomas Scott (1747–1821), rector of Aston Sandford and a founder of the Church Missionary Society, was well known for his *Commentary on the Whole Bible* (1788–1792); in his *Apologia* (5), Newman described Scott as the person "to whom (humanly speaking), I almost owe my soul."

³² Sheridan Gilley, *Newman and His Age* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1990), 49; hereafter cited: Gilley, *Newman*.

³³ William Romaine (1714–1795) was an Anglican author of Calvinist bent.

³⁴ William Beveridge (1637–1708), a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, was appointed Archdeacon of Colchester in 1681 and Bishop of St. Asaph in 1704.

³⁵ Gilley, *Newman*, 27.

³⁶ See David P. Deavel, *Under Judgment: The Possibility of Damnation in the Thought of John Henry Newman* (New York: Fordham University, 2010), 43; hereafter cited: Deavel, *Under Judgment*.

Yet his parochial duties turned out to be the beginning of his own conversion from Evangelicalism to a more sacramental view of the Church in general and a recognition of the power of regeneration through baptism in particular. His pastoral experience convinced him the real world was not the one depicted by Calvinism: people were not clearly and distinctly divided into either sinners living in darkness or the elect living in light and destined for salvation.³⁷ In the space of twenty months of dedicated parish work, Newman's theological orientation experienced a major shift away from its Evangelical foundation—a shift that progressed further in the following years through his reading of the Fathers of the Church.

The influence of Evangelicalism on Newman was abundantly clear in the first sermon he ever preached—on 23 June 1824—when he described the false notions of religion as consisting “*merely* in certain outward ceremonies—or in a *mere* activity and usefulness of life—or in mere innocency of temper and amiableness of manners.”³⁸ In his fifteenth sermon,³⁹ preached on 29 August 1824, Newman rejected the moral self-sufficiency of the “professed Christians”—the “Christian Pharisee”—who rely on the external observances of religion to obtain salvation. Newman also rejected the claim of the “professed Christian” that even if he failed in all else, his sincerity would find him acceptance with God. These ideas were common among Evangelical writers who considered the religion of the “professed Christian” a formality or at best a system for the promotion of social virtues that had very little to do with God.⁴⁰

In Newman's sermons on the afterlife in 1825, Evangelical ideas were evident in his eschatology, which was characterized by stressing corrupted human nature, and a radical opposition both between this world and the next and between a worldly kingdom and a spiritual kingdom—with little consideration for the visible Church.⁴¹ Though a certain severity remained a strong feature of his thought throughout his Anglican period,⁴² Newman eventually ceased separating “professed Christians” and the elect; his preaching called all his parishioners to holiness and salvation.

4 SEPTEMBER 1825: TWO SERMONS

Newman usually preached twice on Sunday: one sermon for the morning service and a different sermon for the afternoon service. Preaching on two different topics on the same Sunday required him to spend more time for sermon-preparation than most ministers usually do.⁴³ Along with his visits to the families of the parish—a practice that was then uncommon for Anglican ministers—the Sunday school he started, and his fund-raising for more adequate buildings, such double effort in preaching is indicative of his zeal in pastoral ministry.⁴⁴

³⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, 37–42.

³⁸ “Sermon 1, No 2. Waiting on God,” in *Sermons*, 5: 5.

³⁹ Cf. “Sermon 13, No 15. Parable of the Pharisee and Publican,” in *Sermons* 5: 76–82.

⁴⁰ Cf. John E. Linnan, “The Search for Absolute Holiness: A Study of Newman's Evangelical Period,” *The Ampleforth Journal* 73/2 (1968): 161–174.

⁴¹ Cf. McKeating, *Eschatology*, 63–71, 246–247.

⁴² Cf. Deavel, *Under Judgment*, 59–61.

⁴³ Newman preached some of his Anglican sermons several times; see Paul Chavasse, “Newman the Preacher,” *Cahiers Victoriens et Édouardiens* 70 (2009): 116.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Sermons* 5: xxii–xxiii.

On August 29 and 30, Newman prepared his sermon on the “Future Promise” (102) for the afternoon service. On September 3, he started to write “Holiness the End of Gospel” (103),⁴⁵ which he finished on Sunday, September 4, shortly before preaching it at the morning service. His intention was to present holiness, as the object and the end of the Christian life. He described the biblical notion of holiness, pointed out erroneous ways of neglecting holiness, and exhorted his congregation to strive for holiness.⁴⁶ That same Sunday afternoon, he preached “On the Nature of the Future Promise.”

Although the two sermons belong to two different cycles of his preaching, and so were not directly connected, they were written in the same week in preparation for the same Sunday. One can see a connection between the two: the themes of “holiness” and of “final purpose” are common to both. In his sermon on “Holiness” (103), he emphasized that the purpose of the Gospel is the holiness of Christian life; in his sermon on “Future Promise” (102), he pointed out that the purpose of Christian life is eternal happiness in heaven, but the key to heaven is holiness. Accordingly, the two sermons are not only connected circumstantially—since they were delivered on the same day—but also intentionally, so that one sheds light on the other.

In the afternoon, Newman explicitly referred to two of his previous sermons on the “world to come”:

Of late we have been considering circumstances connected with the spirituality of the Christian promise—In my last discourse I attempted to show that it was not a promise of this world, but of the world to come—Let us now conclude the whole subject by considering the nature of this future promise.⁴⁷

The first of these sermons—“Future reward not merited by us” (97)—Newman had preached on the afternoon of August 7, while the second—“The Christian promise not temporal” (99)—he had preached on the afternoon of August 14.⁴⁸ The break in the series of sermons was due to the fact that he did not preach at St. Clement’s on the afternoons of August 21 and 28.⁴⁹ Both of the afternoon sermons on August 7 and 14 concerned eternal life and so were a prelude to his sermon on “Future Promise” on September 4. In fact, there is a continuity of themes between his sermon on “The Christian Promise” (99) on August 14 and his sermon on “Future Promise” (102) on September 4: the former explained the nature of the promise, while the latter discussed what things are promised in heaven.

SERMON 102

According to the liturgical calendar of the *Book of Common Prayer*, 4 September 1825, was the 14 Sunday after Trinity Sunday. The designated epistle was

⁴⁵ Cf. *LD*, 1: 429. Newman numbered his sermons according to the date he wrote them, not according to the date that they were delivered.

⁴⁶ “Sermon 67, No 103. Holiness the end of the Gospel,” in *Sermons* 5: 292–298; hereafter cited: “Holiness,” *Sermons* 5.

⁴⁷ “Future Promise,” *Sermons* 5: 300.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Sermons* 5: 429.

⁴⁹ On August 21, Newman preached at St. Mary’s in place of Edward Hawkins and Mr. Parson took the service at St. Clement’s (*LD* 1: 252). On August 28, Newman was at St. Clement’s in both the morning and afternoon, but Rev. John Gutch, the rector, delivered the sermon in the afternoon (*LD* 1: 255).

Galatians 5:16–24 and the gospel Luke 17:11–19;⁵⁰ however, Newman did not preach on the readings of the day; instead continued preaching on his chosen theme: "On the Nature of the Future Promise." His sermon opened with the text of Matthew 17:1–4 about the Transfiguration of Jesus. In his commentary, Newman first described and criticized two views of heaven that were common at that time. One view was that eternal happiness consists in knowing all the mysteries of the universe that people are unable to understand while living on earth. The second more popular view imagines that the happiness of heaven consists in reunion with family members and other loved ones. While conceding that these views contained some elements that may be part of eternal life, Newman asserted that these views are not what Scripture really promised. He then considered the specifics of Christian belief about heaven, as revealed in the Bible, stressing two elements: the vision of God and the new creation. The sermon ended with a short exhortation to strive for holiness of life in order to enjoy the happiness of heaven at the end of life.

His commentary on the Transfiguration did not consider the whole passage of Matthew, but only the initial four verses that describe the manifestation of Jesus in glory with Moses and Elijah and the reaction of Peter, who proposed erecting three tents and staying there. Newman succinctly explained that the Transfiguration was used by Jesus to complete his gradual instruction of his disciples by teaching them a truth that they were earlier unable to understand. Knowing that he was moving toward the fulfillment of his mission—his redemptive sacrifice at Jerusalem—Jesus gave his disciples a foretaste of his heavenly glory and of the communion with him in eternal life in order "to lead their thoughts from this world to the next, to open their minds, to expand their views, and spiritualise their affections."⁵¹

Newman's sermon then considered the connection between the Transfiguration of Jesus and his death and resurrection. His sermon referred both to Luke 9:31—which mentions that Moses and Elijah were speaking of the mission Jesus was to accomplish in Jerusalem—and to Matthew 17:9, where Jesus asked his disciples to keep secret what they saw until his rising from the dead; accordingly, Jesus led his disciples to the virtue of humility: "humbling their hopes of this world he was exciting hopes of the next."

Evidently, it was not Newman's intention to make the whole episode of the Transfiguration the focus of his sermon. He could have considered other aspects—for instance, the effect of the manifestation of Jesus' glory as a way of strengthening the faith of the apostles in preparation for the difficult trial of his passion and death. Or Newman could have stressed the Transfiguration as a proof of the divinity of Christ. Instead, he looked at the Transfiguration as a door that opens to eternity and said that he wanted to move from that passage of the gospel to the main point of his sermon: life in heaven. Newman was not engaged in an exegetical study of the scriptural text; instead he was making a pastoral use of the Bible; however, he was not just picking a point out of Scripture to make his argument; his commentary on the biblical passage provided pertinent insight into one aspect of the biblical text.⁵²

⁵⁰ Cf. *The Book of Common Prayer*, 14th Sunday after the Trinity, available at: <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1662/baskerville.htm>.

⁵¹ "Future Promise," *Sermons* 5: 299.

⁵² Edward J. Enright, "The Sermon as Biblical Commentary: The Case of Newman's *Parochial and Plain Sermons* and Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians," *Anglican Theological Review* 85/4 (2003): 686–687.

THE PROMISE OF HEAVEN

The word “promise” served as a thread for the logic of this sermon: “He not only taught them the promise was not *earthly*, but He showed them it was heavenly.”⁵³ The promise was qualified as a Gospel promise, a Christian promise, and a future promise. Newman’s earlier sermon on “The Christian promise not temporal” (99) is helpful for understanding this theme:

We may now understand that numerous passages in the Old Testament like the Psalms just now read to you, may contain promises of temporal things with which we as *Christians* have no concern.—We have our peculiar and better promises, which the Jews had not—we are elected unto nobler hopes and more glorious prospects [—] what these are, we must learn from the New Testament not from the Old—may we feel and duly appreciate the excellence of our lot, which is far more desirable than theirs was.⁵⁴

Newman then pointed out that the promise of the Old Testament is of a different and inferior level than the promise of the New:

Here then I may address those who from their forgetfulness of the promise of a future life, seem to give up their Christian hopes and relapse into the shadows and dimness of Judaism—Your minds are set on this world—you desire temporal promises—.⁵⁵

Newman insisted that the object of the Old Testament was land, prosperity, and other temporal benefits, while the object of the New Testament is the future life. Accordingly, Newman pointed out that a change of perspective had occurred through Christ: the aim of faith and religious practice became directed to the life to come, more than to the present life. Newman invited his audience to fix their thoughts and desires on heavenly realities and to overcome the temptation of remaining overly attached to earthly concerns. His sermon on September 4, continued this topic by considering the nature of the Christian promise; in particular, he pointed out that some ideas of eternal life that had entered the imagination of ordinary people were overly human in contrast with what was actually promised in Scripture.⁵⁶

HEAVEN: NOT ABOUT “FULL KNOWLEDGE”

In rhetorical fashion, Newman started by rejecting an erroneous view in order to emphasize the importance and beauty of the scriptural account:

First then I shall observe upon the notion that the joys of heaven will consist in *knowing much*—and secondly—upon that of supposing them to consist in *enjoying the society of those we knew on earth*.—Even were these notions less common than they are, it would be irrelevant to mention, for in explaining their erroneousness, we may be able to set off and illustrate by the contrast the Scriptural account of heaven.⁵⁷

⁵³ “Future Promise,” *Sermons* 5: 300; the noun “promise” appeared ten times in this sermon, the verb “promised” ten times and the third person present “promises” once.

⁵⁴ “The Christian promise not temporal,” *Sermons* 5: 288.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁵⁶ See McGrath, *Universal Revelation*, 26. One can notice here the influence of Evangelical theology, which considered only Scripture as the visible expression of God’s will and the incisive mediator in the process of salvation.

⁵⁷ “Future Promise,” *Sermons* 5: 300.

Newman seemingly recognized that the first of the "notions" he wanted to challenge was not very common. One might wonder if such a notion was present at all, in a working class parish, such as St Clement's. Arguing against this view might have served the rhetorical purpose of showing its contrast with the biblical account, but may not have been particularly appropriate from a pastoral point of view.⁵⁸ Although his congregation at St. Clement's probably was unfamiliar with this notion, probably the idea was circulating at the academic community of Oxford. This sermon then seems to include a veiled criticism of the tendency to emphasize the importance of secular studies while neglecting the religious and spiritual dimension of human formation. This theme later became a more explicit part of his commitment for the renewal of the academic system in Oxford⁵⁹ and of his program for the new university in Dublin.⁶⁰

In sermon 102, Newman referred to First Corinthians 13:12: "We shall know as we are known" and to John 13:7: "As we understand not now, we shall understand hereafter,"⁶¹ as quoted by those who wished to prove that the desire for knowledge in heaven was based on revelation—specifically that believers in Christ would ascend to the heavens, above the sun and the stars and to visit, like angels, the stars and the moon and comprehend their nature and all the secrets of the universe. "Yet Scripture preserves an impressive silence on the subject."⁶² Its purpose is not to excite our curiosity for the created world but to lead our thoughts to the creator. The purpose of this life is preparation for the next, "to exercise ourselves in holiness that we may then be perfectly holy."⁶³ If knowledge is to be part of heaven, Scripture should tell us to strive for it on earth so that we may attain it in heaven.

Instead the Bible does not ask us to concentrate our efforts on the pursuit of knowledge nor does it promise knowledge:

Besides I have insisted much that the future reward of our present virtue, is described as merely the *perfection and the completion* of that virtue—that the reward of attempting to do our duty will be the *power* of doing our duty entirely. — Thus there is a *connexion* between this life and the next—between future holiness and future happiness—between obedience here and the reward of obedience hereafter.⁶⁴

Looming in the background is the Evangelical insistence on holiness. Such insistence on holiness would continue to be, as McKeating has noted, "the key to Newman's eschatology, for heaven is the end of the process of sanctification; it is the perfection of holiness itself."⁶⁵

Newman's argument then took an unexpected turn that provided the most profound theological reflection of the sermon. More than showing that there is a relation between heaven and holiness, his sermon characterized holiness as the

⁵⁸ The more effective arguments in preaching are those that are directly connected with the actual experience of the audience; Newman eventually learned how to connect with the actual concerns of his audience; at St Clement's, however, he was still refining his preaching method.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ker, *Biography*, 32–41.

⁶⁰ See "Theology a Branch of Knowledge," in *The Idea of a University*, 19–42, available at <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/idea/discourse2.html>.

⁶¹ "Future Promise," *Sermons* 5: 301.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 300.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 301.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁶⁵ McKeating, *Eschatology*, 242.

human effort required in the pursuit of virtue. Human efforts on earth will be rewarded by the achievement of those efforts in heaven. The attempt to perform one's duty on earth will be rewarded by the power, the capacity, of accomplishing that duty in heaven. This view has two clear implications: first, our life in heaven will be the completion of our efforts on earth; second, God rewards our efforts independent of our achievements.

Newman's eschatological thinking at this early stage of his ministry had some ambiguity. On the one hand, he held an Evangelical view that emphasized the gratuity of salvation in Christ and the gift of holiness; on the other hand, he seemed to be moving toward a more Catholic perspective that insisted on a link between the means for holiness, namely human effort and virtue, and the end of holiness, heaven. For him, the spiritual life was seemingly a constant straining to attain heaven; moreover, the life of glory in heaven was not completely different from the state of grace on earth; it was its continuation; the difference was in degree, not in substance.⁶⁶ In addition, since there are differences in the way people strive for virtue, accordingly, there are different ways in which the reward of heaven is bestowed. Heaven then will not be the same for everybody, but will be personalized according to each person's holiness.⁶⁷

Usually the first years in ministry—especially the need to prepare sermons—are a special opportunity for a minister to investigate and internalize doctrines in order to preach to parishioners. Sometimes one understands a doctrine better when one has to explain it to others. Newman, while at St Clements, was engaged in a personal search for truth, a search that would continue for many years. When he preached a truth to his parishioners, he was simultaneously preaching it to himself. This seemingly happened with his understanding of holiness, virtue, and heaven. The parishioners may have not understood too much, but for Newman personally, it was surely a meaningful point.

Finally, the sermon attacked the idea that the happiness of heaven consists in superior knowledge of the universe. The biblical texts 2 Peter 3:10 and Revelation 20:11 show that this material creation will be destroyed and the earth and the heavens will pass away. Since material creation will end, there is no point in placing too much emphasis on discovery of information: "A future life is not to consist in the gratification of curiosity or the pursuits of science!"⁶⁸ This critique of the excessive exaltation of scientific knowledge concluded his argument.

HEAVEN: A REUNION WITH RELATIVES?

After his first argument against the exaltation of knowledge, Newman introduced a topic that would surely have resonated in the heart of his parishioners: a "second and much common and much more natural opinion . . . the idea that heaven is a place where we shall meet our departed friends."⁶⁹ He characterized this expectation as a natural hope in accord with human reason and simultaneously in line with some

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 243–244.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 223–238. Newman did not develop his thought this far, but this seems the implication of his view; in addition, his sermons show how his thought was developing.

⁶⁸ "Future Promise," *Sermons* 5: 302.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 301–302.

passages of Scripture. Referring to Matthew 22:30, he interpreted Jesus' saying that in heaven there is no marriage for the saints as implying that there we may meet our dear ones. But we will love them in a new way, as the members of a unique great family; however, we should "think much of seeing God, and only moderately of seeing our friends."⁷⁰

In sermon 99, Newman had expressed the same idea in a gentle way; while holding the truth of the Bible, he showed respect and sympathy for the feeling of the congregation:

It is hardly revealed to us, that friends here will enjoy each other's society in a future world, certainly it is not promised;—yet who on that account is without some secret expectation and humble hope that Christ will hereafter bring together those whom death now separates?⁷¹

Sermon 102 continued this line of thought by maintaining that by indulging in ideas of heaven as consisting in the acquisition of knowledge or in the meeting with friends, there is "the risk of excluding from heaven the God of heaven."⁷² Christ is the center of the Christian view of heaven but these two ideas of heaven work quite well without reference to Christ. An unbeliever too may desire knowledge and affections of friends and conceive a future life where he will find what he desires most; such was the case with some heathen philosophers who had a God-less concept of heaven. Newman concluded that in heaven the knowledge and enjoyment of friends' affection may be added as a source of happiness, but since such are not promised, they should receive only subordinate consideration. What matters are the Scriptural accounts of heaven.

SCRIPTURAL ACCOUNTS OF HEAVEN

Since the most widespread idea of heaven promised in the Scriptures "*consists in seeing God and Christ*,"⁷³ Newman provided ten biblical quotations from the Old and the New Testament referring to the vision of God. In the surviving manuscript, the passages are given one after the other with little commentary;⁷⁴ it is unclear whether Newman commented on these passages or simply read them. For example, among Evangelicals, citing an abundance of Scriptural texts was considered a good way to prove an argument, although one or two well-explained passages might have been more effective. Moreover, this was the first time that Newman devoted an entire sermon to a treatment of the topic of eternal life; his reflections on eschatology were still at an early stage. In any case, he did not preach this sermon again, though his eschatological thought would further develop.⁷⁵ Surprisingly, after citing a series of scriptural texts, Newman concluded:

It must not be supposed that I am opposing feelings so sacred as those which

⁷⁰ Ibid., 302.

⁷¹ "Christian Promise," *Sermons* 5: 288.

⁷² "Future Promise," *Sermons* 5: 302.

⁷³ Ibid., 303.

⁷⁴ The biblical quotations included: Our Saviour calls the pure in heart blessed, because they shall see God < Matt 5[: 8]> . . . St Paul tells us that after the last days we shall ever be with the Lord <1 Thes. 4[: 17]>. St John most appositely declares, 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be—but we know, that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is <1 John 3[: 2]>' ("Future Promise," *Sermons* 5: 303).

⁷⁵ Cf. Rowell, *Hell*, 90–98.

relate to the future meeting with friends now lost. My wish is, to caution against an excess in such feelings. — If we think of heaven principally as a place of renewing broken ties, we are verging towards an idolatrous attachment to things below. We are preferring the creature to the Creator.⁷⁶

One would have expected that at this point Newman would have stressed the significance of the vision of God; instead, he returned to the feelings of excessive attachment to the faithful departed. Perhaps Newman was trying to console his congregation—especially his mother and sisters—and help them to accept the deaths in their family in a Christian attitude.

The second aspect of the promised heaven is the new creation where there is no suffering and no sin, but peace and love. He cited five scriptural passages—with little elaboration:

Let us rather in St Peter's words according to God's *promise*, look for *new heaven* and *new earth*, wherein dwelleth righteousness <1Pet 3[: 13]> . . . there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be more pain <Rev 21[: 4-5]> — The sun shall not strike them nor any heat <Rev 7[: 16]> . . . a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens <2 Cor 5[: 1]> — Before it the glories of the visible world fade away — all earthly feelings and associations fail — there stands but one centre of admiration and love — God and the Lamb — He the great object of our knowledge and affection and devotion — our brother and sister and mother <Matt 12[50]> — our everlasting Friend, the sole Author and Finisher of our salvation.⁷⁷

In these passages, heaven was presented as discontinuous with our earthly reality. The minimal commentary stressed the contrast with the two visions of heaven just criticized—scientific knowledge and reunion with friends—by proposing the true knowledge and true affection of God and Christ, the center of heaven.

A further elaboration on the effects of the new life on human beings was given between the first and the second scriptural quotations:

Our souls wants a fresh creation, and so the visible world. — but whereas the renewing of our souls is begun here [—] the visible world continueth as it was from the beginning of creation — and hence one cause of our present conflict, that the effect this world produces on us is often opposed to the working of God's spirit.⁷⁸

In this passage is both an echo and an interesting interpretation of the biblical conflict between flesh and Spirit and between the world and God's kingdom. Our transformation in the life of grace has already started and we have begun to be new creatures, but the rest of creation is still in the state of corruption and exercises a negative influence on the believer and causes an interior struggle. In heaven there will be happiness and peace because the interior conflict will be over.

Newman ended his sermon with a final exhortation:

To look forward to a spiritual heaven, and to labour to attain it *through holiness* . . . to persist in the work of sanctification . . . without relaxing our efforts after perfect holiness of life and heart.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Ibid., 303-304.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 304.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Holiness is then the thread of this sermon as well of Newman's eschatology and life.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

From an historical perspective, Newman's sermon "On the Nature of the Future Promise" gives a glimpse of his early preaching at St Clement's—a vignette of his ministry as a preacher at a formative time of his life, when the impact of his pastoral experience with real people would eventually occasion the erosion of his Evangelical views. This sermon was not focused on a single subject like those of his later sermons; this sermon did not elaborate the meaning of the scriptural texts on the vision of God and on the new creation as the core of Christian promise of heaven; yet this sermon effectively showed that two popular ideas about the happiness of heaven—scientific knowledge and reunion with friends—are not promised in Scripture and so should not be the center of a believer's hope. Theologically speaking, this sermon linked holiness and eternal life—like a thread that became woven into his preaching. This sermon also indicates how important holiness and sanctification were for Newman; holiness, an essential dimension of his Evangelical formation, was characterized by an emphasis on the acquisition of virtue. Holiness is then the goal to keep constantly in mind, holiness is the door to heaven. Last but not least, Newman was seemingly paying special attention to the grief of his mother and sisters, for whom his sermon could have a consoling effect; he wanted to help them accept the departure of a husband and father in a mature Christian way. Newman was seemingly speaking not only to them, but also for himself.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Integrative Habit of Mind: John Henry Newman on the Path to Wisdom. By Frederick D. Aquino. Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2012. Pages x + 129. Cloth, \$29.00. ISBN: 978-0-87580-452-1.

As the title indicates, Aquino wants “to show how an integrative habit of mind, embedded in Newman’s thought, shapes the pursuit of wisdom” (12). To do this, he examines the personal and social conditions, intellectual virtues, educational ideals, and intellectual dispositions that can better effect reflective understanding, informed judgment, and “a connected view.” Newman’s philosophy of cognition and wisdom, specifically the stress on identifying meaningful patterns within a broader context of university education and human knowing, is a major source for Aquino’s investigation and proposal. However, Aquino does not draw upon Newman’s vast corpus but only three texts: his *Oxford University Sermons*, *The Idea of a University*, and the *Grammar of Assent*. Newman’s writings are not subjects of extensive commentary but serve as reservoirs of serious ideas to consider how best to form those intellectually responsible for learning and teaching, especially in the university context. A constant refrain in the book is for students and teachers to acquire “the right state of mind and the evaluative qualities” that will enable them to reason—from grasping a particular set of claims to a comprehensive view of things—a motif of wisdom, echoing the guardians’ education in Plato’s *Republic* (90). In addition, Aquino sets ideas and themes from within Newman’s writings on wisdom and the philosophical habit of mind in constructive conversation and comparison with contemporary thinking in “epistemology, philosophy of cognition, and philosophy of education” (3). Consequently, this book is far more philosophical (though there are practical suggestions) than theological.

The problematic aspect of Aquino’s argument concerns modernity’s crisis of authority. Specifically, one of the underlying themes of the book is the problem of what type of person will adjudicate disparate truth claims and how. This issue requires thinking through what “an integrative habit of mind” entails insofar as one navigates between radical subjectivism and unhealthy appeals to authority or narrowly tradition-specific discourse. Aquino agrees with Jeff Stout that “the modern flight from authority seeks to find an uncontaminated epistemic space” (33). His proposal does not resolve the “justified true belief” problem but acknowledges it. Aquino calls for thicker focus on epistemic reflection informed by dispositional habits joined to regulative, intellectual practices that become formative guides for productive interdisciplinary conversation and exchange. It is precisely in an “embodied particularism of informed judgment” that one might find an “antidote to the extremes.” Such particularism might promote the common pursuit of wisdom. In some respects, Aquino calls for intellectual formation as process of purification, humility, and openness to wisdom’s plural paths.

The book divides into three main chapters. The first chapter explores the

evaluative qualities of individuals as well as social conditions that help develop intellectual virtues and regulative habits. Specifically, Aquino highlights the importance of “intellectual honesty, open-mindedness, epistemic humility,” among others. One unavoidable issue is that of “particularity”: how can one person rooted in a tradition-specific way of living and thinking develop skills to engage the different perspectives of others, the radical pluralism of the modern world, with critical openness? For Aquino, one must develop and promote intellectual virtues such as love of knowledge, humility, and open-mindedness, intellectual honesty, etc. This point is critical since such virtues allow different individuals to co-exist and genuinely converse about fundamental questions, diminishing bias. Really cultivating the value of different insights as better contributing to and shaping one’s own is exactly the direction in which Aquino points. Intellectual formation and attention to virtuous dispositions become paramount.

The second chapter—“a matter of proper fit”—describes the unreflective and reflective features of human knowing as judgments about particular situations. Aquino turns to a lengthy analysis of the illative sense’s “uncultivated” judgments (those made “automatically”) and “cultivated” judgments (those explicitly reasoned out). The more technical issue concerns our ability to synthesize bits of information unconsciously that inform our judgments as well as more disciplined awareness of where our sources derive and how they “fit together” to provide salience and validity. The value and critical importance of experience and prudence in our self-knowledge and beliefs looms large (49–50). Aquino draws apt, nuanced parallels between Newman’s thought and epistemological approaches regarding internalism and externalism. These epistemological approaches emphasize the degree to which we can come to rationally justifiable beliefs implicitly, or, through common sense (internalist); and how our (rationally acceptable, justified) views need more clarification, reasoning, and assistance from outside our frame of reference (externalist). Though dense, this part of the book, which shows how Newman anticipated much of current epistemological work, is quite well done.

The third chapter lays out more fully the notion that wisdom must not view bits and pieces of knowledge or meaning independently but in connection with each other (39). This section expands into an updated Newmanian philosophy of education. Topics include: intellectual formation, team-taught teaching, interdisciplinarity, proposals for connecting different types of university knowledge through concrete practices and exemplars. Aquino presents a robust and persuasive case for the value of liberal education in its richest sense. Indeed, human wisdom and its cultivation demands this feature of the personal and face-to-face if it hopes to avoid “dogmatism, fanaticism, narrow-mindedness, making rash judgments, arbitrary appeals to authority, fudging the evidence, and unwillingness to hear challenging and alternative arguments in and outside of the classroom” (67). Here Aquino expands the book’s analysis to social and individual conditions that offset various temptations to restrict or to reduce judgments prematurely so that they become distorting or false. He is especially interested in how professors and student collaborators might embody such a connected perspective through more interdisciplinary forums and

settings. In an age of increasing fascination with online learning and the appeal of MOOCs,¹ Aquino's argument is compelling. Anyone who agrees with Newman's argument in *The Idea of a University* will find little to dislike.

Aquino's argument digresses, or, depending upon your point of view, becomes more interesting when he connects the pursuit of wisdom to sacramentality. This is the only point where he links "an integrative habit of mind" to theology. In contrast, in his earlier book, *Communities of Informed Judgment: Newman's Illative Sense and Accounts of Rationality*,² an entire chapter was devoted to theological judgment. That account blends moral and theological dimensions in the decision making process which is personally transformative. In this book, Aquino employs the category of "sacramental mediation," which conceptually applies the "sacramental principle" to how cognitive agents reason, judge, and see reality as more connected to the divine within concrete situations. This point parallels the constant refrain—to connect the particular with the general, the implicit to the explicit, the subjective and objective conditions, that emerge from intellectual virtues—stressed in chapters two and three. This is a richly suggestive theme that I wish Aquino had developed a bit more as a stand-alone chapter, especially given that wisdom as a term and category for Newman possesses a rich theological resonance. Indeed, since so much of the book is about the "pursuit" rather than the attainment of wisdom—process over end—it would have been interesting to see which directions Aquino, in his balanced and nuanced analysis, might have taken.

To conclude, those who read, write about, and study fields of higher and liberal education will not find much new here regarding specific, concrete suggestions for implementing Aquino's fine constructive links between Newman and contemporary epistemology. Aquino's emphasis on the integrative habit of mind, necessity for informed judgment, and the context of a community of learner or inquirers is well-traveled terrain. Although I am convinced of the logic and validity of Aquino's points, they do at times come across as platitudes—who is against intellectual honesty or openness or broadening horizons! For educators in particular, many of his clear generalizations and emphases can be found almost a decade ago in the 2003 keynote address "Liberal Education and Integrative Learning" at the Integrative Studies Conference by Carol Schneider, then the President of the American Association of Colleges and Universities.³ For theologians and philosophers, however, Aquino's emphasis and push towards a modified, Newmanian view of wisdom is substantive, rich, and compelling. This emphasis on wisdom is something not commonly found in educational theory but it should be seriously considered by both faculty and administrators.

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¹ "MOOC" refers to a "massive open online course."

² Frederick Aquino, *Communities of Informed Judgment: Newman's Illative Sense and Accounts of Rationality* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), reviewed by Edward Miller, *Newman Studies Journal*, 2:2 (Fall 2005): 94-98.

³ Schneider's address is available at: http://www.unites.muobio.edu/aisorg/pubs/issues/21_schneider.pdf.

John Henry Newman: His Life and Work. By Brian Martin. Leominster, Herefordshire, UK: Gracewing Publishing, 2012. Pages: 160. Softcover, £ 9.99. ISBN: 9780852448076.

Gracewing's publications on Blessed John Henry Newman not only include the Millennium Edition of his writings but also feature a growing selection of secondary sources about his life and thought. Among these excellent titles is this republication of Brian Martin's *John Henry Newman: His Life and Work*.¹ For three decades, Martin's book has offered a brief and reliable introduction to Newman's life and serves as a welcome ballast to several revisionist biographies of Newman that have rolled out in the last fifteen years.²

Martin, former Head of English at Magdalen College School and Lecturer in Modern English Literature at Pembroke College, Oxford, weaves a tight prose narrative, marked by an intricate rendering of Newman's letters and diaries. Following the lines of Newman's *Apologia* and supplemented by reminiscences from his brother Frank and others, Martin admirably describes Newman's progression at Oxford, the cast of characters who shaped Newman as a young Anglican priest, as well as his entrance into the Oxford Movement. Martin then provides a smart transition to Newman's conversion to the Roman Catholic Church and his continued struggles and transformations as an Oratorian Priest. Martin highlights several interesting themes not always attributed to Newman, such as his struggle about how to minister to the poor as an Oratorian (86). Perhaps because this book was designed as a short introduction, Martin did not delve into such Newman-works as his *Oxford University Sermons* or *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent*; however, the last chapter on "Literature and Religion" takes an extended look at Newman's *Idea of a University* and his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*.

With this edition recast into the sea of recent biographies, one would have hoped for some updates to the text. Explanatory footnotes and references to the passages from Newman's *Letters and Diaries* and other works would have been helpful. Further, a new preface or an appendix that critiqued advances and revisions in Newman scholarship should have been added. Although there is a new paragraph inserted in this edition that mentions Newman's beatification (seemingly the only new text), this seems an artless add-on that really does not do justice to the preceding material (141). Whether Martin or an editor added it is unclear, but an appendix that detailed Newman's status as Venerable (1991) and the controversy over and eventual triumph of his beatification (2010) should have been included. It must regrettably be noted that the publishing quality of the book does not equal the original: the paper stock is rough, the pictures and type set (which did not seem updated) appear blurry and uneven, and the cover lacks the subtle power of Sir John Everett Millais' portrait of Newman, which was on the original jacket.

Finally, the republication of Martin's book raises a question about Newman biographies. Most biographies of Newman either accurately capture his life—like

¹ Originally published by Chatto & Windus (London: 1982) and re-issued by Continuum (New York, 2000).

² See, for example, my review of John Cornwell's *Newman's Unquiet Grave: A Reluctant Saint*, *Newman Studies Journal*, 8/1 (Spring 2011): 90–93.

³ Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

Martin's or Ian Ker's³—or—like Frank Turner's⁴—take the photo negative of him as a self-absorbed, deceitful actor traipsing across a Victorian stage. The former biographies tend to gloss over Newman's rougher spots while the latter may show some angles hitherto unseen but ultimately offer a mendacious image not worth the printed paper. Both, however, have Newman at center stage with a supporting cast moving about a Victorian background. As we settle into the new millennium, one wonders if the cast and the background, and thus Newman, have become too unfamiliar to contemporary readers. For Newman to be known again—the names and places and works with which many biographers assume readers are acquainted—a new presentation of his life needs to emerge. For example, an overview of British history that explains the various actors as well as a theological/ecclesiological primer should accompany a biographical account of Newman so that readers do not become disoriented or bored with the endless array of names and places and concepts.⁵ Moreover, this material should show historical connections and theological parallels could be made to the present, thus offering readers a true glimpse of what *development*—continuity and change—means through Newman's life and work. Although this additional material might replace tidy, short biographies like Martin's with a more extensive treatment, such material would help to illuminate Newman's importance for contemporary persons looking for a kindly light to navigate the dangerous shoals of this world.

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⁴ Frank M. Turner, *John Henry Newman: The Challenge to Evangelical Religion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), reviewed by Edward Enright, *Newman Studies Journal* 1:1 (Spring 2004): 77–78.

⁵ Although authors, such as Sheridan Gilley (*Newman and His Age*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1990) have attempted to contextualize Newman in his historical epoch, the method of presentation and assumptions fell short of adequately presenting Newman to the contemporary reader.

The Legacy of John Henry Newman: Essays for the Beatification. Edited by James Mirabal. Grandpont Papers 2. Oxford: Grandpont House, 2010. Pages 112. Paper, £ 10.00. ISBN 978-0-9522167-1-1.

In the months preceding Cardinal Newman's beatification on 19 September 2010, several scholars delivered papers at Grandpont House, Oxford, in honor of Newman's vast contribution to the Church. A fitting place for such a tribute, Grandpont House, set above the Thames and overlooking Christ Church Meadows, was established in 1959 by St. Josemaría Escrivá, founder of Opus Dei. The purpose of Grandpont House was and is to provide a venue for cultural, academic and spiritual activities for students and other people at Oxford. These papers prepared in anticipation of Newman's beatification have been collected into a carefully edited volume of essays, with a table of contents, list of abbreviations, and an index. These essays reflect Newman's wide ranging contributions to the Church including his singular insights regarding the role of the laity in the Church, his ground-breaking ideas on university education, his clarification of issues relating to reason and faith,

and his particular genius in speaking to the moral conscience of believers.

This collection opens with a short introduction about the topics of the lectures and the lecturers—all of whom are former residents and chaplains of Grandpont. The first lecturer, Msgr. Richard Stork, discussed “Newman and the Laity.” Stork, who wrote his doctoral dissertation on *John Henry Newman and the Laity* (Rome: Lateran University, 1966.), began by referring to Newman’s sermon “The Three Offices of Christ,” which described the priestly, prophetic and kingly roles of the laity. Stork then examined three of Newman’s “tests” for true development (Preservation of Type, Anticipation of an Idea, and Power of Assimilation) and concluded that these tests are met in his doctrine on the laity. Newman thought the laity had previously been considered as only a passive element and not an integral part of the Church. Stork’s excellent overview of Newman’s thought about the laity leaves one with the desire for further exploration into the influence Newman had on council fathers and theologians, such as Yves Congar, Michael Schmaus, Joseph Ratzinger.

The second and fourth presentations were given by Dr. Paul Shrimpton, a graduate of Balliol College, who has taught at Magdalen College School, Oxford, for twenty-six years. As a historian of education, he has focused on “the little-explored area of Newman’s practical involvement in education, notably his foundations of the Catholic University in 1854 and the Oratory School in 1859.” In discussing “Newman and the formation of the Laity,” Shrimpton, drew from his excellent book *A Catholic Eaton? Newman’s Oratory School?* to provide an accurate description of Newman’s educational views both at the Catholic University in Dublin and the Oratory School in Birmingham: “Newman also appreciated the formative value and importance of the ‘unofficial’ side of university education, all those informal moments in the day, of relaxation, recuperation and amusement, when ‘mutual education’ took place.” Newman wanted students to receive religious training at each collegiate house of the Catholic University and religious instruction in the arts faculty. Shrimpton also noted how “Newman’s approach to education represented a shift in emphasis as he sought to encourage young Catholics to play their part in society.” Newman’s views were not accepted by most of the Irish bishops—who were unable to win the support of the gentry and who alienated professors by replacing the University Senate as the executive authority with an Episcopal board.

In his second presentation on “Newman’s Pastoral Idea of a University,” Shrimpton highlighted Newman’s genius as an educator by explaining the practical side of his approach to university education. Although much has been said about Newman’s *The Idea of a University*, comparatively little has been written about the practical matters proposed by Newman in Dublin. Shrimpton presented the views that emerged from Newman’s experience as a Tutor at Oriel—innovations for which he was relieved of his tutorship.³ Shrimpton challenged the claim that Newman’s educational views are not practical by offering examples of how Newman tried to

¹ Sermon 5 in *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/subjects/sermon5.html>.

² Paul Shrimpton, *A Catholic Eaton? Newman’s Oratory School* (Leominster, Herefordshire, UK: Gracewing, 2005), reviewed by David Fleischacker, *Newman Studies Journal* 3:2 (Fall 2006): 115–118.

³ See Newman’s memoir of his Oriel tutorship in John Henry Newman, *Autobiographical Writings*, edited with Introductions by Henry Tristram (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1957), 86–107.

form the minds and character of the university students by means of a system of residential life, whereby students would learn from one another and under the mentoring of tutors.

The third paper—“Lead kindly light: reason and faith”—by Fr. James Pereiro is an expanded version of a presentation given in November 2010 at Westminster Cathedral Hall.⁴ Pereiro, a member of Oxford University’s History Faculty, examined Newman’s understanding of the human process of reasoning, first principles and the illative sense. Pereiro indicated how Newman fought against a narrow classical rationalism that reduces the concept of reason, and held that the act of Faith is an exercise of Reason. Newman also distinguished difficulty and doubt in religious matters: the first refers to rational obstacles while the second is concerned with assent. In his *An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent*, Newman

showed from the study of natural human knowledge that one can believe what one cannot understand. The testimony of authority removes the difficulty at the natural level and particularly in the case of revelation: man can believe to be true what he cannot understand because he believes in the infallibility of the Church and, implicitly, in all that the Church teaches.

Pereiro also underlined the very important connection between moral disposition and right reason that is so central to Newman’s thinking.

The next lecture—“Newman’s Teaching on Conscience”—was given by Fr. Peter Bristow, a lecturer at the Maryvale Institute (Birmingham), who has published works on moral and ethical matters.⁵ Bristow began by describing Newman’s accomplishments as a “modern Doctor of the Church.” Bristow then noted that conscience is not only about what is good or bad; conscience has authority; in contrast, modern philosophers have turned conscience into something very different—an increasingly subjectivist and selfish understanding of things that tends to obscure objective truth. By Newman’s time conscience had gone from being the voice of God to man’s creation, the counterfeit right of “self-will.” Bristow also pointed out that Popes Gregory XVI in *Mirari Vos* (1832) and Pius IX in *Quanta Cura* (1864) did not oppose a proper understanding of freedom of conscience.

The last paper—a short presentation about the media interest in, and criticism of, Newman by Jack Valero, an engineer by training, who was appointed by the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of England and Wales as the press officer for Newman’s beatification—does not fit in well with the other papers because of its journalistic character. The volume concludes with the homily of Pope Benedict XVI at the mass of beatification Cofton Park, Birmingham on 19 September 2010.⁶ This memorable homily on Newman as an educator and a priest would perhaps have had more impact if it had been placed at the beginning of the volume instead of at the end, nonetheless, it serves as an appropriate closing to this fine collection of lectures.

⁴ Pereiro is author of *Cardinal Manning: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford University Press, 1998), *‘Ethos’ and the Oxford Movement: At the Heart of Tractarianism* (Oxford University Press, 2008), and *Cardinal Manning: From Anglican Archdeacon to Council Father at Vatican I* (Gracewing, 2008).

⁵ Bristow is the author of *The Moral Dignity of Man* (Dublin/Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 1997) and *Christian Ethics and the Human Person* (Oxford: Family Publications, 2009; Gracewing, 2013).

⁶ The papal homily is available at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/homilies/2010/documents/hf_ben-xvi_hom_20100919_beatify-newman_en.html.

The Legacy of John Henry Newman is a welcome contribution to the literature on Newman's thought. To the general public, this book offers some fine essays on Newman, and to scholars it opens some new horizons for the study of Newman's rich legacy, in particular his contribution to university education.

Juan R. Vélez
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RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW: CARDINAL NEWMAN AS A MUSICIAN

JOHN T. FORD

One of the major benefits of the Internet is that numerous books and essays that have long been out of print are now readily accessible—including the following booklet (44 pages).

Cardinal Newman as a Musician. By Edward Bellasis.¹ London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1892; available at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/26427/26427-h/26427-h.htm>.

Biographies of Newman often include his third-person description of “the mode” in which he was informed of his election as a fellow of Oriel College on 12 April 1822:

Mr. Newman used also to relate the mode in which the announcement of his success was made to him. The Provost’s butler—to whom it fell by usage to take the news to the fortunate candidate—made his way to Mr. Newman’s lodgings in Broad Street, and found him playing the violin. This in itself disconcerted the messenger, who did not associate such an accomplishment with a candidateship for the Oriel Common-Room; but his perplexity was increased when, on his delivering what may be supposed to have been his usual form of speech on such occasions, that ‘he had, he feared, disagreeable news to announce, viz. that Mr. Newman was elected Fellow of Oriel, and that his immediate presence was required there;’ the person addressed, thinking that such language savoured of impertinent familiarity, merely answered, ‘Very well,’ and went on fiddling. This led the man to ask whether, perhaps, he had not mistaken the rooms and gone to the wrong person, to which Mr. Newman replied that it was all right. But, as may be imagined, no sooner had the man left, than he flung down his instrument, and dashed down stairs with all speed to Oriel College.²

Today, of course, an accomplished violinist is a treasured member of a university

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¹ Edward Bellasis (1852–1922)—the second son of Serjeant Bellasis, to whom Newman dedicated his *Grammar of Assent* (1870) in gratitude for his assistance at the Achilli trial—was a student at the Birmingham Oratory School (1861–1870) before becoming a barrister (1873) and a noted genealogist; his brothers, Richard Garnett Bellasis (1849–1939) and Henry Lewis Bellasis (1859–1938), became Oratorian priests in Birmingham. In addition to this booklet, Bellasis later published *Coram Cardinali* (1916), which is available at: <http://archive.org/details/coramcardinali00belluoft>.

² *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman during His Life in the English Church with a Brief Autobiography*, edited at Cardinal Newman’s Request by Anne Mozley (London: Longmans Green, 1903), 1:62–63; hereafter cited: LC; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/biography/mozley/volume1/file2.html>; this passage (with minor variations) was republished in Newman’s *Autobiographical Writings*, edited with Introductions by Henry Tristram (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1957), 62; hereafter cited: AW. Since Newman prepared this “Autobiographical Memoir” for his future biographer, he wrote about himself in the third person.

orchestra or collegiate ensemble; however, violin-players were not highly esteemed at Oxford in Newman's time. In fact, when he stood for the Oriel fellowship, some of his rivals disparaged his candidacy because of his "fiddling."³ Even after Newman was elected a Fellow, Edward Hawkins (1789-1882), who served as the Provost of Oriel for over a half-century, never really approved of Newman's violin-playing—though Hawkins' disapproval of Newman's musical endeavors was greatly over-shadowed by their serious and sharp disagreements about the Oriel tutorship,⁴ the Peel election, the Tractarian movement, etc.

Undaunted by either the Oriel butler's dismay or the Provost's disapproval, Newman regularly played "second fiddle"—he preferred that others lead—with a variety of musicians at Oxford: John William Bowden (1798-1844), Newman's closest friend as an undergraduate at Trinity; Frederic Rogers (1811-1889), Newman's student, who later was titled Lord Blachford; Frederic Bowles (1818-1900), one of Newman's companions at Littlemore, who later became a priest and, for a time, an Oratorian; Thomas Mozley (1806-1893), Newman's future brother-in-law; as well as Joseph Blanco White (1885-1840), a colleague of the Oriel Common-Room and former Roman Catholic priest, who later became a Unitarian—to Newman's consternation.

Decades later, shortly after the publication of his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864), Frederic Rogers and another Anglican friend—Richard William Church (1815-1890), a fellow of Oriel and the junior proctor who vetoed the condemnation of *Tract XC*—arranged for Newman to select a violin as their gift. Newman wrote Rogers: "I have chosen a violin—and in choosing it, have gone merely by what seemed to be its easiness for the fingers."⁵ Simultaneously, he was afraid that their gift would be a temptation:

I only fear that I may give time to it more than I ought to spare. I could find solace in music from week to week's end. It will be curious, if I get a qualm of conscience for indulging in it, and as a set off, write a book.⁶

Newman also expressed his appreciation to R. W. Church, who became the Dean of St. Paul's, London, in 1871:

However, I really think it [the violin] will add to my power of working, and the length of my life. I never wrote more than when I played the fiddle. I always sleep better after music. There must be some electric current passing from the strings through the fingers into the brain and down the spinal marrow. Perhaps thought is music.⁷

Whether goaded by "a qualm of conscience" or prompted by "some electric current," five years later, Newman published *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870).

Although Bellasis did not mention this gift-violin, he did point out that Newman began playing the violin at the age of 10—holding the instrument against his chest as

³ *LC* 1:92; *AW*, 66.

⁴ On the disagreement of Newman and Hawkins about the responsibilities of the Oriel tutorship, see *LC* 1:129-140; *AW*, 86-107.

⁵ JHN to Sir Frederic Rogers (The Oratory, Birmingham 25 June 1865), *LD* 21: 502.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ JHN to R. W. Church (11 July [1865]), *LD* 22: 9.

was then the fashion, rather than under the chin. Music was a form of recreation, even an avocation, in the Newman family: John Henry formed a trio with his brothers, Francis and Charles; his sister Jemima also played the violin and continued to do so into her sixties. John Henry's musical preferences were classical composers such as Handel, Mozart and Beethoven—he called the latter the “Dutchman” because of the “van” in his name. Newman, however, was less enthusiastic about contemporary composers—especially those liturgical musicians who were guilty of “interlarding” their own “copy” into Scriptural texts.

At both the Catholic University in Dublin and the Birmingham Oratory School, Newman deemed music “an important part of education.” For example, in discussing the cultivation of the Fine Arts—painting, sculpture, architecture—in tandem with the “Bearing of Other Branches of Knowledge on Theology,” he stressed the importance of music:

Music . . . is the expression of ideas greater and more profound than any in the visible world, ideas, which centre indeed in Him whom Catholicism manifests, who is the seat of all beauty, order, and perfection whatever, still ideas after all which are not those on which Revelation directly and principally fixes our gaze.⁸ Newman also encouraged his young students to study music and often arranged the music to accompany the Latin plays at the Oratory School.⁹

Newman occasionally tried his hand at composing. His first composition—an *obiettamento* facetiously autographed by “Signor Giovanni Enrico Neandrini”—was written when he was 20.¹⁰ Yet his composing was sporadic; as “father” of the Birmingham Oratory, he wrote a number of hymns for use in the Oratory church,¹¹ on one occasion, however, the organist—unaware that the composition was Newman's—took the liberty of correcting his score. Ironically, Newman apparently never composed a score for what is undoubtedly his most famous hymn—“Lead, Kindly Light”—however, other composers have provided at least 28 different settings.¹²

“Music, for Newman,” as James Crile has noted, “was a powerful and emotional subject at many levels and in a key passage in the fifteenth Oxford University sermon, his words burst forth as a response to the divine melody he felt in his heart, a solace to him and a calm in the midst of a storm”:¹³

Let us take another instance, of an outward and earthly form, or economy, under which great wonders unknown seem to be typified; I mean musical sounds, as they are exhibited most perfectly in instrumental harmony. There are seven notes in the scale; make them fourteen; yet what a slender outfit for so vast an

⁸ Discourse 4, *The Idea of a University*, 80; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/idea/discourse4.html>.

⁹ See Ryan McDermott, “John Henry Newman and the Oratory School Latin Plays,” *Newman Studies Journal* 9/2 (Fall 2012): 6–12.

¹⁰ A photograph of Newman's first musical composition, along with a picture of his violin, is available in Kathleen Dietz and Mary-Birgit Dechant, *Blessed John Henry Newman: A Richly Illustrated Portrait* (Leominster, Herefordshire, United Kingdom: Gracewing, 2010), 25.

¹¹ Although this pamphlet is available at several websites, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/26427/26427-h/26427-h.htm> has links to some of Newman's hymns, which were published in the Oratory hymnal.

¹² Known best by its opening line—“Lead, Kindly Light”—was titled: “The Pillar of the Cloud”; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/verses/verse90.html>.

¹³ James J. Crile, “A Silent Melody: John Henry Newman's *Fifteenth Oxford University Sermon* as an Expression of Personal Struggle,” *Newman Studies Journal* 9/2 (Fall 2012): 89.

enterprise!¹⁴

His sister, Jemima, edified by his sermon but puzzled by his musical calculation, wrote her brother on 25 March 1843:

We are pleased at your tribute to music; but what do you mean by fourteen notes? Do you mean the twelve semitones, as some suggest? I am indignant at the idea, and think you knew what you were saying. Please tell me when you write.¹⁵

Newman promptly responded from Littlemore on 27 March 1843. After acknowledging her compliments, he mentioned that the rapid sale of his *Oxford University Sermons* “took me quite by surprise, but did not prove the impression they made. I certainly thought it, though incomplete and imperfect, yet my best volume, but there did not appear any clear reason that others should think the same.”¹⁶ He then responded—somewhat sheepishly—to her question:

I had already been both amused and provoked to find my gross blunder about the ‘fourteen.’ But do not, pray, suppose I doubled the notes for semitones, though it looks very like it. The truth is, I had a most stupid idea in my head there were fifteen semitones, and I took off one for the octave. On reading it over when published I saw the absurdity. I have a great dislike to publishing hot bread, and this is one proof of the inconvenience. The greater part of the sermons, at least, cannot plead haste for their imperfection . . .¹⁷

Newman’s love of music was life-long. In addition to playing his violin even in his old age, he enjoyed attending concerts—though he was annoyed by people who carried on conversations during performances. Edward Bellasis remembered one incident:

We happened to be with him at the Friday morning performance, September 1 [1882]. A certain party came in late, and talked away behind us all through the G minor Symphony of Mozart, whose “exuberant inventiveness” excited our wonder. When the din of the *Triumphlied* came on, her voice was quite drowned, and the Cardinal whispered: “Brahms is a match for her.”

There is one story about Newman’s love of music, however, that Bellasis either omitted or perhaps did not know. In 1871, a Mrs. Fox presented Newman with “a volume of violin music with ‘John Henry Newman, 1817’ written in it”¹⁸—a volume which she had obtained from an auctioneer. Mrs. Fox was curious to know how Newman had lost his music, while he felt “obliged to shuffle” about a family embarrassment that had occurred a half-century earlier when his father was on the verge of bankruptcy:

. . . my Father made that I should take all my chattels to Oxford in October 1821, and how I neglected his advice—and how in the following January, when we were at Kentish Town, what a hope there was that we should save the music—and how we bid too low and it went—and how sad my Mother was at dinner, and how my Father said he would try to get it all from the purchaser. I said to

¹⁴ Oxford University Sermons (15.39), 346; available at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/oxford/sermon15.html>.

¹⁵ *LC* 2: 368.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ JHN to Mrs. John Mozley (The Oratory, 2 July 1871), *LD* 25: 351–352, at 351.

Mrs Fox ‘How can I answer for a boy’s negligence fifty years ago—any thing may happen in fifty years.’ It was my negligence.¹⁹

Newman felt that “The “poor book is like a voice from the grave,” and left him wondering “what has become of the rest of the music.”²⁰

This and comparable anecdotes afford a glimpse into a commonly overlooked aspect of Newman’s personality: his love of music. While this booklet is still a delight to read, it could well be the basis for a more detailed study of the influence of music on Newman’s life and thought.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 352.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

IN MEMORIAM

In Memoriam: Cardinal Jean Honoré (1920–2013)

Jean Marcel Honoré was born on 13 August 1920 in the village of Saint-Brice-en-Coglès in Brittany. Ordained a priest for the Archdiocese of Rennes on 29 June 1943, he pursued doctoral studies at the Institut Catholique of Paris, where he wrote his dissertation under Jean Daniélou on the spiritual theology of John Henry Newman. Among Honoré's numerous writings about Newman was *Itinéraire spirituel de Newman* (Paris: du Seuil, 1964), which was translated into English by the late Sr. Mary Christopher Ludden (*The Spiritual Journey of Newman*, New York: Alba House, 1992).

After teaching at Rennes and Saint-Malo, Honoré served for a half-dozen years (1958–1964), as secretary general of the National Commission for Religious Education and director of the National Centre of Religious Teaching; among his publications on catechetics was *Présence au monde et parole de Dieu: la catéchèse de Newman* (Paris: Fayard-Mame, 1964). After serving as the rector of the Université catholique de l'Ouest at Angers, he was appointed Bishop of Évreux in 1972 and Archbishop of Tours in 1981, a position he resigned in 1997. After the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops in 1985, he was one of the bishops who supervised the preparation of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Honoré was named cardinal-priest of Santa Maria della Salute a Primavalle by Pope John Paul II at the consistory of 21 February 2001; the following October, the pope invited him to participate in the Synod of Bishops, which discussed the Role of the Bishop in the Church. On 28 February 2013, Cardinal Honoré died at Tours and his funeral was celebrated at the cathedral in Tours on March 5.

John T. Ford, c.s.c.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

A Brief Chronology

1801	February 21	Born, Old Broad Street, London; Baptized: April 9.
1808	May 1	Enrolled at Ealing School
1816	August–December	First conversion
	December 14	Enrolled at Trinity College, Oxford
1820	December 5	Took B.A. degree “under the line”
1822	April 12	Elected Fellow of Oriel College
1824	June 13	Ordained deacon of the Church of England
	July 4	Began “duty” at St. Clement’s, Oxford
1825	May 29	Ordained priest of the Church of England
1826	July 2	Preached <i>First Oxford University Sermon</i>
1828	January 5	“We lost my sister Mary suddenly”
	March 14	“Instituted by the Bishop of Oxford to St Mary’s”
1831	June–July 1832	Writing: <i>The Arians of the Fourth Century</i>
1832	December 8	Beginning of Mediterranean voyage with the Froudes
1833	June 16	“Lead Kindly Light” (“The Pillar of the Cloud”)
	July 14	Keble’s Assize sermon on “National Apostasy”
1839	January, May	Preached <i>Oxford University Sermons</i> X, XI, XII
1840	June 29	Preached <i>Oxford University Sermon</i> XIII
1841	January 25	Published <i>Tract XC</i>
1843	February 2	Preached his <i>Fifteenth Oxford University Sermon</i>
1843	September 25	Preached “The Parting of Friends” at Littlemore
1845	October 9	Received as a Roman Catholic by Dominic Barberi <i>An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine</i>
1847	May 30	Ordained a Roman Catholic priest in Rome
1848	February 1	Established the English Oratory
1851	November 5	Beginning of Achilli Trial
1852	May 10	Delivered first university lecture in Dublin
	July 13	Preached “The Second Spring”
1853	January 31	Fined £100 at conclusion of Achilli Trial
1854	March 22	Opening of the London Oratory at Brompton
	June 4	Installed as Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin
1856	May 1	Dedication of Catholic University Church of Sts. Peter and Paul
1857	March	Informed Irish bishops of his proposed resignation as rector
1859	July	“On Consulting the Faithful” published in <i>The Rambler</i>
1864	April–June	<i>Apologia Pro Vita Sua</i> published in fascicles
1865	May–June	“The Dream of Gerontius” published in <i>The Month</i>
1870	March 15	<i>An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent</i> published
1875	January 14	<i>A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk</i> published
1878	February 26–28	Visit to Oxford: Honorary Fellow of Trinity College
1879	May 15	Received the “red hat” from Pope Leo XIII in public consistory
1890	August 11	Newman’s Death; Burial at Rednal on August 19
1900	October 3	Premiere of Sir Edward Elgar’s <i>The Dream of Gerontius</i>
1991	January 22	Declared “Venerable” by Pope John Paul II
2010	September 19	Beatified by Pope Benedict XVI

NEWMAN BIBLIOGRAPHY – GENERAL RESOURCES

“The Newman Reader” (www.newmanreader.org) provides complete texts of the “uniform edition” of most of Newman’s published writings, along with biographies and pictures of Newman. Specific terms or phrases from Newman’s writings can be found by accessing: www.Google.com and entering: «word/phrase» site: [newmanreader.org](http://www.newmanreader.org). For scholarly research, the National Institute for Newman Studies, in conjunction with Crivella West, Inc., has established the Newman Knowledge Kiosk, which provides indexing tools to search for specific terms in Newman’s writings; to request access to the Kiosk, contact: <http://www.newmanstudiesinstitute.org>.

Bibliography about Newman from 1990 to the present is available on the website of the International Centre of Newman Friends (www.newmanfriendsinternational.org). Authors of articles on Newman that appear in other journals are asked to inform the Centre of their publications by e-mail: centro.newman@tiscali.it. “Project Canterbury” (<http://anglicanbhistory.org/index.html>) provides information about the Oxford Movement, including a “timeline of the Oxford Movement”; another useful resource for Nineteenth Century Anglicanism is: www.anglicanbhistory.org.

Books Received for Future Review in *Newman Studies Journal*

In addition to the books reviewed in this issue, the following books have been received for review in the future:

Thomas G. Guarino, *Vincent of Lérins and the Development of Christian Doctrine*. Foundations of Theological Exegesis and Christian Spirituality. Ada, MI: Baker Academic, 2013; ISBN: 978-0-80104-909-5 (paperback), 978-1-44124-071-2 (eBook).

Peter C. Wilcox, *John Henry Newman: Spiritual Director 1845-1890*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013; ISBN: 978-1-62032-204-8 (paperback).

Recent Research

Authors of articles related to Newman that appear in other periodicals are requested to e-mail an electronic copy of their publications to the Newman Studies Journal (kmongrain@ninsdu.org) for inclusion in its electronic library; writers of theses and dissertations are invited to submit a summary of their research to Newman Studies Journal; synopses of selected articles and research projects appear as a regular feature of this journal.

Doctoral Dissertations

David Gréa, *L'Église et le salut de l'âme: anthropologie et ecclésiologie de John Henry Newman dans ses écrits de 1848-1851* (Lyon: Université catholique de Lyon, Faculté de Théologie, 2010).

“You must come to the Church . . . to save your soul”—such was the straightforward advice that John Henry Newman gave Mrs. William Froude on 16 June 1848—less than three years after his own entrance into the Roman Catholic Church

and nearly a decade before hers.¹

Newman's pastoral advice to a prospective convert raises a significant theological question: what is the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the salvation of souls?

Gréa's dissertation searches for an answer to this question in three books that Newman published in the half-dozen years after his conversion in 1845: *Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations* (1849); *Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching* (1850); *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (1851). Gréa's study of these writings highlights three important aspects of Newman's thought about conversion: his own life, his anthropology and his ecclesiology. First, his sermons of 1849 and his correspondence indicate that he spent his first years as a Roman Catholic still living and breathing the ideas of the Oxford Movement. Second, in regard to his anthropology, Newman seemingly used the analogies of body/soul and nature/grace, to structure his thought. The deficiencies of the faculties of the soul, due to original sin, are healed both by the Incarnation and Passion of Christ and by the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Although no person is guaranteed perseverance in salvific grace, the Roman Catholic Church appears as the guarantor of both the salvation and the perseverance of the baptized in contrast to the "Anglican communion." Third, after discussing why Newman affirmed that the Catholic faith was not that of Anglicans, this dissertation focuses on Newman's ecclesiology—in particular, the Church's relationship with individuals, with the faculties of the soul and with the world. For salvation, a person needs a Church with authority, which in turn requires submission. The world and the Church do not have the same purposes or the same goals: Catholics may be faced with conflicts and confusion; Catholics even need to be ready for martyrdom.

Gréa's dissertation concludes with a critical evaluation of Newman's ecclesiology in these three early Roman Catholic works: first, in relation to the idea of the church as Communion in light of the Second Vatican Council; second, in relation to the universal mission of the Church and its primary concern with caring for the poor; finally, in regard to the question of universal salvation. In sum, the dissertation portrays Newman as a man of his time whose original and thought-provoking theological ideas continue to have importance today.

¹ Newman to Mrs. William Froude (Maryvale, Perry Bar, 16 June 1848), *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman* 12: 223-225, at 224. William Froude (1810-1879), an engineer, was a younger brother of Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-1836), Newman's close friend and colleague in the Oxford Movement; Mrs. Froude and most of her children became Roman Catholics in 1857; her husband never did.

NINS UPDATE

NINS Library

We continue to build the library's collection of both books and digital archives of Newman's works. We have begun the process of digitizing Newman's archive at the Birmingham Oratory. The first batch of documents will be sent to the John Ryland Library at the University of Manchester in April 2013. Our hope is to have several more batches ready by the end of the summer 2013, and continue sending them to Manchester throughout the next three years until we finish in mid-2016. We estimate we will digitize approximately 250,000 individual documents.

We have also completed our work with Oxford University Press on a project to include their copyrighted editions of Newman's Letters and Diaries and all the volumes of Newman's Sermons 1824-1843 into our Newman Knowledge Kiosk and into the newmanreader.org. The process of adding all these texts to the newmanreader.org has begun and will be completed by mid-autumn.

Scholarship Program

We have had a quiet spring and summer at NINS. We hosted four scholars from March 2013 to August 2013. We hosted Fr. Martin Charcosset, from France visiting for a second research visit to NINS. Jennifer Brunner, from Pittsburgh, PA, visited our facility in June. And in August we had the privilege of hosting Christopher Cimorelli and family from Belgium, as well as Fr. Pedro Benitez from the Pontifical University of Mexico.

To become better acquainted with our facility several future applicants visited our Institute. From May 2013 to June 2013, we had students along with Fr. Roch from Gannon University and Elizabeth Farnsworth, Department of Religious Studies from University of Dayton.

Events and Lectures

We have been developing the Institute's mission to include more education and outreach to the scholarly community, and to the Church community. In September of 2013 NINS hosted Dr. Mark McIntosh who gave our second annual Newman Memorial Lecture; Dr. McIntosh spoke on the Theology of Faith and Newman's Oxford University Sermons. We are planning to host in Brad S. Gregory in April 2014 as our next speaker in the Newman Legacy Lecture series.

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