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## ABSTRACT

Michael Southworth Miners

M.A. 1987

### 'A Man of Extremes - W.G. Ward as a Member of The Church of England'

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the role of W.G. Ward in the Oxford Movement, with specific reference to his series of Articles in the British Critic and his book 'The Ideal of a Christian Church.'

In the Introduction we examine Ward's family background, and his early education. We also consider the influence of Thomas Arnold, and Ward's 'conversion' to the new Movement through the influence of J.H. Newman. Chapter One deals with Tract Ninety and Ward's defence of it. Chapter Two contains Ward's explanation of his ideas to Pusey, and extracts from the correspondence of Newman and Pusey. In Chapter Three we examine in detail each of Ward's eight Articles in the British Critic. Chapter Four describes the embarrassment that Ward and his group had caused to other members of the Movement, and outlines specifically William Palmer's criticism. In Chapter Five we see Ward's reply in the form of his book 'The Ideal of a Christian Church,' which was largely a development of the ideas expressed in the British Critic Articles. In the final Chapter, we see reactions to Ward's book from different quarters, the disciplinary measures taken against him and his departure from the Church of England to the Church of Rome in 1845.

"A Man of Extremes - W.G. Ward as a Member of the Church of England."

by

Michael W.V. Southworth Miners, O.D.C.

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of Master of Arts in The  
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PREFACE

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Finally, I wish to thank my Carmelite Brothers for their prayerful support and encouragement at all times.

I should like to dedicate this thesis to Mary, Queen of Carmel, and also to my own mother.

Michael Southworth Miners, O.D.C.

Solemnity of St. John of The Cross 1987.

Third anniversary of Ordination to the Priesthood

## INTRODUCTION

SECTION 1:            From Childhood to Fellow of  
Balliol College, 1812-1834

'Browne, you and I shall never agree, for you will always be a moderate man, which I can never be.'<sup>1</sup> This bold statement by an undergraduate offers a penetrating insight into one of the leading figures of the second phase of the Oxford Movement.

William George Ward, son of William Ward the Tory Member of Parliament for the City of London, was born in London on 21st March 1812. The Ward family had settled in the Isle of Wight in the eighteenth century, and the squire of the family home, Northwood Park, owned considerable property not only on the island, but also in Hampshire.<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that Ward's volatile temperament owed something to his inheritance of Spanish blood through the marriage of John Ward to a Spanish lady in 1749. W.G. Ward's mother, Emily Combe, was the daughter of Harvey Combe, also Member of Parliament for the City of London at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was a family background which he shared with two of the leaders of the Catholic Revival, Cardinals Newman and Manning. Wilfrid Ward recorded the following characteristics of his father as a child:

His tastes were... very marked and his likes and dislikes very intense. He had a passion for music and the drama, and for mathematics...those who remember seeing him early in general society describe him as a clumsy-looking boy, often sitting apart from the rest of the company, biting his nails, seldom opening his mouth, and looking generally 'bored to death'. Once when staying with his relations at Cobham Park he was taken to a children's dance in the neighbourhood, much against his will, and on being asked by his hostess how he was enjoying himself, replied with the utmost bluntness: 'I expected to find it a bore,<sup>3</sup> but now that I am here, I find it even worse than I had thought'.



To the end of his days he was to insist upon saying exactly what he thought; the child was father to the man.

His schooling was conventional for the son of upper class parents - a private school, 'Eagle House' at Brookgreen, followed by six years at Winchester College as a Commoner (1823-1829). Among his contemporaries at Winchester were Roundell Palmer (later Lord Selbourne), Edward Cardwell and Anthony Trollope. They were not particularly happy or distinguished years. An exception to this was Ward's success in winning the gold medal for Latin prose composition in 1829, against considerable opposition. Lord Selbourne wrote about Ward at Winchester in words applicable to the later man:

There were seemingly contradictory elements in his character which made him always good company. He had a pleasure in paradox and a keen sense of the ludicrous, and far from being offended or mortified at the amusement others found in his peculiarities he was quite capable of entering into a joke at his own expense.<sup>4</sup>

Another of his characteristics was that he would keenly seize a subject with his intellect, or have nothing to do with it. History is a good example of the latter case. He claimed to have no grasp of history at all. Early in his life there was a strong religious element, and he looked to the Church as his vocation. Wilfrid Ward wrote that he had notebooks of his father's in which the names of leading actors and singers were written, beside that of the would-be Bishop's signature: 'W.G. Winton', or 'W.G. Oxon'.<sup>5</sup> As well as the enjoyment of the ludicrous he suffered from an underlying melancholy. Constant headaches, and ill-health, dogged him throughout his life. He was an intense and passionate man, who never did anything in half measures.

He left Winchester soon after his seventeenth birthday in 1829, and through some delay in placing his name on the lists, went up to Oxford in October 1830.

As a Commoner of Christ Church, Ward took an active part in the Oxford Union, and was elected President of the Society for the Micheltmas Term of 1832. He found the life at Oxford far more congenial, for it was the intellectual and no longer the sporting gifts that really mattered. As a debater he secured a reputation for forcible and fluent argument. It was the time of political unrest, and of the Great Reform Bill. Ward was a hereditary Tory, but his sympathies lay strongly with the people, and he opposed all forms of injustice. He did however disapprove of the 1832 Reform Bill. 'He always brought everything back to first principles and in its very definition thoroughgoing Toryism refrained from this. It naturally followed that his conclusions themselves grew somewhat broader as time went on, and he came to advocate measures identified with Liberal policies'.<sup>6</sup>

Wilfrid Ward wrote that his father had little desire to distinguish himself academically. His studies were interrupted by his recurrent headaches in any case. Periods of study were sometimes short therefore, but he read very quickly and had a retentive memory. He did not intend to take Honours, until his father's situation required him to earn a good degree, and win a Fellowship. In order to achieve this he stood for a Scholarship at Lincoln College, and was unanimously elected in 1833. This meant that he could put off the date of his examinations and read with a tutor. His dilettante attitude was again apparent, and he did not work at the subjects that did not appeal to him.<sup>7</sup> His studies in pure mathematics were brilliant but he loathed applied. At Latin he was first class, but his interest in ancient <sup>history</sup> was non-existent.

Ward did nothing to conceal his ignorance at the viva voce examination in 1834. When an examiner suggested that Ward might be nervous and so unable to answer the questions, he replied: 'No, sir, its not nervousness; pure ignorance'.<sup>8</sup> He could not be given a First, but received a Second. In pure mathematics he returned five papers without a mistake, while he handed in four blank sheets out of five for the applied. Again, a Second had to be given.

This is certainly the behaviour of an eccentric. In view of the recurrent headaches and depression, one may suspect more. He was elected to an open Fellowship at Balliol College between his examinations for 'Greats' and Mathematics. The possibility of a Fellowship of All Souls was lost through cavalier conduct. After Ward had been for dinner, the Warden remarked: 'He had not even taken the trouble to change his boots'.<sup>9</sup>

Ward's ten years as a Fellow of Balliol were to see a profound change in the direction of his thought, and of his whole life. He delighted in shocking the 'moderates' and J.M. Rigg wrote: 'In the dialectical encounters of which the Balliol common-room was the nightly scene, he developed the dexterity and subtlety of intellectual fence of a medieval doctor invincibilis'.<sup>10</sup> Although he enjoyed expressing himself in a startling manner, he was in earnest in all his views. As a conversationalist he was both brilliant and witty.<sup>11</sup> He may have been unwilling to do all that was necessary for a First Class degree, but he eagerly devoured the works of Bentham, John Mill, Macaulay's 'Essays', and every novel he could obtain. Those of Jane Austen were a particular favourite. He also indulged his passion for music and drama.<sup>12</sup>

Section II:                    Intellectual Influences 1834-1838

His reading and his opinions were (in 1834), and continued to be for some years, a rather curious mixture. In philosophy he was, or believed himself to be, a thorough Benthamite, and devoted especially to young Mill (J.S.), whose articles in the "London Review" of those days were all eagerly devoured (while in theology) 'without having ever been an Arnoldian, he was a warm admirer of Arnold as well as Whately.'<sup>13</sup>

As an undergraduate Ward studied Utilitarianism,<sup>14</sup> and some have suggested that he adopted the philosophy in its entirety. Wilfrid Ward does not hold this view. The method of these writers appealed to Ward's logical mind. There was nothing unclear or incomplete about their thinking, and it was linked to a desire for reform. Ward's strong religious instincts were obviously a deep point of divergence from the School. It is symbolic of Ward's development into Anglo-Catholicism that from 1838 he put away a considerable part of his money for the poor. A Protestant ethos present in the Thirty-Nine Articles formed a striking contrast to the Catholic spirit of the Book of Common Prayer. It has to be said at the outset, that Ward had no great love for the Church of which he was to become an ordained Minister and referred to her as 'Old Mother Damnable'. Canon Barry suggested that Ward never really saw himself as a priest: 'We may look upon him therefore as always a layman, but a layman of the type exemplified in Sir Thomas More, to whom religion is the one supreme interest in life'.<sup>15</sup>

From 1834 there emerge two tendencies in Ward's religious views, one for free discussion and abstract intellectual speculation, and the other for the practical realisation and application of his moral and religious ideal ethically. The two principles, as Ward later admitted, were not at first reconcilable with each other. The first carried to

its conclusion, left no place for the second. It was J.H. Newman who was to help Ward harmonize the two. Ward's intellectual difficulties were to some degree temporarily solved through the work of Richard Whately<sup>16</sup> and Thomas Arnold.<sup>17</sup>

Whateley's latitudinarian approach demanded clear proofs of Church doctrine, but his demands destroyed them. If points of dogma were so poorly proven by the High Church party on the one hand, and the Evangelicals on the other, then the answer lay in reducing the essential dogmas to a minimum. Dogmatic theology would therefore take second place to those moral principles and main practical beliefs agreed upon by all. Whately also objected to the custom of basing important and difficult items of belief upon ambiguous passages of Scripture. Dr Arnold's influence was more considerable and far-reaching.

Ward had been attracted by Arnold's sermons, and his friendship with Arthur Stanley in 1834 strengthened the bond, for Stanley was Arnold's favourite pupil. If Whately's influence had been intellectual, that of Arnold was spiritual. Ward had sought a high moral ideal, and Arnold provided it. 'It was the influence of a high character testifying by life and by action rather than by argument to the substantial truth of his teaching'.<sup>18</sup> Arnold was reacting against the outward show of Protestantism, as Ward saw it, and was also opposed to the Tractarians. For Ward the latter were traffickers in pious myths and legends, who neglected the most important areas of religion. Ward himself wrote in the British Critic:

The great idea which Dr. Arnold seems to have grasped and put forth in every variety of shape in his sermons, is the duty of doing all to the glory of God; of considering our daily labours in the world, the duties of our station, the part we take in politics to be as truly religious acts, and claiming to be done in as religious a spirit as prayer is.<sup>19</sup>

Three points in particular appealed to Ward in Arnold's teaching: hatred of worldliness, the treatment of Scripture according to the critical method, and the sense of equality of all classes in society. To the end of his days Ward felt gratitude to Arnold for the stand he took against worldliness. He had himself always despised the clergyman of moderate views, but immoderate income. Arnold also taught the necessity, the duty, of self-improvement and of fighting against the Pauline 'lower nature'. This was, in Ward's opinion, in marked contrast to the Lutheran views of the Evangelicals. We shall be examining Ward's bitter attack upon such views at a later stage in this thesis. Ward was to become dissatisfied with Arnold's principles of free inquiry. Surely, Ward asked, some higher and more direct principle was necessary. His confidence in the Doctor's intellectual principleswaned, but he continued to hold his ethical teaching.

A visit to Rugby to see the headmaster left Ward unconvinced at the answers given, and Arnold himself was exhausted by the encounter. He realized:

... first that the basis of his trust in Arnold was mainly a moral basis - resting on the intuitive perceptions of the spiritual nature, and next that this basis, if fully realised, involved principles which would lead him to recognise conscience, not intellect, as the supreme guide in religious inquiry.<sup>20</sup>

This lay at the base of Ward's conversion from being a follower of Arnold, which he was up to 1837, to that of a disciple of John Henry Newman. Wilfrid Ward saw this change as a logical one - the carrying out of principles, rather than their being altered.

The first of the Ninety Tracts for the Times appeared on 9 September 1833: 'Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission respectfully addressed to the Clergy'.<sup>21</sup> Both Ward and A.C. Tait<sup>22</sup> were hostile to

this New Movement within the Church of England. They even considered producing a literary publication to oppose the Tractarians' views. Ward attended Newman's lectures entitled 'Romanism and Popular Protestantism' delivered in Adam de Brome's Chapel in 1836. He became so engrossed that he made audible remarks to his companions. In these lectures Newman explicitly expounded the theory of the Via Media - that the Church of England occupied a middle position between the extremes of Roman Catholicism and Evangelical Protestantism. However, Newman did not deal directly with the Reformation, which was Ward's problem. The appearance of the first part of Hurrell Froude's Remains,<sup>23</sup> in March 1838, edited by Newman and Keble, marked a further turning point for Ward. For here, Froude condemned the Reformation: 'We are Catholics without Popery, Church of England men without Protestantism'.<sup>24</sup> On reading the Remains, Ward '...literally jumped for joy'.<sup>25</sup> The Lady Margaret Professor, Dr. Fausset felt it necessary to preach against the work in Newman's own church on 20 May 1838. Newman replied in a pamphlet of 22 June 1838.

Ward's final conversion to Newman and the New Movement came about as a result of Newman's series of lectures: 'The Scripture proof of the doctrines of the Church', published later as Tract Eighty-Five. Here, Newman dealt with the philosophical basis of latitudinarianism and the Anglo-Catholic views of the Church. Newman's 'University Sermons' on the relationship between reason and conscience provided Ward with a starting point for his own view of the role of conscience. The intellectual foundations had now been laid for Ward's full acceptance of the Movement... 'the teaching of Newman and Pusey, and even more of Froude, caught hold of him by its uncompromising boldness, by its rejection of the old conservatism, and what may be called its

adventurousness'.<sup>26</sup> Froude was open and direct in his approach, unafraid to take matters to a conclusion. He was similar to Ward himself in this respect. Arnold's system had stopped short at every point. Froude's writing on sanctity, admiration for Rome, hatred of the Reformation, and a clear rule of faith, were what Ward had been seeking. Nothing was hazy or uncertain. When Ward was ordained a Deacon of the Church of England in 1837, he subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles in an Arnoldian sense. By the time he was ordained a Priest in 1839, he subscribed in a Newmanian. The conversion was complete. Ward could say: 'My Creed is very short: Credo in Newmannum'.<sup>27</sup> Religion had become for him directly connected with the acquisition of personal holiness. Newman's comment upon Ward's conversion ran as follows:

The only real news is the accession of Ward of Balliol to good principles. He is a very important accession. He is a man I know very little of, but whom I cannot help liking very much, in spite of his professing himself a radical in politics.<sup>28</sup>

A few remarks should be made at this stage of the specifically Roman Catholic influence upon Ward in these early years.<sup>29</sup> As an undergraduate he occasionally attended Catholic services in London. He was familiar with the Roman breviary. The liturgy attracted him, and the systematic dogma and discipline appealed to his ever-logical mind. He told Dr. Pusey that he had thoughts of joining the Roman Church when dissatisfied with the interpretation of Arnold, even before he had thought of becoming a Tractarian. Catholic influences came early in the life of W.G. Ward.

Section III:            The Oxford Movement and the Emergence  
of a Radical Group within it: 1838-1841

Ward was now a full member of the Oxford Movement and had observed and reinterpreted its ideas and aims. Gladstone, speaking in 1874, spoke of the state of the Church of England before the appearance of the Movement as follows:

I wish every man in this House was as old as I am - for the purpose of knowing what was the condition of the Church of England forty to fifty years ago. At that time it was the scandal of Christendom.<sup>30</sup>

This was a harsh assessment, but contained some truth. The Movement sought to remedy the situation by appealing to the past, to the Catholic tradition of the Church of England, and the apostolic succession of her ministers. As to a 'starting point', we might ascribe the appearance of the Rev. John Keble's<sup>31</sup> book of religious poems 'The Christian Year' of 1827.

Newman, and R.W. Church following him, gave the sermon on 'National Apostasy' preached by Keble on 14 July 1833 as the beginning. Some historians (Battiscombe and O'Connell are examples) have presented the Movement as fundamentally a defence of privilege by caste-minded members of a social and intellectual élite.<sup>32</sup> Others, in ideas linked to this, have seen it politically, or as a conservative reaction against the threat posed by reform.<sup>33</sup> The Rev. William Palmer,<sup>34</sup> of Worcester College, one of the founder members of the Movement, and present at the Hadleigh Parsonage Meeting of July 1833, wished to maintain the union between Church and State. Froude and Newman, on the other hand, were strongly anti-Erastian, and the latter said that the first twenty Tracts aimed at the separation of Church from State.<sup>35</sup> The full title of the series of Tracts gives some view of their aims:

Tracts for the Times, against Popery and Dissent. Brilioth in his important work on the Movement writes of it marrying 'romanticism to Anglican piety'.<sup>36</sup> In the early days the most distinguished convert was the Regius Professor of Hebrew, Dr E.B. Pusey.<sup>37</sup> Newman commented on his accession that he '... at once gave to us a position and a name. Without him we should have had little chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the liberal aggression'.<sup>38</sup> Pusey stressed the need for austerity, and his first tract was on the subject of fasting. 'The Tractarian Movement was essentially moralistic, but it set out to achieve its object of making people holy, by reviving belief in the Church as a divine Society, and in the succession of its ministers from the Apostles'.<sup>39</sup> By October 1838 Whately suggested that two-thirds of the reading undergraduates were Tractarians.

Towards the close of 1838 a number of very able men joined the Movement, and with them there entered a new phase of Rome-orientated discussion. Divisions already existed in the Movement. Palmer and Hook disapproved of the tracts. Pusey did not accept the condemnation of the English Reformation by the editors of Froude, Keble and Newman. Together with W.G. Ward, the new group included: F.W. Faber,<sup>40</sup> J.D. Dalgairns, F. Oakeley, J.B. Morris, J.A. Froude and Charles Seager. Their point of departure was different from that of Pusey, Newman or Keble. The latter had seen the English Church as the lineal descendant of the Church of St. Augustine. They professed to follow the views of the Anglican divines, Hooker, Andrewes, Laud, Bull and Ken. The project of translation, The Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the division of the East and West (1836), was edited by Newman and Pusey. This had encouraged many to point the finger at

what they saw as potential Roman converts, for the patristic element in the Movement was already prominent. Indeed Dr Arnold had attacked the Movement in an article that appeared in the Edinburgh Review, called by the editor 'The Oxford Malignants'. Arnold spoke of the 'pretended holiness' of those involved, and he was quite clearly referring to Newman. In November it was decided to erect a memorial at Oxford to the martyrs Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. Subscription would be public. Pusey subscribed but Newman and Ward did not. This emphasized the division in the Movement as to the attitude of its members to the English Reformation.

The Evangelicals took more time to react, but the appearance of 'On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge' Tract Eighty, by the poet Isaac Williams, brought a strong condemnation. Bishop J.B. Sumner of Chester denounced the Movement as 'the work of Satan'.<sup>41</sup> Displeasure had been incurred therefore before the new group had joined the Movement.

Clarke comments on the recent 'converts' that 'they were for the most part men who owned no previous attachment to the Church of England and had been brought up as Liberals and Evangelicals. Few, if any, were High Churchmen'.<sup>42</sup> This is rather an exaggeration, but contains a grain of truth. Ward himself had little love for the Church of England.<sup>43</sup> The work of the seventeenth-century divines was almost unknown to him, and his dislike of inconsistency led him to look away from Canterbury and to Rome:

While Newman passed from the study of antiquity to the conception of a united Universal Church, and from that conception to a reluctant doubt of the lawfulness of separation from Rome, Ward, by exactly an opposite process passed from admiration for the Roman Church to the conception of the necessity of union with the Church Universal, and hence to a doubt, suggested by the fact that the Anglican Church had once enjoyed such communion, as to whether it might not still have it potentially.<sup>44</sup>

At this stage the Tractarian teaching stressed the same root for both the English and the Roman Churches. This kept Ward in the English Church. Affection for Rome, and the ideal of a United Christendom were characteristics of the new school. More importantly the holiness in the lives of the Roman saints and of those in Religious Orders appealed to these men as a mark of the true Church.

The second part of Froude's Remains appeared in 1839. Some remarks made about the English Reformers by the editors Keble and Newman in the Preface, though guarded, had their consequences. Newman's followers might infer that where differences in doctrine and moral sentiment existed between the Fathers and the Reformers, the latter were wrong. Newman himself had had his faith shaken through his study of the Monophysite controversy in the summer of 1839. His theory of the Via Media was called into question and he did not maintain it after August of that year. Nicholas Wiseman's article in the Dublin Review of August 1839, 'The Anglican Claim of Apostolic Succession', insisted that the Church of England was in the same position as that of the Donatists of antiquity. The point of his article was Augustine's phrase: 'securus judicat orbis terrarum'.<sup>45</sup> Palmer made his conservative Tractarian answer,<sup>46</sup> but Newman felt he had to answer not only for his own peace of mind, but to avoid secessions to Rome. He remarked: 'I shall have such men as Ward of Balliol going over to Rome'.<sup>47</sup> Dr Hook was also upset, and wrote to Pusey in December:

I do wish you and Newman would just point out to us what is your starting point - the position you have decided to take. At present the whole system seems so nearly to that of attacking the Church of England and palliating the Church of Rome.<sup>48</sup>

Newman made his reply in the British Critic of January 1840, 'The Catholicity of the English Church'. He stressed the themes of

universality and primitiveness. 'He no longer maintained the Via Media, or attacked Rome as schismatical. His new position was that 'Rome is the Church, and we are the Church' (and) 'there is no need to inquire which of the two has deflected most from the Apostolic standard'.<sup>49</sup>

Henry Wilberforce, writing in 1869, maintained that Newman's views were never the same again after this crisis. With Newman in difficulties the way was open for Ward and those of like mind. 'These men cut into the original Movement at an angle, fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line in its own direction'.<sup>50</sup>

Ward began the study and dissemination of books and manuals on Roman Catholic dogmatic and ascetical theology. He found the systematic work of St. Ignatius of Loyola on the interior life very much to his liking. As his son commented, Ward found the systematic approach of the scholastics, and later the Jesuits, more congenial to his mind than the less systematic Fathers of the Patristic period.

He loved to have his views mapped out before his mind, with each connecting link between first principle and ultimate conclusion neatly and systematically expressed, and this taste was satisfied to the full by the scholastic method.<sup>51</sup>

He studied the works of Aquinas and Bonaventure very intently. It was, however, through Ward's friend and associate, the Reverend Frederick Oakeley,<sup>52</sup> that the outside world became aware of the new direction in Tractarianism. In an article written for the British Critic of April 1840, and entitled 'The Church Service', Oakeley wrote of the 'downward progress of the Reformation'.<sup>53</sup> He still had some misgivings about the Roman Church and distinguished between what was 'Popish' and what was Catholic. He did believe that 'the English Church, however defectively represented, has...the principle of true Catholicity within it'.<sup>54</sup> On the subject of Ritualism,<sup>55</sup> about which he was the ardent exponent,

though not as an end in itself, he wrote: 'the outward was a manifestation of the invisible; and it was the means by which the whole man was brought to God'.<sup>56</sup> He also advocated the use of the 'Ecclesiastical Almanac for the Year of our Lord MDCCCXL'. This publication suggested the adoption of Roman Feasts (the Assumption is an example) and their celebration. Oakeley went on to suggest that, 'the Church of England should seek for points of communion with other Churches, wherever, without breaking through our own system, they may present themselves...'.<sup>57</sup> Newman would seem to have approved of these sentiments, as he was a scrupulous editor of material for the British Critic. A further article by Oakeley in the same Quarterly, that on 'Jewel' of July 1841, was cited by Dean Church as 'a landmark in the progress of Roman ideas'. This was the first time a member of the Church of England had publicly held up Rome as the model, and apologized for the Church of England as a 'miserable and just allowable makeshift'.<sup>58</sup> Ward's own contribution to the British Critic will be discussed in a later section. Mozley commented: 'Both of them - Ward and Oakeley - having received their new impulses went ahead, disregarding warnings, and defied control'.<sup>59</sup> Ward did not intend to change Communion in his first three years as a Tractarian. He followed Newman's views, and felt that in certain matters it was Rome that needed to change. He did, however, expose the differences between Newman and Pusey to public gaze.

Meanwhile, these more extreme opinions had made the university authorities and the Bishops more hostile to the progress of Tractarianism. As to the Heads of Houses, many of them were men ignorant of their own Church traditions. They failed therefore to

understand the spirit of the Movement. 'They looked on admiration for Rome as a perverse whim, with no deep foundation, and treated the party which was guilty of it rather as a set of refractory schoolboys than as serious men'.<sup>60</sup> This lack of understanding drove the more extreme members ever onwards, indeed, ever Romewards. Ward was at their head. Fausset had begun opposition by his attack upon the editions of Froude's Remains in 1838. The Evangelical B.P. Symons, Warden of Wadham, and future Vice Chancellor (1844), arranged the times of chapel service in College to stop undergraduates attending Newman's sermons. By 1841, the opposition was more determined and continuous. Episcopal attitudes were at first rather aloof. No one exalted the role of the Bishop as the Tractarians, and it was prudent for the Bishops to wait and see what would happen. There was Evangelical opposition, as already noted. The Bishop of Oxford referred to the Movement with some warmth in 1838. Opposition to the Movement from Liberals and Evangelicals, and even from some old fashioned High Churchmen, had been strong at least from the publication of Froude's Remains; but after Tract Ninety it became deafening.

Footnotes to Introduction

SECTION I

1. Letter to Archdeacon Browne of Bath and Wells to Wilfrid Ward on the subject of W.G. Ward in Wilfrid Ward, William George Ward and the Oxford Movement (London, 1890), Second Edition, 1890, p.23.
2. For details of the Ward Family see ibid pp. 1-3.
3. Ibid., pp.3-4.
4. Recollections of Lord Selborne in ibid., p. 7.
5. Ibid., p. 10.
6. David Lewis in ibid., p. 21.
7. W.H. Hutton wrote: 'He never seemed to see the half lights of a question at all. There was no penumbra in his mind, or at least, what he could not grasp clearly, he treated as if he could not apprehend at all'. In Ward, William George Ward and the Catholic Revival (London, 1893), p. 304.
8. Recorded by an eye-witness. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 27.
9. Remark made by Mr Sneyd, Warden of All Souls, and a stickler for etiquette. Ibid., pp. 28-29.
10. J.M. Rigg, in the D.N.B.
11. 'I admired - no one could help admiring - the manliness and kindness of his character, his zeal for truth and boldness in searching for it, and the wonderful brilliance of his conversation, especially when it took the shape, as it often did, of argumentative discussion.' Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 32.
12. See ibid., pp. 37-44, for an account of his activities in this sphere; also of his depressions, for which the activities were a remedy.

SECTION II

13. Dean Lake of Durham in ibid., p.60.
14. See W.G. Ward's review of 'Mill's Logic' in The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, volume XXXIV (October, 1843), pp. 349-427. See Chapter 3 of this thesis.
15. William Barry, 'The Centenary of W.G. Ward', Dublin Review, volume CL1 (July, 1912), p.2.

16. Richard Whately 1787-1863, Fellow of Oriel 1811, a member of the group known as the 'Noetics'. Archbishop of Dublin 1831. See W.G. Ward's review of 'Whateley's Essays' in The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, volume XXXI (April, 1842), pp. 253-302. See Chapter 3 of this thesis.
17. Thomas Arnold 1795-1842, Fellow of Oriel 1815-1819. Headmaster of Rugby School 1828. Regius Professor of Modern History 1841. See W.G. Ward's review of 'Dr Arnold's Sermons', in The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, volume XXX (October, 1841), pp. 298-365. See Chapter 3 of this thesis.
18. Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 66-67.
19. Review of 'Arnold', in British Critic, volume XXX, p. 300.
20. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 73.
21. In fact the first three Tracts appeared, all penned by Newman.
22. A.C. Tait, 1811-1882, Fellow of Balliol 1834-1842. Archbishop of Canterbury 1868.
23. R.H. Froude 1803-1836, Fellow of Oriel 1826. Present at the Hadleigh Rectory Meeting of 1833. Influence upon Newman.
24. R.H. Froude, Remains in two parts and four volumes (London, 1838), part one volume one, p. 389. Owen Chadwick dismisses the Remains as: 'The Private Journal of a penitent aged 24, and it would have been better burnt'. In The Victorian Church, Two Parts (London, 1966), Part I, second edition 1970, p. 173.
25. Lord Blachford's recollections in Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 84. (Frederick Rogers, later Lord Blachford, was a close friend of Newman).
26. Lord Blachford's Recollections, ibid., p. 82.
27. Recorded by the Rev. James Lonsdale, Mathematics pupil of Ward, ibid., p. 33.
28. Letter of J.H. Newman to J. Bowden, May 1839. In edited Anne Mozley, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman During His Life in the English Church. Two volumes (London, 1891), volume two, p. 282.
29. T.H. Hoppen comments: 'His change on the surface so quick, decisive, but in reality so extraordinarily slow and painful, from Arnoldian broad churchmanship to the tractarian views of Keble and Newman was the most decisive of his life. It set him down in the midst of a certain religious philosophy, which, when logically followed, and Ward was nothing if not logical, pointed to Rome'. Quoted with the author's permission from: 'William George Ward and Nineteenth Century Catholicism' (Cambridge University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1966), p. 17.

SECTION III

30. W.E. Gladstone, 'Speech on the Second Reading of Public Worship Regulation Act, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates Third Series, volume CCXX (July, 1874), p. 1387.
31. J. Keble 1892-1866, Fellow of Oriel 1811. One of the few leading figures in the Oxford Movement not to leave the Church of England in 1845.
32. See G. Battiscombe, John Keble, A Study of Limitations (London, 1960), and M. O'Connell, The Oxford Conspirators (London, 1969).
33. See S.L. Ollard, A Short History of the Oxford Movement (London, 1915), and R.W. Church, The Oxford Movement - 12 Years 1833-1845 (London, 1891).
34. William Palmer 1803-1885, of Worcester College. Newman described him as the only thoroughly learned man among the initiators of the Movement. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of his Narrative.
35. See article by J.R. Griffin, 'The Radical Phase of the Oxford Movement', The Journal of Ecclesiastical History volume 27 (January, 1976), pp.47-56.
36. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement (London, 1933), p. 76.
37. E.B. Pusey 1800-1882, Fellow of Oriel 1823, a very widely respected figure, who, like Keble, remained in the Church of England.
38. Apologia Pro Vita Sua (London, 1934), p. 61.
39. C.P.S. Clarke, 'Genesis of the Oxford Movement, 1833-1845', p. 2 in N.P. Williams and C. Harris (editors), Northern Catholicism: Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements (London, 1933). See also Chapter 8, H. Northcott, The Development and Deepening of the Spiritual Life, pp. 309-335.
40. F.W. Faber 1814-1863, Poet, Convert to Rome 1845.  
 J.D. Dalgairns 1818-1876. A man of considerable theological ability, Convert to Rome.  
 F. Oakeley 1802-1880, Fellow of Balliol, Incumbent of Margaret Chapel 1839. Convert to Rome. See Footnote 52.  
 J.A. Froude, younger brother of R.H.  
 J.B. Morris )  
 Charles Seager) Rather eccentric scholars.
41. J.B. Sumner: Charge of 1838.
42. Clarke, Genesis, p. 23.

43. David Lewis wrote, '... He never had the slightest respect, not to say reverence, for the Anglican system. He never did anything to support it, unless he could at the same time give it a kick'. From E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Phillipps De Lisle, Edited and Finished by Edwin De Lisle, two volumes (London, 1900), volume one, p. 243.
44. Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 141-142.
45. 'By those great words of the ancient Father .... the theory of the via media was absolutely pulverized'. Apologia, p. 117.
46. The Apostolical Jurisdiction and Succession of the Episcopacy in the British Church Vindicated (London, 1840).
47. Quoted by Henry Wilberforce; 'Father Newman's Oxford Parochial Sermons', Dublin Review, volume 12 N.S. (April, 1869), p. 328.
48. Letter of Hook to Pusey 31 December 1839, Pusey House Library.
49. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 145.
50. Newman, Apologia, p. 164. Oakeley is described as the 'Most prominent person in it', p. 163, but Ward is never mentioned.
51. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 146.
52. The friendship between these two men, and their ideas, are of first importance. Tait commented, 'Two more single-hearted and devoted men, I believe never lived.' Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 124. Thomas Mozley wrote that they were as 'Different as can well be imagined but some how as much associated as Castor and Pollux ... or any two inseparable pairs'. Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, two volumes (London, 1882), volume one, p. 4.

In the preface to volume one of Whitehall Sermons (1837), he declared himself as a member of the Movement. See,

- (i) C.R. Beazley in the D.N.B.
- (ii) Frederick Oakeley, Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement A.D. 1833-1845 (London, 1865).
- (iii) Unpublished manuscript 408 in Balliol College Library, Oxford,

Canon Oakeley's Memoirs - The Story of My Life (in five chapters).

53. 'The Church Service', The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, volume XXVIII (April, 1840), pp. 249-276. Quotation from p. 250. Oakeley contributed eleven articles to the British Critic between April 1840 and October 1843.
54. Ibid., p. 255.

55. For a brief treatment of the subject, see Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 153-155. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, two parts (London, 1970), part one, Chapter three.
56. Oakeley, Church Service, p. 274.
57. Ecclesiastical Almanac for the Year of Our Lord MDCCCXL, pp. iv ff.
58. Clarke, Genesis, p.23.
59. Mozley, Reminiscences, p. 41.
60. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 148.

CHAPTER I

Tract Ninety

SECTION I:                    Intention and Content

The Tracts preceding Number Ninety had dealt with a variety of subjects. Some were reprints of older Anglican works.<sup>1</sup> Parts of others had been given as lectures to the Theological Society<sup>2</sup> in Oxford, founded by Pusey in 1835. Liddon commented: 'There can be no question of the influence of this Society on the Oxford Movement. It stimulated theological thought and work more than any other agency in Oxford at the time'.<sup>3</sup> Isaac Williams's Tract Eighty 'Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge',<sup>4</sup> had grown out of two papers given to the Society, and evoked considerable controversy on publication. Keble's 'The Mysticism Attributed to the Early Fathers' had been given in eight papers to the Society, and appeared as Tract Eighty-Nine in a much reduced form.

In Tract Ninety, the last and most outspoken of the series, which was dated 25 January 1841, and published in Oxford 27 February 1841, Newman sought to reassure the more extreme members of the Movement that the Thirty-Nine Articles could be interpreted in a 'Catholic' sense. He thus hoped to keep them within the Church of England. Newman had written in the Introduction to the Tract: 'our present scope, which is merely to show that, while our Prayer Book is acknowledged on all sides to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic and may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic

in heart and devotion'.<sup>5</sup> This was not the first time such a task had been undertaken. Christopher Davenport, who later became a Roman Catholic, also treated the Articles to a Catholic interpretation in 1634.<sup>6</sup> The full title of the Tract ran as follows: 'Remarks on Certain Passages of the Thirty-nine Articles'. After the Introduction, Newman considered a number of the Articles in twelve sections.<sup>7</sup> His reflections upon the writing of the Tract in the Apologia (1865), should be observed.<sup>8</sup> He wrote:

The main thesis then of my Essay was this:- the Articles do not oppose Catholic teaching; they but partially oppose Roman dogma; they for the most part oppose the dominant errors of Rome. And the problem was, as I have said, to draw the line as to what they allowed and what they condemned.<sup>9</sup>

Newman began with the premise that by their imprecise expression the framers sought to give the Articles as broad a base as possible. Also that the required interpretation for the exact meaning must have the Catholic Church as its standard. The Articles necessarily sought to teach the Catholic Faith by their very nature, and could not be in conflict with it. This raised the question of what was Catholic, and what distinguished the Catholic from the specifically Roman. How much of the latter was rejected in the Articles? Newman made a distinction between three categories: the Catholic - with which the Articles could not conflict; the official Roman doctrines as defined by the Council of Trent; and popular Roman interpretations protected by Rome's authority, but without the solemn approval of the Church. The last category in Newman's view was what was described in the Articles as 'Romish', as distinct from 'Roman'. It is clear that the Articles rejected this category. The second could not be expressly condemned, as the decrees of Trent were not formally promulgated until two years

after the Articles appeared. Newman attempted to minimize the contradictions, and found the old Anglican Homilies of help here. For the Articles themselves point to them. 'The result was a peculiar mixture of real acumen and equivocal special pleading.'<sup>10</sup>

Section Six of the Tract is a good example of Newman's method. Here he discussed Article Twenty-Two, on Purgatory, Images, Relics and the Invocation of Saints. He maintained that the condemnation of the 'Romish' doctrine did not mean the Tridentine, as the Articles were drawn up before Trent. Anglican divines were quoted as they did not 'altogether discard' reverence for relics. Cardinal Bellarmine, he suggested bore out the principles laid down by Andrewes, with respect to the Invocation of Saints. When considering Article Thirty-One on the subject of the Mass, Newman wrote that it was 'the sacrifice of Masses', that was written about and that the sacrifice of the Mass and its doctrine cannot have been intended. He also opposed certain Roman doctrines. See his remarks on transubstantiation in Section Eight. One can accuse Newman at the very least of over subtlety of interpretation. As Brilioth commented, the Tract does not seek to square the doctrine of the Articles with the Primitive Church, but with the decrees of the Council of Trent.<sup>11</sup> Newman did not seem to have realized the uproar that his Tract would provoke, and not only in the University of Oxford, but all over England.<sup>12</sup> He found himself in a difficult situation and 'Ward worried him into writing Tract Ninety'.<sup>13</sup> 'It was the most directly Romeward movement of the leader; and however qualified and reserved in its mode of expression, it contemplated without disapproval all that the extreme party contended for'.<sup>14</sup>

SECTION II:Reactions to Tract Ninety

Two thousand five hundred copies of the anonymous Tract were sold in London in a fortnight. Reactions were immediate. The Times sought to counter some of the adverse criticism, by carrying a very favourable article on 'Puseyism', and it is worth quoting at some length:

Their teaching has now sunk deeply into the heart of the Church of England; it has acquired not merely a numerical, but a moral power and influence, which must now henceforth make it impossible for any statesman to despise or overlook, and highly indiscreet for any political party unnecessarily to alienate this element in the constitution of society. The younger clergy are said to be very generally of this school; it has no lack of advocates among their seniors; it has penetrated into both Houses of Parliament; and we are confidently informed... that it has met with countenance from the Bishops themselves. It has completely succeeded in awakening in the Church that vital spirit of reaction, the necessity for which called it into existence... No man can know anything of their lives, without being aware that they act consistently with their professions; that they are more than usually strict, circumspect, self-denying, and (as far as man can judge from outward demeanour) pious.<sup>15</sup>

However, opposition in Oxford itself was fermented by the Reverend C.P. Golightly, known as 'Gollie', of Oriel.<sup>16</sup> He bought as many copies of the Tract as possible and sent them to the University authorities and to the Bishops. Goulburn suggested that he had 'Tract Ninety on the brain'. The Evangelical Warden of Wadham, B.P. Symons, was only too willing to listen to Golightly. On 8. March, after a meeting of Tutors, a letter was sent to the Editor of the Tracts, signed by four Tutors.<sup>17</sup> A.C. Tait was the prime mover behind this protest. In view of the ideas expressed in the Tract, it was suggested that the writer reveal his identity. The opinions contained in the Tract on Purgatory, pardons, images and relics, invocation of Saints, and the Mass, all aroused controversy, as they attempted to minimize the difference between Anglican and Roman teaching. On the same day, James

Mozley wrote to his sister:

A new Tract has come out this week and is beginning to make a sensation. It is on the Articles, and shows that they bear a highly Catholic meaning; and that many doctrines of which the Romanist are corruptions, may be held consistently with them. This is no more than what we know as a matter of history, for the Articles were expressly worded to bring in Roman Catholics.

It was a considerable difference in opinion to that held by the Tutors.<sup>18</sup>

Newman replied to the Tutors, with a letter to the 'neutral' Dr. R.W. Jelf. This was dated 13 March 1841. The previous day, the Heads of Houses had censored the Tract by nineteen votes to two. Newman wrote that the Tract had been misunderstood by its opponents. He further pressed the distinction between the official and the popular Roman interpretation on which Tract Ninety was constructed.

The Tract is grounded on the belief that the Thirty-Nine Articles need not be so closed as the received method of teaching closes them, and ought not to be, for the sake of many persons. If we will close them, we run the risk of subjecting persons whom we should least like to lose, or distress, to the temptation of joining the Church of Rome...<sup>19</sup>

He held the opinion that the question of whether the Reformers' views were Catholic or Protestant was an open one, though he offered to withdraw his 'ambiguous formularies' phrase. He took exception to the Tutor's statement that he had maintained the compatibility of the Articles with the authoritative teaching of Rome on the points specified, 'I only say that whereas they were written before the decrees of Trent, they were not directed against those decrees.'<sup>20</sup> He continued to give a strong condemnation of the present authoritative teaching of Rome. Newman's 'subtle distinctions and qualifications exasperated his opponents....and eventually led Mr Ward to enter the field, and to attempt to make absolutely clear what Mr Newman preferred

to leave to some extent undefined'.<sup>21</sup> On 15 March, at a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses and Proctors, the following resolution was carried.

Resolved, that modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors, which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned Statutes.<sup>22</sup>

(Statutes of the University of Oxford with regard to the Articles.)

This resolution was promulgated the following day. Newman immediately wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wynter, and acknowledged authorship. He also published the letter to Jelf.

On 17th March, a letter was written to Dr. Pusey by the Professor of Moral Philosophy, suggesting that the Tracts be discontinued. A week later a 'member of the University of Oxford' produced the first of two collections of 'Strictures'.<sup>23</sup> The convert Ambrose Phillipps wrote to Newman, as did Wiseman. Wiseman addressed Newman as follows:

In conclusion, I thank you, Rev. Sir, from my heart for the welcome information which your letter contains, that men whom you so highly value should be opening their eyes to the beauties and perfections of our Church, and require such efforts as your interpretation of the Articles to keep them from struggling in the direction of Rome.<sup>24</sup>

A day later, 28 March, A.P. Perceval<sup>25</sup> produced a defence of a large part of the Tract entitled: 'A Vindication of the Principles of the Authors of the Tracts for the Times.' At the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Bagot of Oxford sent a message to Newman objecting to the Tract. He suggested that it might disturb the peace of the Church, and that the Tracts should be discontinued. The Bishops, to a man, attacked the Tract. Bishop Maltby of Durham

described it as, 'An elaborate attempt...to explain away the real meaning of our Articles, and infuse into them a more kindly spirit of accommodation to the opinions and practices of the Church of Rome'.<sup>26</sup> Newman replied to Bishop Bagot on 29 March,<sup>27</sup> explaining his willingness to comply, but defending the Tracts in general, and Tract Ninety in particular, from the charges brought against them. He also, as requested, expressed his loyalty to the Church of England. Newman's most important point in the letter was that: '... sanctity is the great note of His Church'. If 'the Established Church in Scotland has this note, I will hope all good things of it, if the Roman Church in Ireland has it not, I can hope no good of it, and in like manner in our own Church, I will unite with all persons as brethren, who love this Note, without any distinction of party'. Brilioth commented upon the letter that, 'It was not the old Newman who spoke here'.<sup>28</sup> A change had taken place in his whole attitude. Pusey, Keble and Oakeley all entered the pamphlet war.<sup>29</sup> Writing to the Bishop of Oxford, Pusey wrote of the Articles: 'We are not bound to have no opinion beside them, provided we hold none against them.'

The effect of discontinuing the Tracts was to bring even the more staid churchmen, Hooker and Palmer, into Newman's camp. Newman was himself slandered and much maligned. Dr. Close's remark is often quoted: 'I should be sorry to trust the author of that Tract with my purse.'<sup>30</sup> Bonamy Price wrote in the Edinburgh Review that his aim was to '...record our protest against their (Tractarians) morality; and to show it to be their wish to alter the general character of religious sentiment which the Reformation established in England'.<sup>31</sup> He continued,

..at no period since the Reformation was finally settled, have the main principles, as well as so large an amount of specific opinions and practices maintained by the Roman Catholics, been so fondly, fully and systematically professed within the Church of England, as by these men.<sup>32</sup>

Specifically on Newman's method in the Tracts he wrote: 'No Jesuit taught the art of breaking through the most solemn pledges more probably than is done in the comment on the 21st Article.'<sup>33</sup> Stanley, writing in the same review, though in 1881, suggested that the real conclusion of the Tract was that, 'All Roman doctrine might be held within the limits of the Church of England'.<sup>34</sup> This was to be Ward's chief claim in the Ideal of a Christian Church (1844).

It was a letter by one of the four Tutors, Wilson, complaining about Newman's ambiguity of expression both in the Tract and in the letter to Jelf, that led Ward to make his own defence of Tract Ninety, in two pamphlets.

SECTION III: a) 'A Few Words in Support of Number 90 of the Tracts for The Times, partly, with reference to Mr. Wilson's Letter, 10 April 1841

Acquiescing as I do in the general principles in Tract XC, and deeply grateful to its author for bringing forward in it a view of our formularies, full of comfort to myself and many others with whom I am acquainted, I am induced to say a few words with regard to Mr. Wilson's recently published letter....<sup>35</sup>

Ward set out to make clear what Newman had deliberately left undefined.

With regard to the interpretation of the Articles he wrote:

I think the Tract did imply, that on the point mentioned in their (Four Tutors) letter, the Articles do not condemn the decrees of the Council of Trent, and that in point of fact there is no necessity for any Roman Catholic either then, or at the present day, to hold on these points opinions which the Articles condemn.<sup>36</sup>

Ward saw the Tract as considering the Articles against the 'authoritative teaching' prevalent throughout the Roman Church, not the 'authoritative statements' of the Church herself.<sup>37</sup> Newman had allowed it to be an open question, with a number of significant reservations on, say, transubstantiation, as to whether the Reformers were Catholic or not in sentiment. Ward maintained that they were not, and that this was necessary to the argument. Newman had deferred to Pusey's views here, and expressed himself accordingly. Ward regarded deference to Pusey as only confounding the issues and so giving credence to the charges made by others. Newman spoke of subscription to the Articles in their 'literal and grammatical sense'. Ward was to say plainly that they might be subscribed in a 'non-natural sense'. 'Newman offered to withdraw the phrase "ambiguous formularies" as applied to the Articles; Ward, on the contrary, considered his only hope to lie in their ambiguity.'<sup>38</sup> He attempted, not altogether successfully, to conceal the strength of his sympathy with the existing Roman Church. His true opinions were to be far more obvious in the second pamphlet.

Wilson had raised two topics for discussion on page seventeen of his letter. Firstly, are the Homilies legitimate interpretations of the Articles? Secondly, has the Tract represented fairly the teaching of the Homilies? With respect to the Articles, Wilson confined his observations to Articles Twenty-Two and Thirty-One. Ward remarked on Newman's interpretations that,

I am not denying that in parts of the Tract interpretations are given which to me do not seem the most obvious...but I cannot consider that of the Twenty-Second Article as in the number. On the contrary, it does seem that nothing but long habit could have made us imagine, e.g. that "doctrina Romanensium de Purgatorio"

means all teaching on Purgatory, or "doctrina Romanensium de invocatione Sanctorum" means all invocation of Saints.<sup>39</sup>

He continued: 'Article Twenty-Two contains no one positive statement; it puts together four or five topics, which cannot be said to be all very clearly connected with each other.'<sup>40</sup> The Homilies can be helpful he wrote:

...Not of course that we are bound to every sentence and paragraph in them (see Tract p.66), but that the general scope and tone of them on this subject will give us at least the nearest approach to our Church's authoritative explanation of what has absolutely no meaning without such explanation, the words "doctrina Romanensium". And that on the whole the tone of the Homilies is precisely what we should a priori have expected from the wording of the Articles. I protest few will deny: we find their long and detailed protests against the existing practical system, but no attention given to the task of drawing up a consistent antagonist view; their tone is as negative as that of the Articles.<sup>41</sup>

When discussing worship and adoration of images and relics:

On the whole then, does not the case seem made out by the "four close pages of the Homilies" quoted by the Tract, that the main tendency of their teaching is a vehement protest against the corruptions they saw around them, not the assertion of any one systematic view in opposition?<sup>42</sup>

On the subject of the invocation of Saints:

..the quotations from the Homilies introduced in the Tract do seem to show, that the writers had not in view the task of assigning the exact limits within which the realising of our Communion with departed Saints may be lawful to the spiritually-minded Christian, but, as before, that of becoming witnesses against the practical corruptions they found actually in existence.<sup>43</sup>

One of Ward's rare criticisms of Rome came with reference to the Virgin Mary. There was, he felt, an excess of devotion to her in the Roman Church that existed as a 'matter of opinion rather than as doctrine...' 'To whatever extent Saints were allowed to obscure in the mind the view of the one God, such opinions would be part of the doctrina Romanensium condemned by the Article.'<sup>44</sup> Article Thirty-One

concerns the Eucharist, and Ward replied to Wilson's remarks in the following manner:

If Mr. Wilson considers that the doctrine is condemned in it of the Eucharist being an offering for the quick and the dead, he must condemn some of our most respected Divines, almost from that day to this. But the whole scope of the Article, as is plain from both its title and its wording, is to vindicate <sup>45</sup> the solemnity and all-sufficiency of the One Sacrifice.

Ward concluded his remarks on Wilson's letter on page twenty-six of his pamphlet.

Ward next considered the subject of the term of the Articles:

They (referring to those who hold the type of views sanctioned by the editors of Froude's Remains), cannot deny that to them there appears an obvious leaning to Protestantism in the wording of some few of the Articles: the point on which they join issue being whether this leaning has actually been allowed to have its full effect. Two alternatives are open to them: either we may consider, that those who drew up the Articles had before their minds all through their task the thought of an opposite party in the Church whom they must not offend, and whose views if they actually contradicted in the Articles, the Sanction of Convocation (the sole Church authority of the time) was not to be expected (Tract, p.82. Second Edition): or it remains that God's merciful providence watched over this branch of his Church, ... so watched over her, I say, amidst all the excesses of that period, as without intervention of human agency to protect her from herself, and graciously save her from any formal admission of the unhappy errors then prevalent.<sup>46</sup>

Ward was convinced of the former. He suggested that in the Articles in dispute the framers went to great trouble to present 'an imposing external appearance of Protestantism, while nothing is really denied which might prevent those who deferred more really than they did to primitive authority from subscription. This of course is the meaning of the last paragraph of the Tract, and it well deserves our careful

47  
 attention'. 'Another thing very much to be observed and perfectly inexplicable on the hypothesis of Protestant principles having had their full freedom in the reconstruction of our formularies, is that the necessity of proof from Scripture is everywhere confined to truths necessary to salvation; this is so not only in the 6th, 20th and 21st Articles, but also in the Ordination Service; so that it cannot possibly be the result of accident.'<sup>48</sup> On the subject of General Councils, Article Twenty One, he continued the ideas expressed above:

I feel persuaded that fair-minded men will see in this Article the result of a compromise with the opposite party, and an intentional abstinence from determining the question whether some General Councils have given them authority by Christ to determine religious doctrine with infallible truth, ruling at the same time so much as this, that any General Council which determined that to be a point of necessary faith which should not be contained and able to be pointed out (astendi possint) in the Holy Scripture, would err in so doing, and <sup>49</sup> therefore would not be so for such infallible Council.

Some of Ward's concluding remarks on the nature of the Church should also be considered: 'We raise no question about others who interpret our formularies by the spirit of Cranmer and Jewel, why are they found fault with who interpret them by St. Gregory and St. Augustine?'<sup>50</sup> He expanded this in a footnote.

If ever there was a point not determined by our Church, it is that she takes her date from the Reformation. The very name Protestant is not once used in our whole services or Articles. The Prayer Book, no insignificant part of our formularies, dates for the most part from a far earlier period. The temporal rights of our Bishops, of our Chapters, the external framework of our Church, the divisions of our Dioceses, etc. All call us back to St. Augustine rather than to Cranmer.<sup>51</sup>

The task of the Church was to convince those outside her of her divine mission:

Can there be a task more full of interest and hope, than in all possible ways, especially by the careful

ordering of our lives and conversations, to do what in us lies to set before such persons in a manner which may overcome their adverse impressions, that one image of the Catholic Church, which, could they but see it, is the real satisfaction of their restless cravings and the first reward for their patient continuance in well doing? Yet such a task is exclusively ours, as members of the English Church, and may well add more to the many associations and bonds of love which bind us to that Holy Mother, through whom we received our new-birth. May we all have grace to labour worthily in the pious task of building her up in truth and purity, with loving tenderness indeed towards all branches of the Catholic Church, but with an especial and dutiful attachment to her.<sup>52</sup>

Reactions to this pamphlet were varied. An anonymous member of the University of Oxford commented: 'It contains little new in it, and does not seem to be at all conclusive against Mr. Wilson's statement. Many of the same assertions as were made in number Ninety are here repeated, sometimes in a strange manner.'<sup>53</sup> Tait and Woolcombe, however, withdrew their invitation for Ward to co-operate with their official care of undergraduates. They saw his views as being too dangerous for the young and impressionable. Robert Scott, another Fellow of Balliol, also reacted against the pamphlet in a letter. Ward replied on 27 April. He, Ward, cited as one of his reasons for joy at Number Ninety that it sought to foster closer links with other Churches, and anything that did this gave him satisfaction. It also drew attention to the poor state of the Church of England, which he considered important. He wrote: 'The one great object (of the pamphlet) was to draw out from the rather peculiar form in which Newman had thrown it, the real and substantial argument of his Tract, on those points to which I had heard of objections.'<sup>54</sup> (This letter also bore witness to Ward's generous nature, in that he genuinely thanked Scott for his criticism.)

SECTION III:        b) 'A Few Words More in Support of  
Number 90 of the Tracts for the Times'. 21 May 1841

Controversy over Tract Ninety continued. Members of the High Church Party largely supported it, and Palmer wrote in its defence. Arnold's followers attacked it in the Edinburgh Review. Robert Lowe, later Lord Sherbrooke, published a pamphlet anonymously, 'The Articles as Construed by Themselves', and argued that the interpretations given to the Articles should be that of the most natural meaning, without reference to the intention of the framers. He also attacked Number Ninety for dishonesty. This pamphlet, together with an article in the Edinburgh Review led Ward to write his second pamphlet. A Few Words More in Support of Number Ninety of the Tracts for The Times appeared

on 21. <sup>55</sup> May.

As a general statement on the Tracts he wrote:

All religious truths are addressed to the conscience rather than the reason; and the points at issue, to speak generally, are much rather those opinions which the consciences of persons on either side propound to them as principles to start from, than the results which by reasoning are derived from those principles.<sup>56</sup>

He discussed at some length the question of who, or what, was the 'imponens' of the Articles. For the '"animus imponentes" must be our rule in subscribing to them'.<sup>57</sup> He suggested possible answers. Firstly, the framers themselves - Cranmer, Ridley and their associates. This view was held by a number. The Convocation of 1571 was another possibility. But why that of 1571 and not that of 1662, Ward asked? By what right could a Convocation that ceased to exist one hundred and fifty years earlier be considered the present 'imponens'? The State might be seen as such, in a true Reformation Church. Then there was the Church of the present time, of the 1840s. The Bishops might be

appealed to: 'If I rightly understand the theory, we are not to wait for a formal condemnation: the moment we honestly entertain the conviction that the Episcopal Synod considers our opinions condemned by the Articles, we lose our power of honestly signing them.'<sup>58</sup> He quoted from a sermon by Newman:

This then is the special glory of the Christian Church, that its members do not depend merely on what is visible, they are not mere stones of a building piled one on another and bound together from without, but they are one and all the births and manifestations of one<sup>59</sup> and the same unseen spiritual principle or power.

The 'imponens' really was 'the Holy Ghost dwelling in the Catholic Church'.<sup>60</sup> He continued:

If we believe the Church to be the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, and to have been founded for the very purpose of bearing witness to the faith, once (for all) delivered to the Saints (and if we cease to believe this, we cease to be Catholics), we cannot but interpret every general and ambiguous expression in her formularies, in accordance, so far as the wording will allow, with the body of doctrine, which, from the first, the Spirit as by His overruling power He had caused it to be contained as to essentials within the words of Holy Scripture, so also has openly declared through the instrumentality of His organ the Catholic Church.<sup>61</sup>

There are two questions that cannot be open for Anglo-Catholics. If the Church before the Reformation had been so corrupt as to lose the essence of a Church, then Anglican Apostolic Succession would not exist either, and High Church opinions would become an impossibility. Secondly, if the English Reformation had severed the Church of England of Ward's time from the ancient body of the English Church, then there would be no option but to leave it for Rome. Ward wrote that Newman had intimated (Tract p. 79), '... that in releasing her from the Roman supremacy, her then governors were guilty of rebellion; and considering they had sworn allegiance to the Pope, for

my own part I see not how we can avoid adding, of perjury'.<sup>62</sup> This idea will be developed. Ward did not believe that the Articles were drawn up with the view of 'excluding those whose opinions 'we should follow'. Again he drew out what he believed was Newman's idea in the

Tract:

... (the English Church) fails in one of her principal duties, that of witnessing plainly and directly to Catholic truth; that she seems to include whom she ought to repel, to teach what she is bound to anathematize; and that it is difficult to estimate the amount of responsibility she year by year incurs on account of those...who remain buried in the darkness of Protestant error, because she fails in her duty of holding clearly forth to them the light of the Gospel truth.<sup>63</sup>

This attack upon the English Church continued. He referred to her, 'decayed condition...', 'her present degradation'.<sup>64</sup> He added that this was not a reason to secede to Rome. Of the latter he remarked on '...the miserable practical corruptions of the Churches in the Roman obedience'. It is important to note that his reservations are 'practical', and not 'doctrinal' 'corruptions which...are sufficiently shocking and repulsive to offend the strongest argument against their claim to make up of themselves the whole Catholic Church... if the English Church also be a branch this is enough to make it a plain sin for any one of us to leave it'.<sup>65</sup> He also quoted from Gladstone: 'The British Government required of its subjects the renunciation not of Romish doctrines, but of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope'.<sup>66</sup>

The Articles were written by Protestants, yet written to be submitted to a Convocation, and with the wish that they should be signed by a Clergy, many of whom were 'more or less' Catholic. Therefore the 'spirit' was that of the 'framers' but the wording was such as to admit those of differing views. Ward asked why Roman

Priests who joined the Church of England were not re-ordained, if the English Church was Protestant?

He quoted the Tract itself:

The variety of doctrinal views contained in the Homilies, views which cannot be brought under Protestantism itself in its greatest comprehension of opinions, is an additional proof, considering the connexion of the Articles with the Homilies, that the Articles were not framed on the principle of excluding those who prefer the theology of the early ages to that of the Reformation.<sup>67</sup>

Catholic principles were not excluded, and the Homilies proved this. They contained references to the authority of the Fathers, and the First Six Councils; the holiness of the primitive Church; the sacramental character of Marriage; and the 'Propitiatory virtue of good works'.<sup>68</sup> Ward reiterated Newman's statement that the Articles were not intended to exclude Catholics. It was not Roman doctrines that were condemned, but the corruptions of them. On General Councils, he wrote that they '...may err as such, and on necessary points may err, unless they prove their decrees from Scripture'.<sup>69</sup> Apostolic Succession may not be found by the 'private' Christian in Scripture... 'except in the proportion to his progress in holiness, and his patient study of Holy Scripture and the Church's teaching'.<sup>70</sup> Ward had so far concentrated his attention on the pamphlet by Robert Lowe. He now turned to the article in the Edinburgh Review.<sup>71</sup>

He provoked the Evangelicals, by writing that if the doctrine of Justification by Faith had received formal sanction from the Church then 'who can estimate the serious consequences which must follow in the judgement of all those (and they are not few) who consider that doctrine heretical and anti-Christian?'.<sup>72</sup> He requested that 30,

January, the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of Charles I, should be kept as a day of sorrow for the way in which the English Reformation was carried out. Also for prayers 'that both we and other Churches may have the grace of repentance in order to the privilege of reunion'.<sup>73</sup> Tract Ninety was no 'wanton exercise in ingenuity', but, 'a most important step towards claiming for all members of the Church of England a full right to that SUBSTRATUM of Catholic doctrine on which Catholic feeling and practice may be reared up'.<sup>74</sup> Some, he observed, have been upset by praise for the Roman Church not being tempered with adverse comment. He found this ungracious, 'in a Church so faulty as our own to be continually throwing stones at our neighbours'.<sup>75</sup> The Roman Church has, after all, claimed to be the 'true Church', and has held up many patterns of evangelical Sanctity - which others have not done. Finally, there were the practical corruptions of the Church of England herself. He concluded the pamphlet:

...May we Catholics of the English Church throw ourselves in a loving spirit upon the thought of unworldliness, purity, self-denial, from whatever quarter they are presented. In no other way shall we be able to build up our own Church into a form truly Catholic... She may well build hope that her influence will re-act for good on those sisters in other lands from whom she has been so long and so fatally dissevered; and thus, when she has been, by a natural attraction as it were spontaneously, restored to active Communion with the rest of Christendom, once more, if God permits, the united Catholic Church will go forth in a spirit of steady aggression against the world.<sup>76</sup>

Reaction to these sentiments expressed, particularly upon the Reformers and Reformation, was considerable. Lowe himself made a formal reply.<sup>77</sup> 'Mr. Ward and I are both for the intention of the framers, only he would draw their attention from the source from which they did not mean it to be drawn, I from the sources from whence they

did.<sup>78</sup> Of Ward and the Church of England:

I will not attempt a task to which I am wholly unequal, and which has already been so ably performed by Mr. Wilson, the task of showing, that the framers of the Articles never meant to include Mr. Ward, and such as he, in the Reformed Church as far as that proposition rests on evidence collateral to and independent of the Articles.<sup>79</sup>

By Newman's method of approach, supported by Ward:

The Articles are...admitted, not alas, as having any one meaning of their own, not as presenting a fair exposition of the intention of the framers, but in order to be shown to be ambiguous, to be patient of two meanings, though ambitious of one. This I apprehend is in order to strengthen the position (resting otherwise altogether on collateral evidence), that the <sup>80</sup>Articles were intended to admit Anglo-Catholics.

As to Subscription to the Articles: 'If you have no regard for their (Reformers) character, show some for your own, and confess that those "stammering and ambiguous formularies" which it was disgraceful of them to draw up, it was dishonest of you to sign.'<sup>81</sup> Lowe's own view of the Articles was expressed:

I do think (to borrow Mr. Newman's illustration), that the Articles are not a heap of stones, but a building, and that he who induces himself by thirty nine distinct quibbles to assent them piecemeal, and then denies them as a whole, is guilty of the most hateful verbal sophistry and mental reservation... I look upon them rather in the light of a permanent symbol or embodying of our national belief, than a quibbling and ambiguous compromise.<sup>82</sup>

He contrasted his own view with that of Ward:

...while the one looks merely to the literal and grammatical sense, which results naturally from the words, and the other to the maximum of Catholicism which can be wrung from them by a perverse ingenuity. While the one looks on them as clear and explicit declarations of Faith, the other only as something

which is to be shown to be ambiguous.<sup>83</sup>

More harsh words followed:

Let him not exult in the distinction that he thinks he has discovered between the literal and the prima facie meaning of the Articles. Since the most he can possibly gain by it, is the opportunity of carrying out a fraud, of which he has the discredit of availing himself, without the paltry merit of having originated it.<sup>84</sup>

Frederick Oakeley, not surprisingly, took a very different view of the two pamphlets. They were 'distinguished by great moderation of tone', he commented in his memoirs. Accepting Ward's views in their entirety, he wrote his own pamphlet to show that what Ward had defended from the Articles' internal structure, was also borne out through the historical records of the Reformation. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, a Roman Catholic, wrote to Bloxam that Ward's defence was 'A triumphant reply, and as powerful a vindication of that holy Mr. Newman's Tract No. 90 as ever he could desire'.<sup>85</sup> It was at this time that a number of persons entertained the idea of corporate union between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Establishment.<sup>86</sup> Phillipps and Bloxam belonged to this group as did Oakeley.

Ward's view of the Reformation and the Reformers caused considerable problems within the Movement. Pusey was known to be preparing a defence of the Tract, in which a favourable view of the Reformation was to be given. It was to be this question that split the Movement into two parties. Pusey and his followers saw Ward's second pamphlet as going far beyond Newman's own opinions. Ward's friends were also alarmed by his sentiments. Pusey went so far as to request, through Oakeley, a pledge that Ward would not join the Roman Church. Ward refused to give it. Others felt that Ward was merely making

explicit what Newman really thought himself. The Oxford Tutors welcomed it, as it gave them something definite to attack. Ward wrote to Pusey in June that, 'Tait, among others, told me how he was particularly pleased with my way of putting things, and that several people liked it very much. Jowett, one of our younger Fellows, who has himself great difficulties in Subscribing the Articles, told me that no theory could possibly satisfy his mind which did not acknowledge the plain fact that the Reformers were anti-Catholic and expressed himself very warmly in favour of my second pamphlet'.<sup>87</sup>

Ward's Balliol colleagues were prompted to take further action. Tait and other Fellows expressed the view to the Master, that the type of Roman opinions advocated made Ward unfit for the position of Logical and Mathematical Lecturer. Dr. Jenkyns liked Ward, and was unwilling to take action, but agreed to read the pamphlet. 'He was no great theologian, and his first attempt to make his way through the ninety pages of close logic and technical phraseology proved a failure. He was discovered by one of the undergraduates asleep in his arm-chair, with a copy of "A Few Words More" in his hands.'<sup>88</sup> The matter seemed to be closed, but a second attempt was made to activate the Master. Certain passages were singled out for his notice, and he was genuinely shocked. He commented to Tait: 'When I meet Ward and talk to him, I find him so amusing and so agreeable, that it is almost impossible to believe that he is the same man who says those dreadful things in print.'<sup>89</sup> Jenkyns was loath to ask for Ward's resignation because of their cordial relations. Hearing this, Ward came and resigned himself.<sup>90</sup>

'Ward's pamphlets represent the most unambiguous statement of the

pro-Roman Movement which had yet appeared. He had given up the bold High Church and Tractarian notion that authority was the norm for Church life; he had given up, too, the conviction that the Reformers were really Catholic at heart. The result of these two attitudes was the adoption of Rome as a standard, and the interpretation of the Anglican formularies in terms of the Tridentine decrees.<sup>91</sup>

Footnotes to Chapter I

SECTION I

1. An important example being Tracts Twenty-Seven and Twenty-Eight: Bishop Cosin's History of Papal Transubstantiation.
2. H.P. Liddon, Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey in four volumes (London, 1893). Volume I, pp. 332-338. The objects of the Society are given here. The names of the First Committee are of interest: The Regius Professor of Hebrew (Pusey), The Archdeacon of Oxford (Dr. Clarke), The Rev. John Keble, The Rev. J.H. Newman, The Rev. F. Oakeley.
3. Ibid., p. 334.
4. See T. Mozley, 'Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge'. British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXXI (January, 1842), pp. 205-243.
5. J.H. Newman, The Via Media of the Anglican Church in two volumes (London, 1891), Volume I, pp. 271-272.
6. Davenport was known after his conversion as 'Sancta Clara'. His work was printed at Lyons under the title: 'Deus, Natura, Gratia, Sive Tractatus de Praedestinatione, de Meritis, et peccatorum remissione, Seu de Justificatione, et denique de Sanctorum Invocatione.' A supplement was added, and translated into English by F.G. Lees (published in 1865). As Newman, Davenport distinguished Roman Doctrine Proper from popular misconceptions of it, although unlike Newman he attributed these to Rome's critics, not to Catholics themselves. It is not clear that at the time of writing Tract Ninety, Newman was familiar with Davenport's work. See J.B. Dockery, O.F.M., Christopher Davenport, Friar and Diplomat (London, 1960).
7. Articles 6 and 20; 11; 12 and 13; 19; 21; 22; 25; 28; 31; 32; 35 and 37.
8. Newman, Apologia, p. 77 ff.
9. Ibid., p. 79.
10. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement (London, 1933), p. 153.
11. Ibid., p. 155.
12. See the remarks of F. Oakeley quoted by Ward in Oxford Movement, p. 156.

13. Ibid., p. 152. Remark of A.C. Tait in his personal diary.
14. Ibid., p. 153.

## SECTION II

15. The article was not called 'Puseyism'; there was no specific title.  
The Times (6 March 1841), p.5. See also 4 March 1841. John Walter the proprietor of the newspaper had a son at Merton, and hence had come to know about the Movement.
16. Charles P. Golightly (1807-1885) educated at Eton and Oriel. Curate at Littlemore 1835-1836. Newman wrote of him: 'Without me, Golightly would not have come to Oxford, and he was my chief prosecutor.' Newman, Autobiographical Writings, ed. H. Tristram (London 1956), p. 267.  
Brilioth calls him: 'A pugnacious and wire-pulling Evangelical.' Anglican Revival, p. 156. He was not an Evangelical in fact.  
See, R.W. Greaves, 'Golightly and Newman, 1824-1845', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Volume nine (London, 1958), pp. 209-228.  
Golightly suggested that he belonged 'To no party whatever...neither a High Churchman nor a Low Churchman...simply a Protestant and a true son of the Church of England'. Ibid., p. 216. He had great admiration for the work of Richard Hooker.
17. T.T. Churton of Brasenose, J. Griffiths of Wadham (Evangelicals), A.C. Tait of Balliol, H.B. Wilson of St. John's (Broad Churchmen).
18. Ward, Ibid., pp. 156-157.
19. 'A Letter addressed to the Rev. R.W. Jelf, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, in his explanation of Tract 90'. In J.H. Newman, The Via Media. Volume II, pp. 367-393. Quotation from p. 387.
20. Ibid., p. 368.
21. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 158.
22. Via Media II, p. 362.
23. Anonymous Strictures on Number Ninety of the Tracts for The Times in two parts (Oxford, 1841).
24. Letter of Wiseman to Newman, 27 March 1841.
25. Hon. and Rev. A.P. Perceval 1799-1853. Fellow of All Souls 1821-1825. Present at the Hadleigh Meeting of July 1833. One of the main supporters of the Movement in the early years.

26. W. Simcox Bricknell, Oxford Tract 90 and Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church. A practical suggestion respectfully submitted to Members of Convocation etc. (Oxford, 1844), second edition, pp. 32-33. Simcox Bricknell was Oxford City Lecturer at Carfax Church. He urged all Evangelicals to rally round the Protestant faith.
27. A Letter addressed to The Right Rev. Father in God, Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford, on the occasion of the Ninetieth Tract. Via Media, pp. 397-424.
28. Brillioth, Anglican Revival, p. 159.
29. (i) E.B. Pusey, The Articles treated of in Tract 90 reconsidered and their interpretation vindicated, in a letter to the Rev. R.W. Jelf, D.D., Canon of Christ Church (Oxford, 1841).
- (ii) J. Keble, The case of Catholic subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles considered, with especial reference to the distress and difficulties of English Catholics in the present crisis. Private printing (London, 1841).
- (iii) F. Oakeley, The Subject of Tract 90 examined, in connection with the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the statements of certain English Divines (London, 1841).
30. Cheltenham Examiner, 1 March 1843.
31. B. Price, 'Tracts for The Times - Number Ninety', Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal, Volume 73 (April, 1841), pp. 271-297. Quotation from p. 271. Launched in 1802, The Edinburgh Review became the voice of the Liberal Party under its Editor Napier (Editor, October 1829 - January 1847).
32. Ibid., p. 272.
33. Ibid., p. 283.
34. Stanley, 'The Oxford Movement', Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal, Volume 153 (April, 1881), pp. 304-335.

### SECTION III A

35. Ward, 'A few words in support of Number 90 of The Tracts for The Times, partly with reference to Mr. Wilson's Letter', bound in Tracts 1838-1841 (British Library) (Oxford, 1841), p. 3.
36. Ibid., p. 4.

37. Ibid., p. 7.
38. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 162.
39. 'A Few Words, etc.', p. 9.
40. Ibid., p. 9.
41. Ibid., p. 11.
42. Ibid., p. 20.
43. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
44. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
45. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
46. Ibid., pp. 27-28.
47. Ibid., p. 78. Newman wrote: 'The Protestant Confession was drawn up with the purpose of including Catholics, and Catholics now will not be excluded. What was an economy in the Reformers, is a protection to us. What would have been a perplexity to us then, is a perplexity to Protestants now. We could not then have found fault with their words. They cannot now repudiate our meaning.' Newman, Via Media II, pp. 347-348.
48. Ibid., p. 31.
49. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
50. Ibid., p. 43.
51. Ibid., p. 43.
52. Ibid., pp. 44-45.
53. Anonymous, Strictures on Number 90 of the Tracts for The Times (Oxford, 1841), bound in Hoare, Controversial Tracts on the Tractarians (British Library).
54. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 168.

### SECTION III B

55. 'A Few Words More in support of Number 90 of The Tracts for the Times' (Oxford, 1841), pp. 2-91.
56. Ibid., p. 3.

57. Ibid., p. 7.
58. Ibid., p. 11.
59. Ibid., p. 12. Newman Volume IV, Sermon XI.
60. Ibid., pp. 13.
61. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
62. Ibid., p. 18.
63. Ibid., p. 29.
64. Ibid., p. 30.
65. Ibid., p. 35.
66. W.E. Gladstone, State in its relations with the Church (London, 1838), p. 190; (p. 34 of pamphlet).
67. 'A Few Words More' , p. 38. Tract Ninety, p. 81.
68. Ibid., p. 38.
69. Ibid., p. 58.
70. Ibid., p. 61.
71. B. Price, 'Tracts for the Times - Number Ninety', Edinburgh Review, Volume 73 (April, 1841), pp. 271-297.
72. 'A Few Words More', p. 71.
73. Ibid., p. 74.
74. Ibid., p. 79.
75. Ibid., pp. 79-80.
76. Ibid., p. 91.
77. R. Lowe, Observations suggested by a Few Words More in support of Number 90 (Oxford, 1841), bound in Tracts 1838-1841 (British Library). Ward replied in 'Appendix to a Few Words More , in support of No. 90 in answer to Mr. Lowe's pamphlet'. 21 June 1841 (Oxford, 1841).
78. Ibid., p. 7.
79. Ibid., p. 8.
80. Ibid., p. 11.
81. Ibid., p. 13.

82. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
83. Ibid., p. 22.
84. Ibid., p. 22.
85. R.D. Middleton, Newton and Bloxam. - An Oxford Friendship (London, 1947), p. 144. See Footnote 177 on Phillipps.
86. A.S. Duncan Jones, 'The Ecumenical Ideals of The Oxford Movement', Chapter VIII of Northern Catholicism (London, 1833), pp. 446-477.
87. Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 173-174.
88. Ibid., p. 174.
89. Ibid., p. 175.
90. The Master's reply was: 'Really, Ward, this is just like your generosity.' Ibid., p. 175.
91. R.H. Greenfield, 'The Attitude of the Tractarians to the Roman Catholic Church 1833-1850' (Oxford University D. Phil. Thesis, 1956), pp. 344-345, with permission.

Chapter II

July - October 1841

SECTION I:        Ward's Letter to Pusey of 23 July 1841

Dr. Pusey was gravely concerned about the growth of extreme opinions within the Movement. He challenged Ward on two particular views he had expressed in his pamphlets: his condemnation of the Reformers and the Reformation; his open admiration for the existing Roman system. Ward had set out to answer these 'charges' and to emphasize the support that he had for his ideas from Newman himself.<sup>1</sup>

On the opening page Ward wrote: 'I would at once give up any theological opinion I am inclined to, if I knew Newman to differ from it.'<sup>2</sup> As always honest, he mentioned: '...my tendency to (illegible word) and hasty talking'.<sup>3</sup> Pusey had felt that Ward's 'positive' tone in the pamphlets did not become so young a man, and Ward replied that he had been 'very anxious to avoid such'.<sup>4</sup> Ward's 'habitual impression' was that the Roman Church was 'a great deal purer' than the Church of England. However, whatever the faults of the English Church, he felt it would be necessary for the Roman Church to be a 'far more perfect and pure image of a Christian Church',<sup>5</sup> to justify a change of Communion. Since the 'schism' of the sixteenth century all branches of the Church have been 'so lamentably corrupt' that only faith in the promise of perseverance could lead a person to believe that the Church still exists. The English Church '...from first to last acted with the Protestant body against the Catholic...'.<sup>6</sup> Relations between Church

and State were such that the notion of the Church having independent jurisdiction 'has been lost by the divines'. He said that he was expressing Newman's own views here.

If the Articles were to be taken as teaching, then they teach on 'many points nothing else than heresy'. He cited examples of the formal corruption of doctrine; changes in the whole character of the Eucharist, and the suppression of Prayers for the Dead. As to practical corruptions: '... there seems a certain Lutheran atmosphere to have spread over our Church from the very time of its separation'. In spite of all Rome's corruptions, she had always held up the example of holy men and women to the faithful. The Bishop of Chester, John Bird Sumner, was cited as one who made no mention of the Day of Judgement in his sermons, and who also denied that the Church was a channel of grace.<sup>7</sup>

Ward informed Pusey that he had, in fact, moderated his tone in the pamphlet: 'You will see how very much less I have said in my pamphlet than what I firmly believe might most truly be said, so that I have at least exerted a certain amount of self control.'<sup>8</sup> He described his own Subscription to the Articles, as a Deacon in an Arnoldian interpretation, and as a Priest two and a half years later, in a 'Catholic' sense. Knowing of Pusey's disapproval of his views on the Reformers and the Reformation, he quoted Newman as having said 'several times' - 'Either the Reformers were disingenuous or my Tract is so'.<sup>9</sup> Ward said that his conscience would never have allowed him to become a Tractarian as long as the writers of the Tracts upheld the Reformation. He praised Froude's Remains, '...it delighted me more than any book of the kind I ever read'.<sup>10</sup> The 'especial charm' for him was its condemnation of the present system, the Reformers, and the sympathies it expressed with

the rest of Christendom. 'I most firmly believe that the Reformation has introduced into our Church a most odious and un-Christian spirit, which exists far and wide at this day and is the real obstacle to a return to Catholic faith.'<sup>11</sup>

In his second pamphlet Ward had attempted, he wrote, to put himself forward as little as possible, and merely to draw out the meaning of Newman's words. 'I used to lie awake for hours before it came out, from annoyance at my being the person to say such things, and thinking over what pain they would give many persons. Nay, as my friends know, I was quite unwell with anxiety about it.'<sup>12</sup> However, Newman had told him that, '...he did not know a single sentiment expressed in it in which he did not altogether concur. He said that I had my way of saying things and he his, and that his was a very different way from mine; but that this is connected with the manner not the matter'.<sup>13</sup> He concluded:

I have been anxious, in compliance with your wish, to speak as openly as possible, yet I feel how inadequately I have put forth what I wanted. I do not think, to repeat what I have said before, that those who are considered extreme are so much blind to the corruptions of Rome, as awake to what they consider corruptions among ourselves. And I am quite convinced that what I have said on the latter subject, as it is below my convictions, so is also below those of several whom I know. I think their great bond of union is entire confidence in Newman, and that it is very improbable that any (with perhaps one or two exceptions) will change their position, unless he should by any new phenomena be induced to lead the way. For my own part I can only repeat that I should retain no impressions on such subjects which I believed him to disapprove, and that therefore there is at least one existing check against extravagance and unreal talk.<sup>14</sup>

SECTION II:      Some remarks from the Correspondence of  
Newman and Pusey, July - October 1841

Pusey wrote to Newman shortly before receiving Ward's letter: 'I am grieved that he (Oakeley) and Ward think it necessary to act as "public prosecutors" against the Reformers.'<sup>15</sup> He was also concerned about the growing rift within the Movement.

I should not regret so much the breaking-up which these views imply (although one does feel any parting), we might do all the better, for evidently not being a party; but I fear it will give the Romanists the occasion to triumph the more over our divisions, and perplex still more those who are inclined to leave, when they see nothing to lean on, one giving them one solution of the act by which our Church was continued to us, one another.<sup>16</sup>

Newman, writing on 3 August, advised Pusey that from what Ward had told him, he - Ward - was not a fair reporter of his - Newman's views. He continued, 'I am sure that it is right that you should have heard his opinions, but I do trust that he will keep them to himself as much as possible.'<sup>17</sup>

In an important letter of 9 August, Pusey wrote that he did not realize Newman thought the Reformers were 'disingenuous'. 'My own impression has always been that they wished to be Catholic, and that their appeals to antiquity were sincere.'<sup>18</sup> He expressed his own view of the Reformation as follows:

Our Reformation has had amid whatever reverses, a steady tendency to develop itself into Catholicism, and to throw out the impure elements which came into the Church; the foreign Reformation has developed the contrary way into Ritualism and Pantheism: and therefore I think we have a right to infer that there was a difference in their original ethos, ours intrinsically Catholic, though with something uncatholic leaning to the agents in it, theirs intrinsically uncatholic, though with some semblance of Catholicism.<sup>19</sup>

He was relieved that Newman would urge Oakeley and Ward to be quiet. On Newman's views he wrote: 'I did not think that you had studied the Reformation enough to take a decided line against the Reformers: and I thought that Ward had interpreted your silence into assent and this the more since you had not excepted against anything in my Tract, except what I altered.'<sup>20</sup> He disagreed with Newman that they agreed in principle with the Roman Catholics, but not in practice.

Replying on 13 August, Newman suggested that it was only a question of time until the Reformers will be seen 'in their true colours'. He saw something of importance in the work of those who wrote against the Reformers.

I do not think that Oakeley and Ward are eager on running down the Reformers for the sake of doing so - but as feeling that our Church cannot be right till they are exposed, till their leaven is cast out, and till the Church repents of them, I think they would do better if they left all to time. Truth will work.<sup>21</sup>

Answering Pusey on the Reformation he stated:

I do not see that my work is disingenuous, what I was thinking of, I believe, when I spoke to Ward about the Reformers being disingenuous was this, that I thought, e.g. in the Homilies, when they would attack some tenet or practice of Rome, they attacked something which Roman Catholics could and do condemn as much as their opponents do - so that now we can agree to what our Reformers say and yet agree with Rome too.<sup>22</sup>

SECTION III:      Events Leading to the Publication of Ward's  
                                 First Article in the 'British Critic',  
   October 1841

'Things after Number Ninety were never the same as to language, hopes and prospects as they had been before; it was the date from which a new set of conditions in men's thoughts and attitudes had to be

reckoned.'<sup>23</sup> The attitudes of the Heads of Houses was one of open hostility, while that of the Bishops was little better. It was the action of the authorities that led certain members of the Movement to look beyond the confines of the English Church. 'While the more moderate party sorrowfully acquiesced in defeat, the more extreme grew indignant and rebellious.'<sup>24</sup> Wilfrid Ward wrote of an 'informal inquisition' being established, whereby academic and ecclesiastical preferment became dependent on a disassociation of Tractarian principles. Newman had written Number Ninety to keep Ward and those of similar mind in the English Church. However, its rejection by the authorities led to a reassertion of the Protestant character of Anglicanism. Ward and his followers now looked directly to Rome. In March he wrote: 'I believe it is hardly beyond the truth to say that some of my strongest religious impressions were derived from the Roman Catholic Services in London, which I used frequently to attend; and the restoration of active Communion with that Church is the most enchanting earthly prospect on which my imagination can dwell.'<sup>25</sup>

An anonymous letter, originally addressed to the Univers, was later circulated in Catholic Germany and Italy. It was dated 28 March, Passion Sunday, and signed 'A Young Student of the University of Oxford'. Newman's Catholic interests, and those of his followers, were described and an appeal made for help in the work of reunion among the Churches. The idea for the letter came from Ward. He and Dalgairns both worked on its construction, Dalgairns being a fluent French speaker. Description was given of the events leading to Number Ninety and also an account given of its content: 'The author of the Tract looks upon the Thirty-Nine Articles as a burden which God in His anger

has placed upon us for the sins of our ancestors.<sup>26</sup>

The letter continued:

We are little satisfied with our position; we groan at the sins committed by our ancestors in separating from the Catholic world. We experience a burning desire to be reunited with our brethren. We love with unfeigned affection the Apostolic See, which we acknowledge to be the head of Christendom; and the more because the Church of Rome is our Mother, which sent from her bosom the blessed St. Augustine to bring us her immovable faith.<sup>27</sup>

Apostolical Succession was claimed for the English Church, and the practical corruptions of Rome were described. Removal of these corruptions would be necessary for reunion between the Church of England and Rome. Reactions to the letter were immediate. The Rev. Hamilton Gray, who was resident at Carlsbad and a moderate Tractarian, denied that a member of the Movement could have written it. It was, he said, the work of a Roman Catholic or Low Church Protestant. This letter was also published in the Univers. A reply was sent, proving that the author was indeed a member of the Movement. The authorities in Oxford took no action over an anonymous letter, but it was quite clear that the members of the 'advanced' party intended something much more radical than anything in Number Ninety.

Ambrose Phillipps,<sup>28</sup> a Cambridge graduate and convert to Catholicism, had come to know J.R. Bloxam of Magdalene,<sup>29</sup> and through him W.G. Ward. Ward and Bloxam both desired reunion of the Churches, and Bloxam invited Ward to Oscott, the Roman Seminary, to visit the Cistercian monks of Mount St. Bernard's Abbey, Coalville. Initial contact was also made with Bishop Wiseman. Ward was cautious, not a usual characteristic, and did not want any sudden steps to be taken. Both Churches, he felt, should reform their own abuses. 'Still more urgent were the heads of the party against the movement of individuals.

The hope seems still to have been entertained that corporate reunion might be later effected; and until this was abandoned the only feasible course was to act in concert. This state of things continued in full force up to about 1843.<sup>30</sup> Ward made two visits to Oscott. Oakeley accompanied him on the first visit on 28 July. Bloxam, writing to Phillipps, in October, described Ward as, 'even more delighted with his visit to Oscott, etc., than myself, if that were possible'.<sup>31</sup> In the middle of October came the sudden conversion of R.W. Sibthorp, Fellow of Magdalene College, a friend of Bloxam. The first secession of that time, it caused a considerable stir.<sup>32</sup> Newman was disgusted at such a hasty exit from the English Church. Talks on reunion with Phillipps had to be deferred as a result.

Between July and October 1841, Newman received the 'three blows that broke me' as a member of the Church of England. Working at Littlemore on his translation of St. Athanasius, he again reflected upon St. Augustine's phrase: 'securus judicat orbis terrarum'. His conclusion, as stated in the Apologia, was: '...the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what it was then.'<sup>33</sup> Secondly, the Bishops issued their 'charges', each condemning Tract Ninety. He thought of protesting, but in the event did not. Finally, there was the Archbishop of Canterbury's project to combine with the Protestant Church in Prussia on the appointment of a Bishop of Jerusalem. The English Bishops agreed. By this the English Church was acting with Protestants as a Protestant Church, and renounced its claim to be a branch of the Catholic Church. Newman made a protest to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Two other 'defeats' or setbacks emphasized the growing hostility to the Tractarians. Keble had retired from the Chair of Poetry, and a successor had been elected. The main contenders were Isaac Williams, author of 'The Cathedral' (a long didactic poem) and noted Tractarian, and Garbett of Brasenose. Pusey declared himself for Williams, and this proved fatal. He sent a circular round Christ Church, and later to other Colleges, saying that Williams with his religious views would ensure that religious truth was maintained. The issue became one of Churchmanship, rather than of poetic talent, and in a preliminary vote Garbett received 921 votes, and Williams 623. It was a crushing defeat, and the actual division for the vote never took place. Newman himself had wished that Williams should not stand. R.D. Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity (1836) and a member of the Noetic School, attacked the Movement through R.G. Macmullen of Corpus Christi. To maintain his Fellowship, Macmullen had to proceed to Bachelor of Divinity. This was normally a formality. Hampden set him two propositions for defence, knowing that they were contrary to his Tractarian ideas. Hampden held an unofficial veto over the award of the degree, and Macmullen had to appeal to the University Court of Delegates before finally receiving it. Hampden had partly avenged his earlier attacks upon himself from both Newman and Pusey. Newman was to spend more time at Littlemore, and retired there exclusively by the end of 1842. As Newman's position in the Movement became more a silent presence, Ward and the more extreme members came to the fore.

Ward's devotion to Newman was unquestioned. He worried him constantly, seeking approval for his latest ideas, and those of his followers. Now that Newman was uncertain of his own position, the

constant barrage of question and answer upset him:

... the members of this new school looked up to me, as I have said,... I was in great perplexity, and hardly knew where I stood; I took their part; and when I wanted to be in peace and silence, I had to speak out, and I incurred the charge of weakness from some men, and of mysteriousness, shuffling and underhand dealing from the majority.<sup>34</sup>

He did not proceed with the logical swiftness of Ward, and desired time before committing himself. He also realized that his own actions and words would have profound effect upon others of similar views. Ward had no such sense of responsibility and, as already observed, no love of the English Church, 'the very points where Newman stopped short were those which Ward, alike from his intellectual temperament and his position, wished to have explicitly cleared up.'<sup>35</sup> 'He considered that he was helping the cause of truth by throwing Newman's views and their consequences into definite logical form, by translating them from the language of suggestion into that of complete categorical statement.'<sup>36</sup> Ward failed to realize the pain he was causing his master, and it was not until he read the Apologia in later years, that the situation was made clear to him. In Ward's defence, it is correct to say that apart from trying to clarify his own position and have his views sustained, he sought to allay the charge that Newman was ambiguous and subtle, indeed Jesuitical in his methods.

The distinction between the moderate Puseyite faction, and that of the Romeward was becoming an established fact.

Except Bloxam whose friends thought him timid, the Romanizers were confident and aggressive, and extravagant as mediaeval lovers; the more extravagant they were, the more they were inclined to proclaim their doctrines from the housetops. They had lost all love for the Church of England, if they ever had any, and had fallen in love with the Church of Rome. They loved

to proclaim their contempt for the one and their admiration for the other.<sup>37</sup>

Ward and Oakeley contributed a series of articles to the British Critic,<sup>38</sup> and these brought matters to a crisis.

Footnotes to Chapter II

SECTION I

1. Ward to Pusey, Friday, 23 July 1841, Pusey House Library, Chest B, Drawer 7. The letter covers thirteen sides and is so poorly written as to be illegible in certain details.
2. ibid., p. 1.
3. Ibid., p. 2.
4. Ibid., p. 2.
5. Ibid., p. 3
6. Ibid., p.3.
7. Ibid., p. 5.
8. Ibid., p. 8.
9. Ibid., p. 9.
10. Ibid., p. 10
11. Ibid., p. 11.
12. Ibid., p. 12
13. Ibid., p. 12.
14. Ibid., p. 13.

SECTION II

15. Pusey to Newman, 20 July 1841, Kingstown, in Correspondence of Pusey to Newman 1841-1843 Volume Three, Pusey House Library, p. 25.
16. Ibid., p. 29.
17. Newman to Pusey, 3 August 1841, Oriel. Correspondence of Newman to Pusey 1841-1846 Volume Two. Pusey House Library.
18. Pusey to Newman, 9 August 1841. Place not given. Pusey to Newman Volume Three, p. 44.
19. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
20. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

21. Newman to Pusey, 13 August 1841, Oriel. Newman to Pusey Volume Two, p. 49.
22. Ibid., p. 50.

### SECTION III

23. R.W. Church, The Oxford Movement - 12 Years, 1833-1845 (London, 1932), p. 294.
24. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 185.
25. Letter of Ward to Bloxam, March 1841, Vigil of the Annunciation. Oxford Movement, p. 194.
26. Letter to the Univers in Oxford Movement, p. 187.
27. Ibid., pp. 187-188.
28. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps converted to Catholicism at the age of 16. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He suggested on his return to England that '... within 50 or 80 years this my dear but unhappy native land will be entirely Catholic'. He retained a sincere regard for the Church of England. See D. Gwynn, The Second Spring 1818-1852: A Study of the Catholic Revival in England (London, 1944), p. 37.
29. J.R. Bloxam (1807-1891). Met Newman in 1831. Became his Curate at Littlemore, 1836, and a lifelong friend. See R.D. Middleton, Newman and Bloxam: At Oxford (London, 1947).
30. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 191.
31. Letter of Bloxam to Phillipps, 12 October 1841. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 192.  
For his letters on reunion see Middleton, Chapter Five, pp. 101-162.
32. Sibthorp returned to the Anglican Fold two years later, though he ended his life as a Roman Catholic.
33. Newman, Apologia, p. 139.
34. Ibid., p. 165.
35. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 204.
36. Ibid., p. 207.
37. C.P.S. Clarke, The Oxford Movement and After (London, 1932), pp. 93-94.
38. Newman edited the British Critic, 1838-1840, and was succeeded by his brother-in-law Tom Mozley.

CHAPTER III

Ward's Eight Articles in the 'British Critic'  
October 1841 - October 1843

INTRODUCTION

Ward acknowledged authorship<sup>1</sup> of the following articles that appeared anonymously in the British Critic<sup>2</sup> between October 1841 and October 1843: 'Arnold's Sermons' (October 1841); 'Whately's Essays' (April 1842); 'Heurtley's Four Sermons' (April 1842); 'Goode's Divine Rule' (July 1842); 'St. Athanasius' (October 1842); 'Church Authority' (January 1843); 'The Church and the Synagogue' (July 1843); and 'Mill's Logic' (October 1843).

The British Critic was the ... principle public medium through which Ward and Oakeley<sup>3</sup> urged their views upon the Oxford party. Released from the calls upon his time which the office of Mathematical Lecturer had involved, Mr Ward commenced a series of very long articles in that periodical ... They were very uncouth in form, heavy in style, onesided in treatment - abounding in abstract argument to the exclusion of historical research or critical scholarship. These peculiarities their author was the first to recognise. But their bold and uncompromising advocacy of the new form of Tractarianism ... eventually brought about a storm, in the midst of which the Movement collapsed, and its original leader avowed his intention of leaving the Church of England.<sup>4</sup>

This 'new form of Tractarianism' had the following main characteristics. The suggestion that the Church of England was in any sense a branch of the Catholic Church was viewed more and more doubtfully. It was also openly denied to have any external marks of the Church. Secondly, the protest against Roman corruption grew less,<sup>5</sup> and Roman doctrine was more widely accepted. In his Ideal (1844) Ward practically acknowledged that the Roman Church was the divinely appointed guardian and teacher of religious truth. Finally, the idea of working for the reunion of Churches, and calling for concessions on

both sides with this in view, disappeared. The object now put forward for the English Church was not reunion with Rome, but submission to her. Membership of the Church of England might be continued by those of such opinions because providence had placed them there, and her formularies were so loose as to allow these beliefs. It was also inadvisable for an individual to move to Rome, unless he felt compelled in conscience, for this might retard a general movement in the English Church in the Romeward direction. Newman did not disapprove of this theory at the outset, but rejected Ward's opinions as they were to be presented in the Ideal.

Between the years 1843 and 1844 Ward's influence was at its height. The Dean of Westminster wrote later that Ward succeeded Newman as the acknowledged leader of the Movement.<sup>6</sup> Stanley described him in 1881 as having been 'the most important element of the Oxford School at this crisis.'<sup>7</sup> Throughout, Ward put forward his opinions in the belief that Newman sanctioned them. He maintained the intellectual methodology that he had first learnt from Arnold and Whately:

Dialectics were his constant weapons of attack, and discussion the instrument alike of his intellectual progress and of his influence on others ... He brought the points at issue back to earlier first principles which all religious men held in common, and was ready to argue for Catholicism as the true expression and analysis of what was real and deep in the religion of all parties. His exposition commenced with the first principles of the moral law, and advanced, in completest logical form, to Catholicism itself.<sup>8</sup>

He held the central truth ever before him 'all for the glory of God,' and it was this idea that had inspired all Arnold's sermons. God's place in creation was the great truth always occurring in Ward's work. He had learnt it from Arnold.

Thomas Mozley's comments on the format of Ward's articles for the British Critic are of interest. 'The practical difficulties which Ward threw in the way of an editorial revision were great. His handwriting was minute and detestable. It defied correction. The manuscript consisted of bundles of irregular scraps of paper, which I had to despatch to the printer crying out for copy.'<sup>9</sup> Two different themes purveyed this collection of articles. Firstly the value of abstract speculation as to the true method of discerning religious truth. Obedience to conscience and the spirit of reverent inquiry are advocated as the great means of clearing the moral and intellectual eyesight in such matters; while these are to be supplemented by the guidance of holy men. All really holy spirits are witnesses to the fundamental truths of religion, and in proportion to their opportunities of knowledge they will likewise become more and more united in the details of their belief.<sup>10</sup> Then there was the question of Ward's attitude to the English Reformation, and to the Roman Church. The protest against the Roman system found in early Tractarianism, and also less obviously in Froude, was abandoned by Ward. He, apart from remarking on a few practical corruptions, became increasingly sympathetic to Roman beliefs and practices. He wished to purge away the effects of the Reformation and to work towards a return to the Roman fold. The main aids to this were to be the ethical and ascetical ideas which Protestantism had rejected. Specifically Roman doctrines were not to be preached, though they might be held privately. His characteristically blatant criticism of the English Church and almost unqualified regard for Rome, caused widespread consternation. The basis of all the articles was the theory 'of the true method of

progress in religious knowledge by conscientious action in the spirit of belief upon such principles as are placed before the individual'.<sup>11</sup>

It should be stated at the outset that Ward devoted more space in all the articles to his own ideas, than to the works under review. They acted as a stimulus to Ward's intellect.

#### ARTICLE I

'Dr. Arnold's Sermons' - October 1841<sup>12</sup>

This first article was a review of Arnold's Christian Life, its Course, its Hindrances and its Helps. Sermons preached mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School. Dr. Arnold had, of course, had considerable influence upon Ward as already mentioned. Ward subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles in an Arnoldian sense when he was ordained a Deacon of the Church of England.

Ward listed six areas in which Arnold's thought was, in his view, deficient and erroneous. Arnold failed to acknowledge a 'particular' Providence for each person living a Christian life. He did not seem to value the ordinary prayers and obedient conduct of the members of the Church, in promoting her true well-being, or the real efficacy of intercessory prayer. The constant presence and assistance of God's Angels, and the reality of communion with departed saints were also neglected. Finally, he did not accept that Communion imparts something to the recipient that is 'beyond words'.<sup>13</sup> Ward felt that Arnold's scheme of Christian religion bears 'a most suspicious resemblance to Dr. Arnold himself'.<sup>14</sup> Also, that the errors and deficiencies listed 'deprive him altogether of weight as a guide in theological matters to the serious and humble enquirer'.<sup>15</sup> Ward suggested that there was a

'Jewish tendency,' whereby Arnold's followers never call God 'Father', and were not therefore His sons. The relationship was not perceived as being that close. Arnold was 'unable even to comprehend the feelings which prompt many persons to aim at high and unusual strictures'.<sup>16</sup> Clerical celibacy was an obvious example. Ward mentioned Froude's strict uncompromising discipline. For Ward, Arnold's notion of discipline was inadequate. Arnold took little account of the 'Hidden Life', and Ward felt that he was a 'stranger ... to the very idea of spiritual progress'.<sup>17</sup> He quoted Newman, Tract Eighty Four, on intercession. By implication Arnold did not favour contemplatives. Ward's rejoinder was that if retreat to study history and literature led to the sharpening of the intellect, what then of retirement for religious purposes? Surely this would have some effect.

On the interpretation of scripture, Arnold maintained that private judgement was sufficient. Ward wished to put the foundations of the Christian faith on a more solid basis, and he was concerned particularly with the dangers of a view such as Arnold's. The latter suggested that interpreting scripture was just like interpreting Aristotle or Thucydides.<sup>18</sup> He did not consider that Scripture taught moral truths, much less mysterious, supernatural or transcendental. Ward wrote of a confusion of ideas in stating that the works of Aristotle and Thucydides were of the same type of literature in the first place. In Scripture 'new and higher truths are revealed, and a new and higher principle also given to apprehend them'.<sup>19</sup> The first interpreter of Scripture was 'a collective Church, where what is wanting in one member is supplied by another and the contrary errors of individuals eliminated by their combination.'<sup>20</sup> He also quoted from the German Catholic scholar, Johann Möhler.<sup>21</sup> 'The principle of the

Church is this: that man cannot live a Christian life, and, by consequence know his religion, without the influence which is exerted upon him by the community of the faithful inspired by the Holy Ghost.<sup>22</sup>

Möhler wrote of tradition that it

shows the identity which exists between the knowledge of a single Christian, or of a given series of Christians, and that of the whole Church ... by tradition each individual, as soon as the spiritual life has fully sprung up within him, may perceive that his own knowledge is in accordance with the eternal knowledge of the Church, that the Church has never differed from him a single instant on any essential points.<sup>23</sup>

Ward again quoted from Möhler on the subject of the development of doctrine. 'Tradition then contains within itself the successive developments of the principle germs of life, while at the same time it preserves the unity of the inner life itself. This development ... arrives at maturity at the period of the great councils of the Church.'<sup>24</sup> Discussing the Church and Scripture, Ward wrote that the individual receives guidance from a living source,

Therefore the Church was set up and endued with power sufficient, if rightly employed, to ensure her purity and faithfulness, and charged, among other duties, with this special one, of preserving for her children what may be called the apostolic atmosphere, in the midst of which she began her being, in the midst of which the books of the New Testament were written, and in the midst of which therefore, and there only, they will exhibit their genuine colours.<sup>25</sup>

Unfortunately, this situation no longer existed, for the Church was divided. Ward stated, 'No one branch ... retains the faithful image of primitive doctrine, and we are left as best we may to obtain her collective testimony to divine truth by balancing the practical excesses of one part against the practical deficiencies of another.'<sup>26</sup>

It was not enough to refer to primitive tradition alone. The history of a Holy Church in the past does not carry with it evidence of divinity, as did the presence of a Church visibly holy. No scrutiny of history can make present the atmosphere and spirit habitually dwelling within the Church. Ward made the observation, so important to him, that where the Holy Spirit manifested Himself through works of holiness, there was true doctrine. Writing against Arnold, he maintained that, 'spiritual things are discerned only in proportion as the spiritual life advances, and accordingly that the scope and general teaching of Scripture will appear very different to the Christian as he has attained a greater or less height'.<sup>27</sup> Living examples of holiness are necessary to help Christians to understand the Scriptures, and to advance as Christians. Arnold's concept of Priesthood was defective in Ward's eyes, for he connected it with the idea of 'reserve'.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, he did not have a view of Priesthood in Ward's sense. For a Bishop to make an authoritative decision on a point of doctrine would for him be inconsistent with the liberty of the people.

In this first article Ward argued the point that all comprehension, and all truth was in reality a subjective phenomenon, but that the idea of a teaching Church flowed from this, on the grounds that there must exist an objective source for subjective discrimination. Belief preceded proof and faith was grasped according to the holiness of the recipient. Ward had compared Arnold's sermons with 'pure Catholic doctrine and practice' and he found them wanting.

ARTICLE II

'Whately's Essays'<sup>29</sup> April 1842

Before the appearance of Ward's Second Article, Newman had returned to Littlemore in February 1842. He had begun to erect a 'povn' there in 1840 (see his letter to Pusey of 17 March 1840).

Ward's ~~Second~~ Contribution was a review of two books by Dr. Whately: Essays on Some of the Dangers to the Christian Faith etc. (1839) and the Kingdom of Christ Delineated in Two Essays (1841). The 1839 work consisted of articles directed alternately against the Oxford Writers and the Evangelicals. Ward reviewed it, as it threw light upon the second book. The Kingdom of Christ was concerned with Christ's account of His own person - the nature of His Kingdom, its Powers and Ministry.

Ward considered in what sense the Church was a Kingdom, and yet not a Kingdom of this world. The word Kingdom implied within: a governor and governed, a body of laws and fixed relations. Without: the appearance of a united body acting in a specific and composite way. There should be a visible centre of unity. The Church governed not by the sword, but with spiritual weapons, for example excommunication. Worldly kingdoms used armies and diplomacy for expansionist ends. The Church was forbidden to resist. Her weapons were prayer, alms-giving and fasting. Humble submission was the required response to persecution, and when this was not followed the Church was both feeble and uncertain of herself. A quest for world expansion resulted in devastation and carnage. Mercy and holiness were the means to the Church's end. Advancement in the world came through ambition and riches. The Church reversed all this.

Points touched upon include the Archbishop of Dublin's accusation of bad faith and dishonesty on the part of the Oxford writers. This was particularly over their subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles. He saw the reformers as the founders of a Church. Ward's reply was that 'they themselves laid no claim to such a title'.<sup>30</sup> Ward also discussed the frequent charge against the Roman Church that she had extensively changed both her external form and internal policy. He asked whether the English Church had changed less in either of these respects. 'Such changes are indeed necessary tokens of the existence of life within the Church.'<sup>31</sup> Whately, as Arnold, was criticized for apparent ignorance on the subject of spiritual advance through grace. He compared Tradition to 'an account that has been transmitted from mouth to mouth by popular rumours'.<sup>32</sup> The whole 'traditional system' was rejected by Whately. Ward wrote later in his Article that in Tradition, as in Scripture, a guide was needed for interpretation.<sup>33</sup>

One of Ward's principle areas of concern in these articles was the subject of the acquisition of religious truth. Newman, in his University Sermons on the relationship between reason and faith, provided Ward with a starting point for his view of the primacy of conscience.<sup>34</sup> Whately saw no difference between the method of arriving at religious, and at antiquarian knowledge. We should compare this to Arnold's view of interpreting Scripture discussed earlier. He believed that firm and abiding faith could be acquired through external evidence of religion. Ward agreed that externals play their part but that something internal is needed, 'something much more like the movement of the whole man'.<sup>35</sup> He always wrote of 'Protestant Communion' to differentiate from the Catholic, and made the

provocative statement that a convert to Protestantism may be brought by his reading of Scripture to a 'pure form of Catholicism'.<sup>36</sup> He would receive fuller gifts of grace 'which no Protestant system has the power, nay the wish to satisfy', and so be brought into the 'pale of the Church of Christ'.<sup>37</sup> Under 'normal' circumstances external evidence would not lead to adoption of the truth. 'It is not by enquiry and speculation but by the practice of good that truth is attained.'<sup>38</sup> We shall see this idea developed by Ward and it was of fundamental importance to him. Truth was acquired through

- a) the inherent excellence of the true religion,
- b) the moral condition of the recipient,
- c) the clearness with which the truth is brought before him.

'No one, Anglican or Roman, can maintain that anywhere in England is Catholicism exhibited so purely and genuinely before the world as to force on original minds the perception of its true character.'<sup>39</sup> He wrote of the 'very proximity of doctrine between the English and the Roman Churches'.<sup>40</sup> He continued:

Could she but appear before us in her true colours, free from the disfigurements she has suffered from human tradition, could she display formally and openly all her true and genuine doctrines, we are persuaded that English prejudices ... would melt before her as snow, and a speedy way be prepared for that better understanding between the great portions of Christendom for which many earnest and Catholic minds in both Churches so ardently long.<sup>41</sup>

However, in spite of his admiration for Rome, he advised people to remain in the Church of England and so to prepare the way for reunion.

On the Fathers of the Church he suggested that those qualified to do so should study their lives, and as a result 'the existing Church, will be able to preserve that identity in heart and spirit with apostolic times'.<sup>42</sup> Though he added that it is not the Church of the

past that attracts people, but the actions of the Church at the present time. He considered the years 1831 to 1842 as 'the most momentous perhaps in English theological history since the Reformation'.<sup>43</sup>

After considerable digressions, Ward returned to his main subject, and declared that he felt Dr. Whately was a 'heretic'. His sermons were a 'curious specimen of theoretical pedantry'.<sup>44</sup> The final statements of the article were even more damning. Ward suggested that Whately's system would be treated 'with the same easy and matter-of-course disregard which he has displayed towards the labours of his predecessors'. 'His influence is even now hardly felt in the theological world.'<sup>45</sup>

### ARTICLE III

#### 'Heurtley's Four Sermons'<sup>46</sup> - April 1842

This was the shortest of Ward's British Critic series, and concerned four sermons preached before the University of Oxford under the title 'The Union between God and His People', by the Reverend Charles Heurtley, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Rector of Fenny Compton, Warwickshire. Ward began by saying that Heurtley was connected with 'no particular party'. He was critical of both Oxford and Roman theology but Ward felt that he did not differ greatly from either.

The first sermon used scriptural quotations to show that the individual Christian was brought into union with Christ, and this was a 'living union'. Heurtley discussed the benefits of it. In the second, he asked how this union began and was maintained. Then he discussed the defectability of grace, and finally the Communion of Saints.

There are a few points of interest in Ward's exposition.

At this stage Ward still only believed in two sacraments<sup>47</sup> - the Roman system teaching that there were seven. He stressed the importance of prayer, 'if habitual prayer for God's grace be not a consistent part of our Christian warfare, we shall make little progress towards perfection'.<sup>48</sup> His hostile view of the Reformation was reaffirmed when he wrote of our 'abhorrence of Luther's theology ... let it not be supposed that we allow the note of holiness to be otherwise than most distinctly and overwhelmingly on the side of explicit Catholic doctrine'.<sup>49</sup> The comparison made between Priests holding Catholic doctrine, and Protestant Clergymen was highly unfavourable:

..compare them with the clergy in many parts of the Continent, and we shall find among the latter a hearty and zealous self-immolation in the service of God above the very conception of our active parish priests who adhere to the modern religion.<sup>50</sup>... If holiness then be on the whole the one great note of truth, the stronger feelings such persons entertain against "Romish corruptions" the stronger the testimony they bear against the corruption of their own system.<sup>51</sup>

His closing remarks on the subject of unity deserve quotation, and they were perhaps, the most important part of the article:

May we all, not in the English Church only, but in all Christendom, Catholic and Protestant, go on more and more to love each other, and what is good in each other; so shall we be fitted by degrees for the most important yet difficult task ... the task of discriminating between varieties of statement and of real doctrine; between essential and non-essential errors; ... True union can no more be obtained when essential differences are included, than when accidental differences are made matters of discord; or to use a Germanism, in order to obtain a real and living alliance, there must be unity in plurality as well as plurality in unity.<sup>52</sup>

ARTICLE IV

'Goode's Divine Rule'<sup>53</sup> - July 1842

The Reverend William Goode's tome was entitled The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice; or a Defence of the Catholic Doctrine that Holy Scripture has been since the time of the Apostles the sole Divine Rule of Faith and Practice in the Church, against the Dangerous Errors of the Authors of the Tracts for the Times and the Romanists, as particularly that the Rule of Faith is 'made up of Scripture and Tradition together'; etc., in which also the Doctrines of the Apostolical Succession, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, are fully discussed. As we can see from this title, Goode attempted to meet the Oxford position and refute it. Ward was damning in his criticism, writing of the book's 'almost intolerable defects of reasoning and composition' - Ward was not the person to criticize others for defects of composition! - and 'beyond this acknowledgement of labour and of honesty, we can say nothing in praise of Mr Goode's work'.<sup>54</sup> Once again Ward will spend much space developing his own ideas and pay little attention to Goode's. In his reply, Ward developed further his theory of the primacy of conscience and the necessity of sanctity before intellectual truths can be apprehended. Newman's influence was apparent throughout the Article.

Goode described faith as, 'an assent of the mind upon that rational evidence which excludes doubt'.<sup>55</sup> Ward suggested that Goode saw himself as a type of crusader 'contending for the privilege of liberty of thought on behalf of the private Christian against the claims of sacerdotal or patristic tyranny'.<sup>56</sup> He dismissed Goode's

theory of the interpretation of Scripture. Goode wrote, 'the best and only infallible interpreter of Scripture is Scripture; or in other words, the best mode of judging of the sense of any passage is by a comparison of it with the testimony of Scripture in other parts'.<sup>57</sup> The subject was discussed in detail later in the article.

Ward developed his ideas on the question of moral truth. The only way he thought to arrive at a 'stable apprehension' of moral truth, was to act in the 'first instance with implicit confidence on evidence far short of demonstrative'.<sup>58</sup> He took the case of children. It was 'inevitable that this process will apply in their situation. From the first the voice of their parents supplied to them the place of the 'external voice of God, correlative and responsive to his voice within them.'<sup>59</sup> In proportion to their trust and obedience, the inward faculty gave deeper and fuller meaning to the lessons of truth which were desired. While what is false in principle and statement conveyed no definite message to the conscience. This process continued throughout life: the parent, school, trusted friend, the religious community, all provided the 'external' impetus. 'How long this simple, peaceful, heavenly course of action will proceed, varies of course, indefinitely with all varieties of external circumstances and inward endowments; but wherever it ends, it has left the pupil in certain and inalienable possession of an invaluable stock of moral principles of whose truth his conviction is most certain and secure, and which will be in time to come his main stay and support, in temptation from without, in perplexities from within.'<sup>60</sup> We might come to know a new system through meeting people, or reading, and this new encounter might reveal new depths in a person formerly concealed from himself. Things of which he was 'unconsciously conscious'. 'If indeed those truths,

which he has already recognised and appropriated, be not also a real and solid portion of this new system, he can give it no implicit trust .... But otherwise, after due and cautious deliberation, or very possibly indeed by an almost Unperceived process, his confiding allegiance will be transferred to this new authority, the object varied, but the sentiment of trust the same'.<sup>61</sup> This process would seem to give an unfair advantage to established error, but Ward refuted this. 'The only certain ground for the rejection as well as the acceptance of moral truth, lies through the way of an open and unhesitating belief. In fact there are no opinions which can be named, whose falseness a man could believe with such undoubted assurance ... as those which he has unhesitatingly accepted and perseveringly acted upon in deference to authority, till he could act upon them no longer'.<sup>62</sup>

Ward proceeded to a comparison of the Protestant view - the school of 'Free Enquiry' - and its opposite, the 'School of Faith'. The one consisted of 'criticism from without', and was 'critical, supercilious and dogmatical'. The other was a 'development from within', 'reverential and humble anxiously guarding purity of conscience, as their very instrument of inquiry'.<sup>63</sup> He enlarged this statement:

The one makes the reasoning faculty the single arbiter to which all the remaining powers of the mind must be content to minister, the other makes the conscience such. The one regards his fellow men as witnesses to be called into court and questioned at his own bidding; the other thinks of them as his teachers and (in some sense) his superiors; as commissioned by God, each after his measure, to build up in the entire truth .... The eclectic in fine, making himself his own centre, test and standard of religion, summons before him as if for judgement, the various rival creeds; as though in moral, like mathematical, truth it were possible for mortal man to take possession of some vantage-ground, external to the object of his inquiries ... for he claims to accomplish that, which God and the Host of Heaven only can accomplish, to see moral truth from without, to grasp it as one

system .... But the more humble inquirer looks out in all directions for the leading Hand of God. His first care is to aim day by day at a deeper realization, and by necessary consequences a fuller conviction, of those truths which he has apprehended. Beyond the range of those, where his conscience grows into some new development, there he recognizes a call from above to observe with reverent watchfulness whatever system of doctrines he sees to be coexistent with holiness of life, if from some quarter or other he may find that which shall supply his need, and thus add to his existing stock of moral knowledge.<sup>64</sup>

Ward wittily suggested that the Protestant course led to a character 'considerably lower' than that of Jeremy Bentham while the other to a character 'a little above Bishop Butler'. Moral truths were not apprehended unless practised, and they would not be practised unless they were truly believed. Unflinching belief on insufficient evidence was the only course. The 'virtual' foundation of a man's moral knowledge consisted in external phenomena, viewed by the mind 'in a certain moral condition'.<sup>65</sup>

In discussing the existence and attributes of God, a religious man did not draw his grounds for belief from himself alone, but from external things. The course of human affairs; the laws of the physical world; phenomena of the mind; all that has been studied, felt, observed, has assisted the picture. He held the opinion, 'all things then, as is indeed generally acknowledged, all things within us and around us, afford a certain evidence of the existence and attributes of God'.<sup>66</sup> He added that others saw plenty of evidence of God not existing - the existence of evil for example. 'On elementary points of morality, doctrines may be most certainly true, nay, may be deeply important and even sacred truths, and yet may be capable of but indifferent support from producible grounds of argument'.<sup>67</sup> Goode had argued strongly against such a view. Ward concluded that 'to believe

in the first instance, in proportion to evidence, is what no man ever did, ever could, or ever ought to do'.<sup>68</sup>

Goode had attempted in his book to prove the inspiration of the New Testament. Ward said that he had failed. The latter appealed always to conscience, and not the reasoning faculty: '... we consider that it is far more the promise of satisfaction to moral needs, which determines the mind to accept the doctrine, than any stable and trustworthy conviction that such doctrine is the one genuine sense of the Scriptures alleged.'<sup>69</sup> Scripture needed to be read not impartially but with expectations that the solution would be found. The interior desire shed light on the passages which taught the alleged doctrine. He re-asserted the principle, 'no doctrine can be understood until acted upon, nor acted upon until believed'.<sup>70</sup> It took time for the proof of religious truths to become persuasive. A gradual, partial, and personal experience was required. 'The whole foundation of our reasoning has of course been the presumed analogy between the Bible and the course of human affairs, as respective revelations of God's will.'<sup>71</sup> The Bible was God's book; it was designed by him. There was no parallel between it and a human treatise though there were human elements in it. The 'carnal-minded' would not find the highest truth of natural religion, it would 'retreat from his gaze'. However, the 'religious minded' would see the higher truths. This applied to the reading of the Scriptures as well. Goode had approved this view, by writing that Scripture was intended to teach, and that its true teaching might be obtained by the simple and natural collation of texts.

Goode sought to prove three propositions:

- 1) 'That Scripture is the sole divine rule of faith and practice.'
- 2) 'It is the sole infallible judge of controversies respecting the truths of revelation.'
- 3) That the Scriptures are sufficient to teach man all essential points of faith and practice.

Goode defended the proposition 'that every Christian has the right of making up his mind for himself what he is to believe from personal and private study of the Scriptures'.<sup>72</sup> Ward found Goode's argument that the Gospels were written to give 'a complete account of the Christian religion' 'absolute fatuity'.<sup>73</sup> For Goode the Scriptures were the 'only' infallible judges of controversy on this earth. He frequently accused the Oxford School of not making sufficient reference to the work of the Scriptures in producing the conviction of religious truth. Ward answered by quoting Newman: 'no Christian can doubt that without divine grace we cannot discover the sense of Scripture profitably.'<sup>74</sup>

Goode rejected the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist for scriptural reasons. Ward countered by saying that Goode's own view was Zwinglian. He also referred to the First Epistle of the Corinthians, Chapter ten, verse seventeen as being, 'mere extravagance and mysticism, except upon the Catholic hypothesis; whereas by that hypothesis it obtains a natural and most edifying sense' (footnote page 73 of the Article). He then proceeded to his most outspoken attack on Protestantism in the Article so far: '...the debased, hollow, inconsistent form of Christianity under which they have been trained.'<sup>75</sup> Sacramental Confession and ceremonial were both praised for fostering a true Christian spirit. The Church of England should

conform herself to the Church of the past. People were yearning, he wrote, for a surety of the truths of the faith. He was building up to the idea of the existence of an infallible Church authority. The Church of the past had the marks of a true Church and the Church of England should strive to resemble her. She must have teaching which was constant, plain, deep and sound. This would lead to unity among her people who submitted to her as a result of their conscience, Scripture and the outward sanctity of the Church. There had been a body of English Divines who had preferred an authoritative interpretation of Scripture and claimed the sanction of the Church of England for it - Bull, Wilson and Jebb were examples. They upheld the authority of the Early Fathers and of the First Four Councils of the Church 'as containing the legitimate and divinely appointed form of true doctrine and in considering also that the later Church had added to this no fresh developments but corruptions'.<sup>76</sup> There was no question of Ward leaving the Church of England, rather he called for a resurrection of a recognised and standard Anglican view. The Oxford writers, Ward maintained, sought to repair 'the breaches of Zion; of so building up and fortifying the English Church, that She might more fully claim authority and more distinctly and articulately teach truth. And as a help in this task, they doubtless appealed, as in duty bound, to the history of the Early Church'.<sup>77</sup> He compared Protestantism to the Early Church, and found that the 'inward principle' was 'radically different'. Goode attacked the 'obscurities ... and exaggerated statements' of the Fathers. Ward felt that the problem was Mr Goode's 'dulness', not any inaccuracy on the part of the Fathers.

John Keble saw the recreation of the Primitive Church as the ideal. Ward disliked the historical approach and insisted that it was

only necessitated by the 'degraded condition' of the English Church. The original teaching of the Apostles contained principles, conveyed to the Early Church. Every principle contained hidden depths 'of which those who first receive it have not even the faintest suspicion'.<sup>78</sup>

'The Apostles may not only have taught principles without their development, but doctrines without their analysis.'<sup>79</sup> With regard to the idea of doctrinal development Ward 'already had a fair grasp of its workings and insisted that the Apostles only taught first principles which had, of necessity to be developed and doctrines which would likewise have to be subjected to an analysis which would bring out their meaning'.<sup>80</sup> The Fathers spoke of certain doctrines as primary articles of faith; as in themselves the subject of revelation not as deduced by individual judgement from the Bible. Goode devoted 386 pages of 'proof' that the Fathers, like the Protestants, referred only to Scripture. He produced only seven pages to prove that they did not go by Catholic consent. Ward referred those who wished to go into the matter further to Möhler's Unity of the Church. For Ward the writings of the Father contained 'but one index of the Church's voice in one age; Holy Scripture is the 'word of God for all ages'.<sup>81</sup>

His conclusion was typically outspoken: 'If we have extended our remarks far beyond our usual limits it has been certainly from no respect whatever for the work before us; for anything more utterly worthless, considered as a controversial effort, it has never been our lot to fall in with'.<sup>82</sup>

ARTICLE V

'St. Athanasius'<sup>83</sup> October 1842

Newman's volume in the Library of the Fathers Series on St. Athanasius was the subject of Ward's Fifth Review. Again, he spent little time discussing the work itself, primarily devoting himself to an exposition of his own opinions. On the opening page he wrote: "Christian precepts (by which he means repentance and devotion) and Christian doctrine - these are the two great external facts which essentially claim the Christian's attention and allegiance."<sup>84</sup> A critical examination of Scripture, Church History, the evidence of religion, all these were not essential parts of Christian knowledge, except in so far as they were contained in Christian precepts and Christian doctrine. The 'basis' and 'foundation' on which belief in Christian truths must be reared, was, for Ward, obedience.

He attacked once again the Lutheran doctrine of Justification: 'whether any heresy has ever infected the Church so hateful and unchristian as this doctrine none certainly has ever prevailed so subtle and so extensively poisonous.'<sup>85</sup> The foundation of natural religion was twofold: obedience to the will of God, and avoidance of sin. In Ward's view Lutheranism denied the latter. Religious instinct was crippled by this heresy, and its victims were prevented from carrying that instinct forward to its 'legitimate development, the Catholic system'.<sup>86</sup> Protestantism was not only opposed to our perception of the beautiful, but also to that of the good and true. Men had been known to join the Catholic allegiance for aesthetic reasons and not for reasons of conscience. Ward saw the growth of Sabellianism and Nestorianism in the Anglican Church. Again he

attacked Dr. Whately and also Dr. Burton. He was critical of those who questioned Biblical narratives and miracle accounts. This was a 'miserable and hateful procedure'.<sup>87</sup>

Ward asked how orthodox views were to be disseminated, and he suggested that there were two principal methods: firstly, if we look through the Church's history we see that heresy is combated by the great Doctors of the Church. Finally, the Church solemnly proclaimed the doctrine at issue: 'we are saved from the pain of doubt, from the necessity of disputation, and are called upon but to learn and to believe.'<sup>88</sup> Then there was the Scholastic method which 'deals not with processes but results'.<sup>89</sup> A full, clear expression was given of the relevant truth and there was no such exposition in the Anglican Church of that time. As to Rome, 'it is a matter of sufficient notoriety, that she, to whom we should naturally turn, our Mother in the Faith, is regarded even by very many Catholic minds among us rather with distrust and aversion, than with that feeling of regard and affection (we should rather say, deep gratitude and veneration) which is her due.'<sup>90</sup>

He mentioned that: 'Any view of Church history which shall not take as the central point of the figure the orderly, legitimate, and gradual development of doctrine, is really, to use a common comparison, like a play of Hamlet, the part of Hamlet being omitted.'<sup>91</sup> He called for the revival of the study of Church History among members of the Church of England. This was a strange request from one who claimed to have no sense of history. As to unity he said: 'It is sad to think how many Christians at the present time (and we are far indeed from confining the remark to members of the English Church), are really at one, upon all the points which can be called fundamental, and yet are

prevented from realising and building upon that unity, by their wide differences on subjects, which may certainly be considered as of an inferior and subordinate character.<sup>92</sup> He asserted that it was more important to achieve unity with Rome than maintain the peace of his own Church. Having accepted the theory of doctrinal development and doctrinal infallibility, he extended the principle in this article to cover the Medieval period. How far, he wondered, did the Medieval Church 'demand our unqualified sympathy?'<sup>93</sup> How far may it be considered as the 'very same in its claims upon us with the earlier Church, as being the external exhibition of the very same spirit, changed only in that it is in a further stage of growth.'<sup>94</sup> Ward had now reached the stage where he could apparently accept the mirological language of St. Bernard and St. Bonaventure without any difficulty.<sup>95</sup>

When discussing the subject of unity he wrote that even where there were vast differences of opinion 'by means of mutual consideration and respect, final agreement is far from hopeless.'<sup>96</sup> He quoted Archdeacon Manning: 'all that we need is low thoughts of ourselves, love one to another, a penetrating sense of God's presence, and of the awful guilt of a bickering and controversial temper: and in such a preparation of heart, to await God's time of healing us.'<sup>97</sup> Ward explained that we should not forget how many and important were the points of agreement.

He returned to the subject of Natural Religion. Its truths addressed themselves to our moral and not our intellectual nature. Christianity as a revelation acted over and above natural religion. In it God imparted to us additional knowledge of His Own Nature. 'Christianity gives us increased knowledge; and as being on a subject of which our comprehension is but partial, increased knowledge brings

with it, as its necessary shadow, increased mystery; but the knowledge is addressed primarily to our moral nature, the mystery offers itself incidentally to our intellectual.<sup>98</sup> The more disciplined the orthodox believer was, the more chastened his life, the more would he be thrown on the thought of God for comfort. This led to a deeper and more stable apprehension of the Christian doctrines, and a greater sense of their intimate truth. Intellectual truth was borne out in conduct of life.

In the final pages he discussed the book under review. 'We have been so far carried away by our ever-burning zeal against the present practical English system, that we must use, as it were, a sudden wrench to return to the regular thread of our argument.'<sup>99</sup> An author commented in an article that appeared in December 1842:<sup>100</sup> 'It is fair, too, to admit, on the evidence of their own published statements, that the views of the originators of the Great Movement did not, at the outset, reach within a hundred miles of the point to which they have since been carried.'<sup>101</sup>

#### ARTICLE VI

'Church Authority'<sup>102</sup> January 1843

Ward discussed the work of four divines on the subject of Church Authority and attempted to show that their notions of authority were inadequate. The writers were: R.W. Jelf,<sup>103</sup> Ernest Hawkins,<sup>104</sup> G. M. Coleridge,<sup>105</sup> and B.P. Symons,<sup>106</sup> the Evangelical Warden of Wadham. 'Our wish is to bring home, against the writers cited at the head of our Article, that very charge, against which we have just been defending our friends, of having expressed a decided censure on the

opinions maintained by others, without taking the pains to form a clear, intelligible, and consistent view themselves.<sup>107</sup> He did however, write of the 'great respect we cannot but personally feel for each one of them'.<sup>108</sup>

The main point behind all four sermons had been the legitimate authority of the Church of England. Ward contrasted 'belief on authority' with 'belief on evidence'. For example, the process in a person's life of at first believing something on the grounds of parental authority,<sup>109</sup> and later proceeding to believe upon evidence. 'Supposing there were an infallible authority upon earth, as soon as a person had sufficient evidence to prove that attribute as lodged in some body, he would be said, according to our use of our word, to believe every subsequent dictum of that body, though quite foreign to his experience, on evidence, not on authority.'<sup>110</sup> 'Instances are innumerable, where it is God's will that we believe implicitly, not as being certainly true, nor as being probably true, but as being that which God has placed before us to believe, and which, if not true, is our necessary path to the truth.'<sup>111</sup> He wrote that truth is not of a variable and uncertain character:

truth is most fixed, certain, definite. We are speaking, not of truth in itself, but of the means which God has given individuals to arrive at truth, and we say this, that the deeper a man's persuasion of the truth being one, the more earnest his desire to make advances towards it, the fuller his conviction of its real claim on his allegiance. So much the more, if he will be well advised, will he endeavour to embrace unsuspectingly, to apprehend keenly, and to act energetically upon the doctrines which are placed before him in the first instance.<sup>112</sup>

As to the contradictory principle, that man had no influence over his belief, for the latter was solely proportionate to the evidence, 'to call this principle the result of a shallow and inadequate view of human nature, seems paying it an extravagant compliment'.<sup>113</sup>

In the cause of unity, Ward saw the most important factor as giving true intellectual expression to those truths which were believed on the fullest and most legitimate grounds of conviction. For final authority to be claimed for a Church not possessing infallibility would be despotism, 'but to claim it for a generous and unreserved submission of judgement in the first instance, is, according to the course of our argument, not only not despotism, but the best possible passage towards that "truth" which makes us perfectly free'.<sup>114</sup> Ward cited the Reverent William Palmer of Magdalen as believing that infallibility resided in the universal episcopate. An infallible guide was sought not that people may believe more readily, but more truly. As a result belief on authority might change more and more into belief on evidence, without there being consciousness of the process. Ward, influenced by Mōhler's The Unity of the Church, also placed this infallible authority in the universal episcopate, 'as yet he did not identify the locus of infallibility with the Roman Church exclusively, but seemed to see it as in abeyance, waiting for reunion of the English, Roman and Eastern Churches'.<sup>115</sup> Ward asked where religious truth was to be found. He mentioned some of the opinions held: in Scripture without any commentary; Scripture with the best commentaries available; in the Catholic writers of the first five centuries; in the assertion of some infallible guide. These four approaches produced very different results. Ward considered the principle involved in any one of the four 'highly offensive to God'.<sup>116</sup> He then turned to the sermons themselves.

All the sermons under review were guilty, more or less, of confounding the distinction between authority and evidence. Jelf was

quoted as considering Rome's 'rulers' to be activated by an 'Anti-Christian Spirit', and of making 'vain and superstitious' additions to the liturgy.<sup>117</sup> Ward was particularly critical of Canon Jelf whose fault lay in his not saying: 'begin by thinking Rome bad, for our Church has ever thought so.' But, 'follow our Church, because Rome is so bad.' 'He altogether abandons the ground of authority, and resorts to that of private judgement.'<sup>118</sup> Ward continued: '... he who defends the peculiarities in doctrine of the English Church (supposing such to exist) with the same air of absolute certainty with which he supports the dicta of united christendom, either considers the English Church to have the very same claim on our final deference with the Church Universal, or else gives up the idea of authority altogether, and proceeds openly and without disguise on his private judgement.'<sup>119</sup> Jelf did this. He attacked Transubstantiation with the same dogmatism as supporting the doctrine of the Trinity. He seemed to imply, in one place, that the English Church was the whole Catholic Church. Ward quoted De Maistre: 'Que Dieu s'est incarné pour les Anglais.'<sup>120</sup> Jelf was attacked for leaving too much to private speculation based upon Scripture, and interpreting this on the 'earliest and, therefore, the purest ages'.<sup>121</sup> For true doctrine Jelf referred to the voice of Christian teachings and experience - Scripture and, insubordination to it, the witness of the Apostolic Church. He wrote that the English Bishops had the truth and that you could take his word for it. He attacked the See of Rome for her claim to be an infallible guide and her appeal to external marks. He wanted to save those who were attracted by her claims, and pointed out that some of her doctrines were later additions. Ward expressed his own view of Catholic doctrine as follows: 'We believe Catholic doctrine to be perfectly consistent with

our formularies, and we know it to be such that, in proportion as it is adequately exhibited, it attracts most powerfully the religious instincts of the serious mind, under whatever systems trained.'<sup>122</sup>

Ward asked how a man could work out religious 'truth' for himself, as Jelf suggested. He would need to be well-versed in both history and theology. How was the separation made between the divine and human elements? Jelf did not sanction the use of Church decrees as the appointed method. There was, therefore, the necessity to discover what were the human elements: the philosophy of the time, poetry, laws, etc. When this had been done for Dr. Jelf's 'pure' ages, then the 'impure' eras of the Church had also to be examined. The two might then be compared and the question asked as to whether the latter was a legitimate development of the former. Ward wrote of the 'extravagance almost amounting to insanity ... of such a task.'<sup>123</sup> 'We consider the views he adopts in his sermon to be both wholly unfounded and very highly pernicious.'<sup>124</sup>

Ward wondered in what sense it could be said that the standard English Divines, in the first instance, claimed the deference of English churchmen as being the authors' interpreters of English doctrine. Jelf had recommended the 'dead' rather than the living guides. Ward was highly critical: 'It was a living guide which God intended for the Christian Church, and which we English have lost for our sins and the sins of our fathers'.<sup>125</sup> Living guides were needed for two reasons: firstly, every age had its own particular character and circumstances with the accompanying difficulties. For the present age 'to resort for their solution to writers living in the reign of Charles I, is like consulting St. Chrysostom on a subject of political

economy.'<sup>126</sup> Secondly, the credentials of the living were far more open to our inspection, and there was more chance to gain an intimate conviction. Hawkins criticized the presumption of those who pointed out the defects of the English Church, for he had described the English Church as the teacher of the world. Ward's rejoinder was that, 'No Roman Catholic in the world ever claimed for his Church this plenitude of prophetic wisdom'.<sup>127</sup> He continued with a description of the Catholic Church: so far as a system fully deserved the name of Catholic it was exquisitely adapted to all, supplying them with wholesome food for their moral nature, offering them a suitable mould for their inward life. We might compare it to a cone, round whose base were ranged all those variously endowed moral agents, each of whom found extended to his very immediate neighbourhood a path, which, if accepted, would conduct him upwards by a straight line to the very summit.<sup>128</sup> Hawkins, writing on the English Church, said optimistically that its members 'agree closely in the main'; (the) 'points whereon at present we differ are secondary.'<sup>129</sup> Ward wrote that ecclesiastical errors were not corrected through 'controversy, debate, argument, (but) by communion with God, through the Holy Spirit'.<sup>130</sup>

Ward devoted the last five pages of his review to the Sermons of Coleridge and Symons. The former felt that the Roman Church had 'fallen from Catholic unity by imposing on her children a corrupt and adulterated faith'.<sup>131</sup> The claims of the English Church were based, for him, upon the corruption of the foreign Churches, and the fact that they differed from, and 'our' Church agreed with primitive antiquity. Ward asked how the original enquirer would be able to make up his mind which system was correct. He continued: 'and in like manner, if the

duty of our obeying our Church be grounded on cognizance of its agreement with antiquity, it becomes the bounden duty of each one of us to examine carefully the force of Roman arguments drawn from Church history, and balance them to the utmost of our ability, discarding all preconceived notions and affections, against the reasoning of our own divines.'<sup>132</sup> Dr. Symons was summarily dismissed: 'his whole reasoning, if it came to anything, must come to this: that were a National Church to teach (what he would call) Popery, or even Socinianism, her members must accept such doctrines finally and without appeal.'<sup>133</sup> He also gave no guidelines as to how the truth was to be determined.

#### Some Reactions and Developments: February-May 1843

Newman's University Sermons on the relationship between faith and reason had a considerable effect on Ward's own thinking. The final one in the published version 'The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine' (Sermon XIV) was preached on 2 February 1843 and lasted one and a half hours. It was Newman's first public utterance on the subject, and it went to press on the 4 February 1843. William Palmer reacted by distinguishing between a theory of development that was false - Ward's - and the ideas of John H. Newman. Owen Chadwick wrote: 'just how he (Newman) clambered across the chasm from the Tractarian theory to the theory of development he could not later determine with logical precision.'<sup>134</sup>

Ward saw development of doctrine as inevitable in a living Church. Hence he repudiated all previous doctrines of religious authority in the Anglican Church, and maintained a position in which development of doctrine and infallible teaching were necessary. He and

Oakeley challenged the whole High Church movement by their stand. Newman commented: 'as to my being entirely with Oakeley and Ward, I think my sympathies are entirely with them; but really I cannot determine whether my opinions are ... It is a nuisance to me to be forced beyond what I can fairly go.'<sup>135</sup> Newman retracted all his anti-Roman sayings in February 1843.

Once again trouble was brewing in the Balliol Senior Common Room,<sup>136</sup> of which Ward and Oakeley were both Fellows. The Master, Richard Jenkyns, had considerable difficulty with their ideas: 'The fact that the two Senior Fellows were of the Tractarian party and leaning more and more towards Rome had been an embarrassment to him for several years. He remained on affectionate terms with the scholarly and sensitive Oakeley, but his feelings for Ward, who was unrelenting in his pursuit of arguments which led to Roman Catholicism, and outspoken about his conclusions, were those an exasperated father might have for an errant son.'<sup>137</sup> The current problem was plans for rebuilding within the College, plans which were strongly coloured by theological opinion. Oakeley wanted A.W. Pugin as architect, but Jenkyns had already chosen G. Basevi. Jenkyns got his own way through 'unconstitutional activities'. The Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette of 25 March 1843 carried the following remarks:

We have received a communication from a senior member of the University (Jenkyns himself?) who informs us that Mr. Pugin's recent visit to Balliol College was at the invitation of the Tractarian Fellows and Tutors of the College, not only without the sanction, but "in opposition to the express wishes" of Dr. Jenkyns, the Master. ... We must not be understood to condemn ordinarily the employment of professional men without reference to their religious tenets. But at the present juncture the employment of a gentleman who has outraged the feelings of nineteen twentieths of our countrymen by writing down Protestants as "conniving hypocrites and raving fanatics" can but be reviewed as an awful testimony to the faithlessness and apostasy of the University.<sup>138</sup>

In the April issue of the British Critic Oakeley's article on 'Sacramental Confession' made its appearance.<sup>139</sup> Henry Rogers wrote a highly unflattering article in the Edinburgh Review of the same month,<sup>140</sup> in which he considered a number of works including the Tracts for the Times in five volumes, and 'The Church of the Fathers'. His view of Tractarians was that 'they do not rightly belong to the Church of England, though they remain within her pale, and most unworthily eat her bread.'<sup>141</sup> He referred to 'this new heresy.'<sup>142</sup> Ward's article of July 1842 on Goode's Divine Rule was quoted with regard to change in the consecrated elements in the Eucharist, and on Baptismal Regeneration: 'in both cases, we are called upon to believe that a stupendous change has, in millions of instances, been effected, without any evidence that there has been any, or rather with all the evidence that our nature is susceptible of, that there has been none.'<sup>143</sup> Rogers asked how could the Church be one? There were different branches - Roman, Greek, English, and they were mutually excommunicate. He had little regard for the Fathers of the Church, 'men on whose pages are so legibly inscribed the marks of error, absurdity, and fantastic raving.'<sup>144</sup> The general characteristic of the Tractarian's work was that 'They together constitute Romanism, almost perfect in its organs and lineaments, but of Lilliputian dimensions'.<sup>145</sup> As a general criticism he saw the tendency 'to substitute for the worship founded on intelligent faith, a devotion which is a species of mechanism, and rites which operate as by magic'.<sup>146</sup> He also singled out the habit of some numbers of the school to 'nullify and traduce reason'.<sup>147</sup> We must assume that he particularly had Ward in mind here. We should note that he ascribed the excesses of one wing of the

Movement to all those who bear the name 'Tractarian'. This, of course, showed the influence of the Romanizing Party at this stage. The more conservative members of the Movement stood back in horrified inactivity. Rogers cited the work of five authors,<sup>148</sup> as the best representatives of the Oxford School. These include Whately's 'Essay on the Kingdom of Christ', and Goode's 'Divine Rule of Faith' both of which had been dismissed by Ward.

An article that appeared in the May issue of the Quarterly Review is also of some interest, as it presented a very different view of the Movement.<sup>149</sup> J.W. Croker discussed the new Movement and its effects upon the English Church. For example, the number of services had multiplied; there was a more exact observance of the Sabbath; and religious literature had spread more widely. He acknowledged it as 'the most remarkable and important event in the history of our Church and our country since the Restoration,<sup>150</sup> and saw in many points a strong analogy with Methodism. However, he wrote that this Movement was in existence before the Oxford Movement, though the Movement would claim the Tractarians as an outgrowth. The Oxford men did not lead the Movement through the Tracts, but were themselves led by the general feeling of the country. Many young people of both sexes were alarmed at the state of the Church: 'all these, the Tracts found ready to kindle at a touch, and the zeal of the writers grew hotter and hotter at the flame they excited - till at last, growing blind at the blaze, they had burned their own fingers, and very nearly, if not actually, set fire to the Church ... This seems to us the sum total of the merits and demerits of the Tractarians.'<sup>151</sup> 'It seems to us to be a strong symptom of that indirect approximation to Romanism which is our

main objection to the whole Tractarian system - we mean the prominent and emphatic reverence with which they use the term Catholic, contrasted with the low, disparaging, and even repudiating tone in which everything Protestant is mentioned.<sup>152</sup> Rome was a Catholic Church not the Catholic Church. The Church of England used the term of herself to mean 'orthodox', and Apostolic. The word as it is used by the Tractarians was "... a meaning to which the Church of England never can subscribe."<sup>153</sup> 'It should never be forgotten that we are a Reformed Church, and our liturgy a Reformed Liturgy, and that it was the policy as well as the wisdom of our reformers to deviate as little as possible from the ancient forms.'<sup>154</sup>

Newman wrote on 4 May 1843: 'I consider the Roman Catholic Communion to be the Church of the Apostles, and that what grace is among us (which, through God's mercy, is not little) is extraordinary, and from the overflowing of His dispensation.'<sup>155</sup> Ten days later a serious crisis arose as a result of a sermon, 'The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent', preached by Dr. Pusey at Christ Church Cathedral on 14 May 1843. Disciplinary action was taken and the esteemed Canon was suspended from preaching for two years. This was a further blow to the Tractarian cause. Ward's Seventh Article appeared in July, and was entitled 'The Synagogue and the Church.'

#### ARTICLE VII

'The Synagogue and The Church'<sup>156</sup> July 1843

Ward's Seventh Article 'The Synagogue and The Church', appeared in July 1843. The author of the book was the Rev. Joshua L. Bernard,

Curate of St. Mary's, Donnybrook.

'(He) Bernard contends that the whole system of human, and, again, sacramental mediation, which the Catholic doctrine, no doubt, implies, the whole visible, sacerdotal liturgical envelopment which, as we against Mr Bernard should maintain, the Church has worn from the very first, is in such sense Jewish as to be anti-christian.'<sup>157</sup>

Whately and Bernard both disliked the word 'sacerdos', even though it is sanctioned in the Latin version of the Articles. Bernard also found Confession, Fast Days, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the 'Catholic Faith' mentioned in the Athanasian Creed, items of 'unspiritual' doctrine. Ward wrote that the Church of England had abandoned such views as these in practice, though not theoretically. He also mentioned visitors to Rome, who found doctrines upheld there that were not upheld at home. 'They are matters on which not the Roman, but the English, practical system is at marked variance with that of antiquity, to which our Church has ever referred her children; and we cannot with any fairness defend antiquity, without so far including modern Rome in our defence.'<sup>158</sup>

Returning to a theme of previous articles, namely the apprehension of religious truth, he wrote that man does not obtain knowledge of spiritual truth directly, but through the 'medium of the external and visible system in which God had placed him ... it is by moral action under this visible system, and thus only, that we learn, in varying but continually increasing degrees, the very meaning of these qualities, which in their perfection we attribute to God'.<sup>159</sup> Outward circumstance could stir up some depth of feeling hitherto unknown: 'Who cannot remember instances in his own personal experience when religious truth has presented itself in the most plain and vivid

colours and yet the will, like the earth frost-bound in the presence of the sun, appearing literally unable to produce the fitting moral result.'<sup>160</sup> He continued: 'These beautiful scenes, acts of kindness, words of wisdom, break the fetters, which but now enchained our will, are in a moment burst through and the religious truth is brought home to us as practical, and the religious feelings elicited as natural, and we seem other than we were.'<sup>161</sup> The experience might be no more in the end than transient emotion but it could also be positive in result.

Ward emphasized the need for a visible Church: 'It must have a scheme of law, and moral discipline, in order to form in them a character which may daily apprehend religious truth. It must have ministers to expound that truth, and enforce it in degree and method corresponding to the respective moral or intellectual attainments. Ministers again, to supply that place through life, which parents at first occupy; to serve as an exemplar of virtue and unworldliness.'<sup>162</sup> Theology based upon "evangelical" principle foundered, because it suggested that the Christian religion "revolutionizes" man's moral nature. Radical transformation did not take place in an instant.

'While schools of philosophy in each successive step tend only to decay, she (the Church) preserves ever pure and undefiled her original deposit, and proceeds in her advance from truth to truth, from doctrine to doctrine, without stumbling as without misgiving.'<sup>163</sup> He defended the Church's use of ceremonial - buildings, processions, and chant - which were 'the suggestions of the Spirit Himself to the beloved Bride of Christ.'<sup>164</sup> The Saints were the 'one great triumph of the Gospel', the Acta Sanctorum were the real external evidences of Christianity: 'and without the sphere of a Sacerdotal system, let it never be forgotten, Saints there have been none.'<sup>165</sup> Ward went on to make the

absurd observation that wherever Catholic principles were allowed their full scope, the working classes would receive less labour.<sup>166</sup> As to judicial and legislative functions, the Church had been involved in them from the beginning. Stressing the importance of natural law he wrote: 'Attention to all the detailed commandments of God's natural law is the one only foundation on which the superstructure of Christian faith can possibly be built, the one only discipline by which true spiritual perception can possibly be acquired, and Gospel truths received as they are in themselves rather than in the shape of some base counterfeit.'<sup>167</sup> An intimate connection was preserved by the Church's system between the moral law and the most solemn celebrations.

Church discipline had changed as her circumstances and the world about her had changed. 'That stated forms and times of prayer and an appointed time of self-denial are essential to the edification of the Church, we must here be content to assume.'<sup>168</sup> Next to the Church's function as one who dispenses grace, was that whereby she developed truth. This second function, as the first, was performed through an external framework constituted to that end. She 'ever must perform' through such a framework.<sup>169</sup> He dismissed the idea of an 'invisible Church'. If heavenly blessings were to be imparted to souls still in the flesh, then the idea of a non-visible Church seemed to be a contradiction in terms. She surveyed all schools outside her pale and absorbed from them whatever they had introduced of value, disentangling truth from error. This helped her to display the truths committed to her, in a new and ever varying light. 'A Spiritual body, acting on earth must have one side earthly, as well as one side Spiritual.'<sup>170</sup>

Ward accepted the idea of what we might call 'Desert Island

Christians'. 'In the cases, infinitely rare, of individuals being by stress of outward circumstances separated from the visible means of essential grace, the absence will be supplied by some extraordinary and uncovenanted provision for the emergency.'<sup>171</sup> On the same page he wrote of the Sacerdotal office of the Church as the foundation of all the rest. The sacraments are the means of unity in the Church: 'Protestant bodies must retain their members by the civil sword or by the bribes of an establishment.'<sup>172</sup> He asked whether God's grace operated outside 'the precise bounds He has formally appointed.'<sup>173</sup> He believed that it did. People in such a position should stay where they were - they did not need to become Roman Catholics. God had a purpose in allowing his grace to flow here and the 'continuance of individuals in their original position might be a necessary condition to its fulfilment.'<sup>174</sup> There was no sign at this stage of Ward intending to leave the Church of England.

From page fifty Ward began a discussion of the notion of priesthood. He wrote of the high standard of holiness required. Celibacy represented outwardly what all Christians were called to be inwardly. Priesthood was based for him upon the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. He mentioned the 'inter-communion of Christian works' and cited Andrewes as a source. The labours of the active life redounded to those not called to it, as do those of the contemplative. Priests 'are the Ministers, by whose special agency the Church collective, the community of all faithful Christians, intercedes for, and applies her blessings to, her members one by one.'<sup>175</sup> 'The priesthood may be called the organs of the Spirit, Who dwells within the Church, whereby he grasps her several members and unites them to the one Body.'<sup>176</sup> Some have claimed that the Priest gets in the way of

the devotions of ordinary people. Ward asked us to look at the Church in Roman Catholic countries, where it is 'the Church of the poor.'<sup>177</sup> He closed with an apology to Bernard for saying so little about his book. However, in his view it had failed to achieve what it set out to do.

A Roman Catholic Critique of Ward's Review  
of 'A Synagogue and the Church' 178

Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle provided an interesting series of observations on the Movement, and particularly on Ward at this critical stage. His general view of the Tracts was summarized: 'We no sooner read them than we declared our belief that a Movement had commenced in the Anglican Church, which would not cease until it had restored Her to the Communion of Catholic Christendom.'<sup>179</sup> The aim of his article was to discuss new work from the Oxford School. He made particular mention of the article by Ward, 'The Synagogue and the Church,' though as it was published anonymously de Lisle would probably not have known who the writer was. He described Newman's University Sermons as 'almost a Catholic production,' and he recommended the final sermon on the theory of religious development. 'We cannot conceive an abler vindication on the whole Catholic system, than that contained in the discourse (sermon) alluded to; nor one more replete with able arguments to overthrow every possible cavil of its opponents.'<sup>180</sup> He continued 'no man can read these volumes, and not see that the triumph of Catholicism in England is only a question of time.'<sup>181</sup> Ward's article ... 'surpasses all its predecessors.'<sup>182</sup> It was a ... 'magnificent defence of Catholic principles so ably drawn out in this beautiful Article.'<sup>183</sup> Newman's important remarks on five of the



articles was quoted by de Lisle:

Some admirable articles have appeared in the late numbers of the "British Critic" on the divinely appointed mode of seeking truth where persons are in doubt and difficulty; viz No. LX Article 2, LXII Article I, LXIII Article 2, LXIV Article 3 and LXV Article 7. As these appear to be but the first sketches of a deep and important theory which has possession of the author's mind, it is to be hoped that they will one day appear in a more systematic form.<sup>184</sup> (This 'more systematic form' was to be The Ideal of a Christian Church of June 1844).

De Lisle did not object to Ward's theory but felt it had been 'pushed to an unwarrantable length.'<sup>185</sup> He disagreed with Ward's contention that people outside the visible pale of the Church can receive sacramental grace in all its plenitude, the same grace which was morally confined to the channel of the Church's Sacraments. Ward had argued that the appointed covenant for salvation was the visible Catholic Church, but God could save people outside it. De Lisle agreed, but only if they were in a state of 'invincible ignorance.'<sup>186</sup> De Lisle described Ward's position on this matter as 'heretical and ultra Protestant in tendency.'<sup>187</sup> He argued that to receive grace outside the visible Church and then stay outside it was a mortal sin. Such a person must enter the pale 'so soon as ever it becomes visible to him.'<sup>188</sup>

ARTICLE VIII    'Mill's Logic'<sup>189</sup>    October 1843

Ward's eighth and final Article in the series was in many ways the most important. Not only was this to be Ward's concluding article, but it was also the last edition of the British Critic. The concern and indignation that both Ward and Oakeley had aroused by their articles finally led to the cessation of the publication of the Critic. However, in April 1844, the quarterly appeared again under a new title: The English Review or Quarterly Journal of Ecclesiastical and

General Literature, and it so continued for nine years.

As a philosopher, Ward held Mill in very high regard. He had of course been an avid reader of utilitarian writings as a student and junior Fellow. He agreed with Mill that 'system is the very soul of philosophy.'<sup>190</sup> Ward's principal aim in the article was to refute Mill's fundamental position that all additions to our stock of knowledge must be derived from experience. 'If Mr Mill's principles are adopted as a full statement of truth, the whole future of Christian theology must totter and fall.'<sup>191</sup> Ward attacked Mill's inductive methodology. He quoted fairly extensively from Mill on society and its dynamics. Mill put the origin of mathematical knowledge under the heading of experimental. 'Experience', he wrote, 'has absolutely no ground on which to stand, no point from which to begin, until it be granted that our memory and our intellectual faculties are trustworthy informants.'<sup>192</sup>

Ward's views on conscience were expressed more fully here than in the preceding article, and they were to receive their fullest expression in Chapter Nine of The Ideal. He relied upon a quasi-Kantian contention that the intellect provided knowledge of phenomena, and the conscience of realities. He even rejected the probability from external evidence that God was good or personal. He began by giving some of the arguments against the 'moral sense theory'. Firstly, in order to distinguish the voice of our conscience from intruding, false voices he wrote:

The Saint possesses within himself a guidance on moral subjects, in its own sphere next to infallible ... Let a person then begin exercising himself in the habit of governing each action of the day, as it occurs, by the rule of right; we mean his own rule as it now is, however oblique that may happen to be, but still as being right; and he will be surprised to find how quickly, and

how regularly, his moral perception will grow; and how soon he will obtain that faculty, whose very existence but now he disbelieved, of recognising the real accents of the voice within him. We say, let him begin by acting on almost any rules whatever of conduct so it be on the ground of doing right; and this is always possible even in the worst. Whatever else may be erased from the conscience, this original idea, that "right" and "wrong" are words with a meaning and that a meaning wholly unconnected with consequences and results, this, if anything, is most certainly an innate idea of the human mind.<sup>193</sup>

Secondly, of how to understand the voice rightly when it was distinguished:

The conscience can express no judgement, except on a case brought before it. Now in many instances a case cannot be brought before it, clothed in all its real circumstances, and viewed in reference to such of its results as should be taken into account, without the performance of a very delicate and complicated intellectual operation; and in the interpretation again of the answer received, a similar operation is often necessary. This is the real cause of religious men going wrong in action; and this moreover is the real account of the difficulty which exists, in obtaining from the moral faculty general propositions, which may be applied in practice.<sup>194</sup>

Erroneous conclusions on moral subjects were ascribed to the conscience. This was not correct, for they were really due to the intellect. For example, judgement concerning others: how can we hope to have the internal/external experience of another's situation. Conscience was within the person for 'our own guidance.'<sup>195</sup>

There were two premises which produce in combination a moral judgement and the major one only was of vital importance to our own highest good:

Each individual moral judgement through the day, performed according to this ideal standard, will be the conclusion of a syllogism; whose major premise we derive from our moral and minor from our intellectual apprehension; the former brought to its state of perfection by consistent and unswerving obedience to the sense of right from our infancy upwards, the latter by the appropriate cultivation of its observing, reasoning, and inventive powers.<sup>196</sup>

Ward saw it as being impossible to rate too highly the value of prayer in purifying and enlightening the conscience. However, it did not supersede the necessity of the intellectual act. The foundation of all morality 'is that original idea of right and wrong, which cannot be eradicated from the worst minds, but at the very lowest remains dormant and unconscious indeed, yet a really existing faculty to which appeal may be made.'<sup>197</sup> He continued: 'the very idea of moral action implies that our several propensions and affections all be governed by some fixed rule or other; secondly, that this rule shall be that which we call right, is absolutely necessary, in order to the preservation of internal peace and harmony among the various instincts of our nature; nay, in order to the very possibility of continued action in regard to any one of these instincts, on the part of a moral agent resolved to act consistently.'<sup>198</sup> The moral faculty was not left to its own powers for it taught us early on the perception of superior goodness, and the duty of placing one's trust in the dictates of that goodness. 'Nor has it any other function so important and so astonishing, as that whereby it apprehends in this manner facts far beyond its own experience, appropriates them inwardly, and finally proves their truth, with a certainty wholly superseding the necessity of further evidence.'<sup>199</sup> He gave as example of these 'facts':

- i) That justice was a quality distinct from benevolence.
- ii) That celibacy was higher than marriage. (An interesting observation in view of his own development!)

In another class he added the existence and attributes of God:

The leading and fundamental doctrine in the other class, we need not say, is the existence and attributes of God; whose "conduct" is "as certainly determined" by the moral law which our conscience witnesses, as His "judgement" is "necessarily determined" by "speculative truth" (Butler, Analogy, Part 2, Chapter 8). And while we do not profess to analyse fully the

process whereby the conscience proves what it could not discover, it is perfectly obvious, that belief in this doctrine imparts, in proportion as it is realised, a vast and inconceivable expansion to the moral nature, and endues it with a large range of powers, which it could not otherwise have possessed.<sup>200</sup>

No moral truth could really be understood except 'by one who shall have believed and acted upon it.'<sup>201</sup> He emphasized an earlier theme, that of the importance of the lives of the Saints: 'holy and self-denying men are the real fountains from which moral truths flow to the world.'<sup>202</sup>

Conscience did speak in a distinct and unmistakeable manner. Ward felt that it was not a good idea to try to find out what and how many truths were engraved upon the conscience. It would only lead to bewilderment, unless a person was mature in mind and prepared by special discipline, which most people would never be. Faith was of paramount importance in our moral growth, 'a principle, by which we consider it our bounden duty, to accept those doctrines we have learnt, and remain in that position wherein we have been placed, not so long as we can find, by looking inwards, our warrant for so doing, but until our conscience forces on our notice that we have outgrown and overpassed them.'<sup>203</sup> Authoritative and truthful teaching was the 'great rock' on which moral truth rests. He attacked Protestantism for 'during its 3 short centuries, (it) has advanced with even more frightfully hasty strides, in the road to corruption and unbelief.'<sup>204</sup>

The will had great indirect power over belief. Modern writers considered, Ward related, that the notion of any direct power of the will over belief was based on a confusion of ideas.<sup>205</sup>

A new doctrine is proposed to me, which seems to promise help and expansion to my moral nature, and yet is encumbered with certain apparent difficulties. The external and internal evidence being both granted, surely I am conscious to myself of

a power, which enables me either to give in to those difficulties, or, on the other hand, to leap the gulf, to make a venture, to embrace and appropriate the doctrine offered to my acceptance ... I do not conceal from myself, that I believe implicitly on evidence which, by itself, will not sustain implicit belief. I expect by the very act of believing, to get more evidence.<sup>206</sup>

In addition to the above, he quoted two classes of subject on which there seemed the greatest claim for belief without adequate evidence:

- a) Attribution of a best possible motive to all other men.
- b) Ready acceptance of new doctrines, which seemed favourable to our moral culture.

Ward maintained that with Mill's method it was not possible to prove such propositions as 'right' and 'wrong.' He denied them on the ground that they could not be so established. Mill distinguished between our feelings of 'moral approbation,' 'admiration,' and 'love.' They were 'three distinct modes of viewing an action' wholly independent of each other. Ward wrote on the Christian percept of moral truth: 'Christians ... consider the perception of moral truth to be that, which both justifies, and ought to regulate, all our higher tastes and emotions; they feel it their duty to aim more and more at centring all their "love" and "admiration" in Him to Whom their "moral" instinct first led them; and feel more and more, that nothing is worthy of admiration or love, except so far as it is morally good.'<sup>207</sup>

For Mill the morality of an action relied upon 'its foreseeable consequences; its beauty, and its lovableness, or the reverse, depend upon the qualities which it is evidence of.'<sup>208</sup> Ward concluded this section with the following observations: those mysterious feelings which were called forth by the sense of beauty (e.g. of music or of natural scenery) and again by marks of affection by others (e.g. from parental tenderness), were media

by which heavenly and supernatural truths are, in various measures, shadowed forth to the believer's mind; by which are impressed faint, confused, and unconnected ideas of that Unknown Beauty and Love, whose intuition in its full and harmonious completeness is reserved for a future existence, and that faculty of mind which, as being the first correlative of heavenly communications, receives these ideas, is that very moral faculty with which Mr. Mill's theory denies them all relationship or participation. So far from its being true that morality is in its essence wholly separate from these feelings, it is only by means of their careful performance of moral duty, that we are enabled to derive from them those very impressions, which it is their primary mission to convey.<sup>209</sup>

If J.S. Mill was correct, the emotions of awe and reverence would be mere illusion. For all knowledge would come from experience. In Ward's opinion Mill seemed to have no religious belief at all.

The Church had maintained for eighteen centuries the great truths of morality and natural religion. She had battled against Manichaeian heretics in earlier times, and more recently against the Lutheran. The Gospel was 'addressed directly, not to the intellect, but to the conscience; and the sure proof of its truth is obtained by moral action.'<sup>210</sup> Ward names the Trinity, Incarnation, and Eucharistic Presence, as cardinal points of the Christian faith. 'Her idea of them, the impression they form on her mind, is infinitely indeed below the original truths themselves, yet is it "the nearest approach to them which our present state allows"; as being received by the moral faculty: that faculty, which is more truly heavenly in its origin, and in its nature more akin to heaven, than any other part of man's constitution.'<sup>211</sup>

On the subject of development he wrote: 'If developments had not existed in Christianity, it would have been necessary to suppose that God worked a continued miracle, to separate off Christian from all other religions and moral truth. It is of the very nature of moral

belief, that the same principles shall appear in each successive age, in a new aspect, or a more advanced growth, or more harmonious proportions.<sup>212</sup> Of the dogmas of the Trinity and Incarnation he stated 'they grew not in stature during subsequent times, yet grew in evidence.'<sup>213</sup> For the 'right-minded' Christian the experience of heretical bodies and their 'low-practice' and apostate faith, compared with the testimony of holy men who proclaimed the truth of their doctrines by their holiness, provided external proof 'far more persuasive and cogent in kind than that on which the theory of gravitation rests for its support.'<sup>214</sup> His condemnation of the Reformation was again unequivocal.<sup>215</sup> Ward attacked the usurpation of reason which occurred as a result of the Reformation: 'he who attempts to grasp religious doctrine with his intellect, grasps a shadow and lets the substance escape.'<sup>216</sup>

Ward made a necessary distinction between Psychology, with allied sciences, and Ethology - the science of morality on which theology was built.

The latter science is exclusively conversant with eternal and immutable principles, which bind the conscience of all intelligent beings ... which are the necessary laws on which God's actions proceed. Its organ of inquiry is the moral faculty, which is directly conversant with such principles; and the only fit depository of its truths, among beings constituted like ourselves, is such a society as the Church; a society challenging allegiance and teaching with authority.<sup>217</sup>

By denying the moral faculty's existence, Mill disbelieved in this science. Ward described Psychology as a science 'wholly experimental.' He considered that the Catholic ascetic writers and moral theologians were the leaders in psychological enquiries. He described morals as an 'art.' 'From morality, in a word, the art of morals draws its laws,

from psychology its rules. A pupil who starts by taking both on faith, and acts upon them, learns from his conscience that the former are right, from his experience that the latter are wise ... The first, in Kant's expressive language, are categorical, the last hypothetical, imperatives.<sup>218</sup> Mill's foundation for science was subversive of all morality and religion. Ward maintained: 'we must claim plainly for moral and religious truth its undoubted privilege, of being wholly independent for its direct evidence, on any experimental or any intellectual support.'<sup>219</sup> 'Just as we formally claimed for the intellect an absolute independence, for its own operations, of any observed regularity in the course of nature, so now we claim for the moral faculty an equally absolute independence and superiority.'<sup>220</sup> The moral faculty was the only sufficient cause for the confidence we placed in the intellectual.

We can see something of the Ward who was to emerge more clearly in later years, when he wrote on the subject of the 'aggressive progress of physical science.' 'Our safety lies not in parley with the enemy, nor in special pleading on minute points, but in a fresh and hearty defiance; not in coming down from our fortified city into the field, but in repairing the breaches and strengthening the walls of Sion.'<sup>221</sup> Mill's concept of the world left no room for providence, the efficacy of prayer, or free will. There could, therefore, be no sin or responsibility for it. For him the 'noumenal' world was absolutely inaccessible to our faculties, and the 'phenomenal' proceeded undeviatingly on laws fixed and defined from the first. Ward took the traditional definition of the will: 'a self-originating principle of causation.'<sup>222</sup> He continued: 'Every man living is free as to his will just so often, and just in proportion, as he exercises an act of self-

control from the simple recognition of a rule of right.<sup>223</sup> On the relationship between conscience and will he wrote:

the conscience is so far alive, as to be prepared any moment to interfere, when such established constitution shall be drawing him into serious sin; and even without such necessity, repeatedly stimulates him to fresh acts of freedom, to the more cheerful and energetic performance of some duty, to prayer at stated periods, to voluntary acts of self-denial. But the Saint, and the Christian in so far as he approaches to be a Saint, is free throughout the day; his life is one continued sacrifice of himself on the altar of duty, his conscience ever active, his will ever vigorous.<sup>224</sup>

However, the man who was left to his own nature 'acts on laws which may be calculated and made the subject of a science: granted; yet that he was left to his own nature was a punishment for sin; the laws on which he acts are habits of sin; that any individual does act on them exclusively is in his case an instance of sin.'<sup>225</sup>

He saw free will as an exception to a proposition that needs no other exception, that all the phenomena - external and internal - of the sensible world, normally proceeded on fixed laws. These laws were the means of 'training us for heaven.'<sup>226</sup> They were 'the exhibition, type, and pledge of those Eternal Laws, whereby God's providence harmoniously and consistently works throughout His creation.'<sup>227</sup> The Christian and the atheistic philosopher differed fundamentally from one another. The latter thought that we might be able to trace all around and within us to certain laws impressed on the phenomenal world from the first, and acting with relentless accuracy. Christian philosophy, through the Church, held that if the whole course of nature was open to our view, with all its causes and constituents, then one would detect not a blind unbending law, but the very contrary. 'We should see the finger of God moving them in turn, at the time, and in the degree, which make them first instruments for furthering His designs.'<sup>228</sup> Ward

wrote that the prayers and intercessory sacraments and works of believers influenced God's purpose. He also referred to 'our friend the Roman Catholic Nurse.'<sup>229</sup>

He finished this Article with the following remarks:

And for our own part we take our leave of Mr. Mill with the assurance, that we never think of him, without indulging the hope, that one who treats on so great a variety of subjects with such conspicuous power, knowledge, far-sightedness, exactness and single-mindedness, will not always remain so ignorant, and so careless of acquiring knowledge, as his writings show him to have hitherto been, on those things which alone really "belong unto His peace".<sup>230</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Newman had retired to Littlemore at the end of 1842, and with this Ward had become the acknowledged leader of the Movement.

As we have noted, Newman singled out five of Ward's British Critic articles for special mention - they were still anonymous at this stage. He saw in them the beginning of a theory. Ward had discussed in the whole series in some detail the foundation of moral knowledge, the role of conscience and the need for personal holiness. He had also written on the development of doctrine, and the possibility of an infallible authority on earth. This, together with his veneration for Rome, would all receive more detailed elaboration in The Ideal.

Footnotes to Chapter III

INTRODUCTION

1. W.G. Ward, The Ideal of a Christian Church etc. (London, 1844), p.3. Ward's Articles brought about the closure of the British Critic and the Editor's resignation.
2. The British Critic first appeared in 1793, and between January 1827 and October 1843 was published as The British Critic, and Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record (after Volume Twenty-Two the words Ecclesiastical Record ceased to appear on the title page).

It was the periodical of 'Church' principles. The 'High and Drys.' The editors during this period were: E. Smedley, J.S. Boone, J.H. Newman, and T. Mozley. The contributors include: W. and O. Rogers, James Mozley (brother of T.), R.H. Church, and J.B. Morris.

The influence of periodicals was at its height during the Tractarian era. They were quick to mention the Romeward drift in the Movement. See J.L. Morrison, 'The Oxford Movement and the British Periodicals,' in The Catholic Historical Review, Volume XLV (July, 1959), pp. 137-160.

3. See Footnotes 52 and 53 of Introduction to this thesis.
4. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 219.
5. Newman's own retraction was published in the Dublin Review. See Volume XIV, Number XXVII (February, 1843), pp. 271-275. The article was dated 12 December, 1842. Wisemann commented that in its first decade the Review had as its main Religious object: 'To watch, to second, and to correct, where necessary, the Tractarian Movement.'  
See N. Wiseman, 'The Religious Movement,' in Dublin Review, Volume XIX (December, 1845), pp. 538-539.  
Daniel O'Connell was the first proprietor of the Dublin Review and wanted 'No extreme political views' in the Review. It was published in London and intended primarily for English Roman Catholics. W.G. Ward was Editor of the Review from July 1863-October 1878 and made it the organ of Ultramontane opinions: 'A Kind of Theological Battering Ram.' See Maisie Ward, 'W.G. Ward and Wilfrid Ward,' Dublin Review, Volume 198 (April/June, 1936), p. 237.
6. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 214.
7. Ibid., p. 214.
8. Ibid., p. 215.
9. T. Mozley, Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement in two volumes (London, 1882), Volume Two, p. 226.

10. Ibid., p. 222.

11. Ibid., p. 227.

#### ARTICLE I

12. Ward, 'Dr. Arnold's Sermons,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXX (October, 1841), pp. 298-365. Oakeley had already caused a stir by his articles, 'Bishop Jewel,' in the July edition - the first with Thomas Mozley as Editor. He had written that the English Reformation was 'painful and humiliating ... disturbing the peace and infringing the unity of the Christian Body.' British Critic, Volume XXX (July, 1841), p. 1.

13. 'Dr. Arnold's Sermons,' p. 306.

14. Ibid., p. 304.

15. Ibid., p. 303.

16., Ibid., p. 308.

17. Ibid., p. 309.

18. See Arnold's volume of Sermons, p. 478.

19. 'Dr. Arnold's Sermons,' p. 327.

20. J.H. Newman, The Prophetical Office of the Church (London, 1837), p. 190.

21. Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838). Both Möhler and another Roman Catholic controversialist, the Ultramontane Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821), were read by the advanced Tractarians at Oxford.

22. Möhler, On the Unity of the Church, p. 15. Ward did not read German, and his quotation was a translation from the French edition of P. Bernard (Brussels, 1839). Symbolik, quoted in later Articles, appeared in English in 1843.

Ward's ideas owed much to Möhler. 'From him came the concept of the impossibility of true sanctity outside the body of the faithful, and the impossibility of any real apprehension of dogmatic truth without a degree of sanctity.' Greenfield, 'The Attitude ...' etc. (Oxford, 1956), p. 368.

23. 'Dr. Arnold's Sermons,' p. 332. The nature of tradition and its relationship to scripture were of considerable importance to the Roman Catholic Church, and to Ward himself as an 'Anglo-Catholic.' Arnold assumed that they were not from the same source.

Ward summarized Möhler's views as follows: 'Tradition is to the Church what memory is to the individual.' p. 332. Ward wrote

that it came from 'a passage, on which we cannot at this moment lay our hands.' p. 332.

24. The notion of the development of Christian doctrine was of crucial importance to the more advanced Tractarians, and particularly to Newman himself. Chadwick wrote, 'Before the end of 1842 Ward began to talk and write about the idea of development. That Winter Newman started to think seriously about its implications to the history of the Church.' Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, in two parts (London, 1970), Part One, p. 196. Clearly the genesis of the idea comes earlier in Ward's work than Chadwick suggested.
25. 'Dr. Arnold's Sermons,' p. 333. Reference in Möhler not given.
26. Ibid., pp. 333-334.
27. Ibid., p. 336.
28. The concept of 'Reserve' referred to the withholding of certain ideas and teachings of the Christian faith, until a person was spiritually mature enough to appreciate them. Newman discussed the subject in his book: The Arians of the Fourth Century (London, 1833), his own ideas coming from the Fathers of the Church.  
See R.C. Selby, The Principles of Reserve in the Writings of John Henry Cardinal Newman (Oxford, 1975).  
T. Mozley (?) 'Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXXI (January, 1842), pp. 205-243. The author, who may be Mozley, wrote that: 'To discover implies a sort of concealment, revelation implies a mystery.' p. 210.

#### ARTICLE II

29. Ward, 'Whately's Essays,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXXI (April, 1842), pp. 253-302.

For Whately's influence upon Ward, see Introduction.

Newman himself had written to Whately in 1825: 'Much as I owe to Oriel in the way of mental improvement, to none, as I think, do I owe so much as to you.' In Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman, in two volumes (London, 1912), Volume One, p. 37.

30. Ibid., p. 269.
31. Ibid., p. 272.
32. Ibid., p. 274. Reference not given in Whately's 'Essays.'
33. Ibid., p. 296.

34. Newman had written in Tract Eighty-Five: 'Let us believe what we do not see and know. Let us forestall knowledge by faith. Let us maintain before we have proved. This seeming paradox is the secret of happiness.'

Newman singled out faith and conscience as the points of departure for religious life. Ward took this further, and came close to a fideist position. But, he never claimed that reason or intellect were incapable of attaining a knowledge of divine matters. Newman derived his idea of conscience from Butler. Ward was acquainted with Butler's work, particularly the Analogy of Religion (1736). There is no evidence that he had read Butler before 1839.

35. Ibid., p. 285.  
 36. Ibid., p. 288.  
 37. Ibid., p. 288.  
 38. Ibid., p. 292.  
 39. Ibid., p. 293.  
 40. Ibid., p. 294.  
 41. Ibid., p. 295.  
 42. Ibid., p. 296.  
 43. Ibid., p. 300.  
 44. Ibid., p. 299.  
 45. Ibid., p. 302.

### ARTICLE III

46. Ward, 'Heurtley's Four Sermons,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXXI (April, 1842), pp. 428-451.  
 Revd. Charles Heurtley, B.D., was Rector of Ferry Compton, Warwickshire, and late Fellow of Corpus Christi College.
47. Ibid., p. 436.  
 48. Ibid., p. 445.  
 49. Ibid., p. 447.  
 50. Ibid., p. 447. He also quoted from a pious article praising Roman Catholic Missionaries.  
 51. Ibid., p. 447.

52. Ibid., p. 451.

#### ARTICLE IV

53. Ward, 'Goode's Divine Rule,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXXII (July, 1842), pp. 34-106. Revd. William Goode, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, was Rector of St. Antholin's, London. See Peter Toon, Evangelical Theology 1833-1856. A Response to Tractarianism (London, 1979), esp. pp. 63-64 and 177-118.
54. Ibid., p. 35.
55. Ibid., p. 36. Volume I, p. 521 of Goode.
56. Ibid., p. 36.
57. Ibid., p. 37.
58. Ibid., p. 39.
59. Ibid., p. 39.
60. Ibid., pp. 39-40.
61. Ibid., p. 40.
62. Ibid., p. 41.
63. Ibid., p. 44.
64. Ibid., pp. 42-43.
65. Ibid., p. 46.
66. Ibid., p. 46. Ward referred the reader to Newman: Sermons, Volume VI, pp. 363-368.
67. Ibid., p. 47.
68. Ward referred to Newman: See Sermons, Volume VI Sermons 17 and 18.
69. Ward, Ibid., p. 55.
70. Ibid., p. 55.
71. Ibid., p. 56. Reference was made to Newman's prophetic office, p. 69. Goode had misunderstood this in Ward's view.
72. Ibid., p. 60. Volume I, p. 578 of Goode.
73. Ibid., p. 63.

74. Newman, Prophetical Office, p. 198.
75. Ward, Ibid., p. 74.
76. Ibid., p. 83.
77. Ibid., p. 84. He quoted Newman, who stated the object as follows: 'The consolidation of a theological system, which, built upon [our] formularies, may tend to inform, persuade, and absorb into itself religious minds.' Advertisement to 'Letters on Justification.'
78. Ibid., pp. 91-92.
79. Ibid., p. 93.
80. Greenfield, 'The Attitude' ... pp. 372-373.
81. Ibid., p. 103.
82. Ibid., p. 106.

#### ARTICLE V

83. Ward, Review of 'Select Treatises of St. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, in controversy with the Arians,' translated with notes and indices. Part I: Volume VIII, 'Library of the Fathers,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXXII (October, 1842), pp. 389-427.
84. Ibid., p. 389.
85. Ibid., p. 390. In the Ideal Ward devoted Chapter 5, pp. 168 ff. to the question. See Thesis, Chapter 5, Sect. 5.
86. Ibid., p. 391.
87. Ibid., p. 395.
88. Ibid., p. 401.
89. Ibid., p. 401.
90. Ibid., p. 402.
91. Ibid., p. 403.
92. Ibid., p. 407.
93. Ibid., p. 408.
94. Ibid., p. 408.

95. Greenfield, 'The Attitude,' etc. p. 373.
96. Ward, Ibid., p. 408.
97. Manning, Charge of July 1842, pp. 40-41. Ward, p. 408.
98. Ward, Ibid., p. 417.
99. Ibid., p. 420.
100. Unknown author, 'Movements in the Church,' Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, Volume XXVI (December, 1842), pp. 715-729.

The author was commenting on the charges of four Bishops - Oxford, May 1842; Exeter, June-September 1842; London, October 1842; Salisbury, May 1842.

Fraser's was not a literary magazine, but 'Literary Miscellany' the main emphasis was upon politics, religion, social conditions. It was a vehicle for progressive thought, published monthly, and Tory in attitude.

101. Ibid., p. 716.

#### ARTICLE VI

102. Ward, 'Church Authority,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review. Vol. XXXII (January, 1843) pp. 202-233.
103. 'Via Media: Or the Church of England our Providential Path Between Romism and Dissent. A Sermon Preached before the University of Oxford, on Sunday January 23rd 1842.
- R.W. Jelf was a Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College.
104. 'Christian Forbearance.' A sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on Sexagesima Sunday, 1842.
- Ernest Hawkins was a Fellow of Exeter College.
105. 'A Call to Church Union upon the Principles of the Church of England.' A sermon preached at the Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Exeter, on Friday, 2nd September, 1842.
- George Coleridge was Prebendary of Wells Cathedral.
106. 'The Claims of the Church of England upon her Members.' A sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on Sunday, 16th October, 1842.'
- B.P. Symons was Warden of Wadham.

107. Ward, 'Church Authority,' p. 202.
108. Ibid., p. 203.
109. For the conditions under which it was necessary to withdraw our deference for our 'First Instructors.' See Goode's Article, 1842, pp. 40, 41; 54, 55.
110. Ibid., footnote to p. 204.
111. Ibid., p. 205.
112. Ibid., p. 205.
113. Ibid., p. 205.
114. Ibid., p. 206.
115. Greenfield, 'The Attitude,' etc. p. 376.
116. Ibid., p. 208.
117. Ibid., p. 209 (pp. 16 and 18 of Jelf).
118. Ibid., p. 211.
119. Ibid., p. 212.
120. Ibid., footnote to p. 212.
121. Ibid., p. 213. Reference in Jelf not given.
122. Ibid., footnote to pp. 216-217.
123. Ibid., p. 219.
124. Ibid., p. 220.
125. Ibid., p. 221.
126. Ibid., p. 221.
127. Ibid., p. 224.
128. Ibid., p. 225.
129. Ibid., p. 227.
130. Ibid., p. 228.
131. Ibid., p. 229.
132. Ibid., p. 230.

133. Ibid., p. 232.
134. Some Reactions and Developments: February-May 1843, O. Chadwick, From Bossuet to Newman: The Idea of Doctrinal Development (Cambridge, 1957), p. 123.
135. Edited Birmingham Oratory, Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others 1839-1845 (London, 1917), p. 199.
136. J. Jones, 'The Civil War of 1843,' in Balliol College Annual Record 1978, pp. 60-67.
137. Ibid., p. 61.
138. Ibid., p. 64. The Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette, 25 March, 1843.
139. Oakeley, 'Sacramental Confession,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXXIII (April, 1843), pp. 295-347.
140. H. Rogers, 'Puseyism, or the Oxford Tractarian School,' Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal, Volume 77 (April, 1843), pp. 501-562. A highly sarcastic and amusing critique.
141. Ibid., p. 509.
142. Ibid., p. 509.
143. Ibid., p. 523.
144. Ibid., p. 546.
145. Ibid., p. 548.
146. Ibid., p. 555.
147. Ibid., p. 557.
148. Whately, 'Essays on the Kingdom of Christ':  
Goode, 'Divine Rule of Faith':  
McIlvaine, 'Rome and Oxford':  
Taylor, 'Ancient Christianity':  
Alexander, 'Anglo-Catholicism Not Apostolical'.
149. J.W. Croker, 'Rubrics and Ritual of the Church of England,' Quarterly Review, Volume 72 (May, 1843), pp. 232-290.
- The Quarterly was founded as an exponent of Tory opinion in 1808 and was a counterpart to the Edinburgh which expressed Whig opinion.
- The Quarterly defended the old order in the Church and society. Croker was one of a small group of regular contributors.
150. Ibid., p. 233.

151. Ibid., p. 236.  
 152. Ibid., p. 240.  
 153. Ibid., p. 246.  
 154. Ibid., p. 249.  
 155. Apologia., p. 208.

ARTICLE VII

156. Ward, 'The Synagogue and the Church ...' British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review, Volume XXXIV (July, 1843), pp. 1-63. The full title of the book by the Rev. Joshua L. Bernard, Curate of St. Mary's, Donnybrook, is: 'The Synagogue and the Church being an Attempt to show that the Government, Ministers, and Services of the Church were derived from those of the Synagogue.'
157. Ibid., p. 5.  
 158. Ibid., p. 7.  
 159. Ibid., p. 8.  
 160. Ibid., p. 9.  
 161. Ibid., p. 10.  
 162. Ibid., p. 10.  
 163. Ibid., p. 12.  
 164. Ibid., p. 12.  
 165. Ibid., p. 13.  
 166. Ibid., p. 18.  
 167. Ibid., p. 21.  
 168. Ibid., p. 31.  
 169. Ibid., p. 32.  
 170. Ibid., p. 38.  
 171. Ibid., p. 49.  
 172. Ibid., p. 49.

173. Ibid., p. 50.  
 174. Ibid., p. 50.  
 175. Ibid., p. 55.  
 176. Ibid., p. 58.  
 177. Ibid., p. 60.

Review of Article VII

178. A.L.M. Phillipps de Lisle, 'The Synagogue and the Church,'  
Dublin Review, Volume 15 (August/December, 1843), pp. 103-124.  
 179. Ibid., p. 110.  
 180. Ibid., p. 114.  
 181. Ibid., p. 114.  
 182. Ibid., p. 114.  
 183. Ibid., p. 115.  
 184. J.H. Newman, 'Love, the Safeguard of Faith against  
 Superstition,' University Sermons (London, 1843), p. 244.  
 185. Ibid., p. 118.  
 186. Ibid., p. 119.  
 187. Ibid., p. 119. This must have amused Ward.  
 188. Ibid., p. 121.

ARTICLE VIII

189. Ward, 'Mills' Logic,' British Critic and Quarterly Theological  
 Review, Volume XXXIV (October, 1843), pp. 349-427. The  
 numbering was incorrect in volume consulted, and has been altered  
 accordingly. The full title of the book was: A System of Logic,  
 Ratiocinative and Inductive, being a Connected View of the  
 Principles of Evidence, and the Methods of Scientific  
 Investigation, Two volumes (London, 1843).

See comments by A. Pain in footnote of Ward, Oxford Movement, p.  
 295. 'It was not so much a review of the Logic as of Mill  
 altogether.'

190. Ibid., p. 350.

191. Ibid., p. 356.
192. Ibid., p. 371.
193. Ibid., p. 380. Quotes Newman, Sermon, Vol. 5, pp. 168-169.
194. Ibid., p. 381.
195. Ibid., p. 382.
196. Ibid., p. 383.
197. Ibid., p. 384. A very important section.
198. Ibid., p. 385.
199. Ibid., p. 386.
200. Ibid., p. 386.
201. Ibid., p. 387.
202. Ibid., p. 389.
203. Ibid., p. 390. He referred to Newman's Fourth University Sermon, 'Personal Influence the Means to Propagating the Truth.'
204. Ibid., p. 393.
205. Reference to Kant's Logique, p. 116. He presumably used the French translation.
206. Ibid., p. 394.
207. Ibid., p. 396.
208. Ibid., p. 397. Quoted from London and Westminster Review, Volume Four, p. 503.
209. Ibid., p. 398.
210. Ibid., p. 402. As a literary point, p. 401 contains a sentence which runs for 13 1/2 lines.
211. Ibid., p. 403.
212. Ibid., p. 404.
213. Ibid., p. 405.
214. Ibid., p. 406.
215. 'But for unspeakable fanaticism and infatuation, if any since the Fall can be named in the same breath with it, we are

ignorant or unmindful of that event.' Ibid., p. 406.

216. Ibid., p. 407. Ward did not seem to distinguish between the terms 'Reason' and 'Intellect'. The two were often used indiscriminately. See K.H. Hoppen, 'W.G. Ward and Liberal Catholicism', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Volume 23 (October, 1972), pp. 323-344.  
Also W.G. Ward, 'A Relation of Intellectual Power to Man's True Perfection. Considered in Two Essays before the English Academy of the Catholic Religion' (London, 1862).
217. Ibid., p. 408.
218. Ibid., pp. 409-410.
219. Ibid., p. 410.
220. Ibid., p. 410.
221. Ibid., p. 412.
222. Ibid., p. 415.
223. Ibid., p. 416.
224. Ibid., p. 416.
225. Ibid., p. 417.
226. Ibid., p. 418.
227. Ibid., p. 418.
228. Ibid., p. 419.
229. Ibid., p. 419.
230. Ibid., p. 427.

## CHAPTER IV

Events Leading to the Appearance of  
"The Ideal of a Christian Church" June 1844

Ward had caused considerable embarrassment to the other members of the Movement by his outspokenness. Though both he and Oakeley had agreed not to teach distinctly Roman Catholic doctrine in their sermons, Thomas Mozley the Editor of the British Critic, remarked that criticism was impossible: 'I did but touch on a filament or two in one of his monstrous cobwebs, and off ran he instantly to Newman to complain of my gratuitous impertinence.'<sup>1</sup> He continued: 'My own feeling about Ward's articles was that they were within comprehension and mastery; and that if I made the required effort I should probably go very far with them, but that I should find myself thereby embarked in an adventure beyond my control; in a word, that the terminus of the articles was outside the Church of England.'<sup>2</sup> Newman's own remarks about five of the articles, quoted earlier, were also of importance.<sup>3</sup> Newman clearly went a long way with Ward's ideas. Mozley wrote that Newman did not disagree with what Ward had written, but that he wanted to steer clear of the editorship of the Critic - something Ward 'could not or would not understand'.<sup>4</sup>

The most sustained criticism came from a founder-member of the Movement, the Reverend William Palmer of Worcester College. He had tried, unsuccessfully, to get Newman to condemn the Articles. His pamphlet 'A Narrative of Events Connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times, with Reflections on Existing Tendencies to Romanism, and on the Present Doctrines and Prospects of Members of the Church' appeared in 1843. He hoped that the British Critic would cease to be published, and this did in fact take place. He stated his aim: 'It is the design of the following pages to clear those who upheld

Christian principles from the imputation of approving certain recent tendencies to Romanism.'<sup>5</sup> Few people, he continued, seemed to realize that the ideas put forward in the British Critic were not acceptable to the authors of the Tracts, or to the larger part of their supporters. The Movement's original purpose was: 'solely ... of defending the Church herself in her spiritual capacity, and of revealing her salutary principles.'<sup>6</sup> 'Permanent evil' he believed had been wrought through the pages of the British Critic.

In Chapter One he discussed the aims and purposes of the Movement at its inception, mentioning the awful predicament of the Church in England and Ireland in 1833. The main aim of the Movement was 'the union of the Church'.<sup>7</sup> 'I can safely say, that not one of my friends or colleagues had any designs in favour of Romanism.'<sup>8</sup> Chapter Two discussed the Tracts for the Times and the Hampden Controversy. The Tracts contained 'gratuitous admissions' he felt, and opponents, both Romish and Dissenting, would take advantage. He had wanted the Tracts either stopped, or discontinued for a time. Chapter Three was devoted to 'Party Spirit - Tendency to Romanism'. It was, he wrote, not the aim to found a party in the Church. However, 'something like (a) party has grown up among the friends and advisors of the authors of the Tracts'. He lamented that the spirit of Newman, Pusey, and Keble, had not been transmitted to all their friends. Their disciples should follow their examples: '...to cultivate a greater spirit of charity, patience, forbearance, tolerance.'<sup>9</sup> Palmer maintained that an examination of the Tracts would show that there was throughout an avowel of opposition to Rome in general, and a strong sense of her

corruptions and errors. Indeed there was a wish to resist those errors.

Palmer wrote of the emergence of a 'New School' between 1841 and 1843. The authors of the Tracts were 'embarrassed by (these excesses) and deplore their occurrence'.<sup>10</sup> Quotations from Möhler in the British Critic with regard to 'development' were subversive of the authority of the Fathers put forward in the Tracts. 'It was never the intention of the advocates of Church principles to promote Romanism.'<sup>11</sup> 'The "British Critic" had for two years been under the influence of those who are uncertain in their allegiance to the Church of England, and who cannot be considered as friendly to her.'<sup>12</sup> He referred to four articles by Ward and commented on them.<sup>13</sup> 'From the manner in which the work of Romish theologians, the lives of Romish Saints, the decrees of Popes, the Council of Trent, etc. are continually quoted in the "British Critic" without any intimation that they represent a system different from that of the writers, one could really often suppose oneself to be perusing a Roman Catholic publication.'<sup>14</sup> Palmer was highly critical of the views of development of doctrine advocated by Anglicans. He saw it as having the same tendencies as Rationalism. It led to the conclusion that the religion of the present day was more perfect than that of the early Church. However, the writers in the British Critic did not directly maintain that Romanism actually was the development of Christianity. They hinted that it might be the case.

The actions of this group of writers suggested either that they were in doubt about remaining in the English Church, or they were not. If they were: '... then it is inexcusable, nay sinful, to promulgate doubts and difficulties, and assume such a tone in regard to Rome, as

has a manifest tendency to unsettle faith in the Church of England, when it is still uncertain at least whether she is not a true Church.'<sup>15</sup> If a man had any doubt about the Church of England, Palmer wrote, then he was bound in conscience to seek silently for a solution - to cease writing or speaking on subjects in which his opinions were unsure. Any who wished to secede but had not declared themselves, should not attempt to promulgate these views. He concluded that there was no way in which the 'tone' adopted by the British Critic since Newman ceased to be Editor was excusable. 'The doctrine and practice of Rome are not our model or our standard; and we are resolved, with God's aid "to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and to be in bondage to no man".'<sup>16</sup>

Palmer's work was received with strong approval by all except those against whom it was directed. A number of the High Church party sought to disassociate themselves from the Roman School and wished to start another review in opposition to the British Critic.

When the suggestion was made of a rival review, Rivington, the Publisher of the Critic at once offered to suspend publication. Ward now had no journal in which to express his views, and seeing Palmer's work as a challenge, he set about writing a pamphlet. In fact, the 'pamphlet' ran to 600 pages. 'I am preparing what I intended to be a pamphlet, but will I fear, go well into a volume, in reference to part of Palmer's pamphlet, in the course of which, I shall, I fear, have to express many considerable differences from your sentiments, and on very important subjects.'<sup>17</sup> This book was calculated 'to bring matters to an issue, and to show where each one stood, and was designed ... as a challenge to the English Church authorities to declare whether the position of the party within her pale was lawful or no'.<sup>18</sup>

Footnotes to Chapter IV

1. Mozley, Reminiscences, Volume Two, p. 225.
2. Ibid., p. 226. R.N. Church wrote in his History of the Movement: 'The whole course of (Ward's) writing in the "British Critic" may be said to have consisted in a prolonged and disparaging comparison of the English Church, in theory, in doctrine, in moral and educational temper ... with those of the Catholic Church, which to him was represented by the Medieval and later Roman Church, and in the general result, and in important matters, the comparison became more and more fatally disadvantageous to the English Church.' See Church, Oxford Movement pp. 308-309.
3. See Chapter Three, section entitled A Roman Catholic Critique of Ward's Review of 'A Synagogue and the Church'.
4. Mozley, Ibid., p. 226.
5. W. Palmer, A Narrative of Events ... (Oxford, 1843), Preface, p. V.
6. Ibid., Preface, p. VII.
7. Ibid., p. 18.
8. Ibid., p. 19.
9. Ibid., p. 36.
10. Ibid., p. 45.
11. Ibid., p. 46.
12. Ibid., p. 50.
13. Ibid., p. 47 ff. 'Arnold's Sermons'; 'Whately's Essays'; 'Goode's Divine Rule' and 'St. Athanasius'.
14. Ibid., p. 56, footnote 2.
15. Ibid., p. 67.
16. Ibid., p. 69.

17. Letter of Ward to Gladstone (from Balliol College), 22 November, 1843. In September Gladstone had sent Ward a copy of his article: 'Present Aspect of the Church'. Gladstone replied 23 November, 1843. Ward had expressed severe reservations about the English Reformation. On this point Gladstone wrote: 'I am most certain that you would not knowingly judge either<sup>of</sup> men or things in an inequitable mode or spirit; but<sup>of</sup> what you have done unconsciously I confess to a very different opinion.' Gladstone Papers Volume CCLXXV, pp. 328-329; pp.330-331. British Museum Additional Manuscripts MS. 44.360.
18. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 248.

CHAPTER V

'The Ideal of a Christian Church'<sup>1</sup>

SECTION I: PREFACE AND CHAPTER I

'Preliminary Remarks'

The Roman Catholic periodical The Tablet described The Ideal as the 'ne plus ultra of Puseyism.'<sup>2</sup> The Master of Balliol said that it was like its author, 'fat, awkward and ungainly.'<sup>3</sup> The Ideal appeared in June 1884 during the long vacation. In this work, Ward's 'magnum opus' as a member of the Church of England, he sought to 'lay down a sufficient basis, on which all who profess what are called "High-Church" sentiments might be able to co-operate, without compromise on any side.'<sup>4</sup> A 'sufficient basis' could hardly include the proposition that the whole cycle of Roman doctrine might be held by a member of the Church of England and this was Ward's contention. Written in a state of passionate and outspoken conviction, Ward produced an exceedingly tedious volume. The book developed and to some extent brought together ideas already put forward in the series of articles in the British Critic. Vernon Storr wrote that Newman In the Grammar of Assent and Ward in The Ideal 'sought to find some ground for religious belief which should appeal to the ordinary man, and in particular to establish a basis for faith which should be permanent, and independent of the changing fashions of apologetic.'<sup>5</sup> Neither book could be described as being of 'popular' interest.

Ward wrote in his Preface that the principles he had sought to establish were,

that careful and individual moral discipline is the only possible basis, on which Christian faith and practice can be reared - that our Church at present performs the duty with deplorable inadequacy, or rather makes no attempt to perform it; - that, in

consequence, our standard of holiness and also our average of Christian attainment, are miserably low; and our belief even in such a truth as our Blessed Lord's Divinity, very far less firmly rooted than we are apt to think - that to remedy these defects is an object of so much magnitude as to offer the fullest scope for all our energies - that to act heartily and unsuspectingly on our points of agreement is the sure mode of arriving at agreement on matters which are now points of difference.<sup>6</sup>

The ultimate aim of all true religion is personal sanctification and salvation, and the conditions for this are faith and obedience to God's will. For Ward these two were intimately connected. Spiritual vision depended upon obedience, and obedience presupposed the recognition of God's voice in the conscience. 'This doctrine assumes in the Ideal the character of a distinct philosophy.'<sup>7</sup> Attacking the Protestant principle of private judgement, he argued that intellectual inquiry on its own gave no sufficient assurance of any religious truth, not even of God's existence. This might lead to the conclusion that feelings alone were to be the guide. He asked if faith and emotion were so closely connected. If so, then belief was not rational at all. He refuted this view. The choice did not lie between intellect and feeling. Ward maintained a third ground, that of conscience. By pushing Newman's view of conscience as the guide to religious truth to the limit, he made conscience the only internal guide to religious truth. Newman did not agree. By doing this he rejected the emotionalism and subjectivism of the Evangelical Protestants, as well as the pure intellectualism of the Latitudinarians.

The pure intellect - rather, the mere intellect - working upon external evidence, dissolved, destroyed, led into trackless labyrinths. And yet he knew, he claimed, with a perception as immediate as that of himself, that goodness is real, that man has a conscience, that conscience is unintelligible unless it is referred to a purpose beyond itself, in God, that it knows its goal to be "sanctity", that the knowledge of this goal implies both the possibility of moral growth and the existence of a "given" standard wherein sanctity is judged and clarified and expounded.<sup>8</sup>

He asked if the human mind was capable of any knowledge of the realities of moral truth. He spoke of religious and moral truths as one and as identified with transcendental existence beyond the world of the phenomena. Was such truth within our reach? 'He maintains with the modern agnostic that the prima facie aspect of the question is that it is unattainable.'<sup>9</sup> Religious knowledge would be rejected, at first sight, by the rational critic, as having no sufficient basis in reason, and upholding impossible moral conceptions.

For Ward, the reality of moral truth asserted itself in the conscience, and conscience needed cultivation through self denial and austerity. 'Conscience may not tell much at first, but it is a faculty affording a glimpse of something objective, infinitely higher in kind than the sensible things around us, and an earnest man will set about seeing if he can cultivate the faculty and develop this glimpse into something clearer and fuller.'<sup>10</sup> An attitude of Faith was called for. This involved 'the regarding of any religious system with which one is brought into contact in the spirit of the learner, anticipating that it will have much to teach, and that what is true in it will take possession of the purified soul, while what is false will fall away from its own inherent rottenness, in proportion as the spiritual vision becomes clearer.'<sup>11</sup> Spiritual vision, this increase in the power of conscience to discern, would be gained by obedience to God's will. Lutheranism fell into a trap. Subjective assurance of justification resulted from no objective law, but began and ended in itself. This doctrine denied in Ward's view the first principle of morality - that the struggle to do right and obedience to conscience were the springs of all true moral and religious life. He stressed the personal

character of each man's apprehension of religious doctrine. Here the work of the ideal church was so important. 'If religious belief depends in the last resort upon moral discipline, and if that discipline is in turn dependent on the realisation of religious dogmas as a motive for action, we at once see the general view maintained by Mr. Ward as to the double office of the Church, as teaching orthodoxy to her children, and as supplying means for the highest ethical training. The whole work hinges on these fundamental conceptions.'<sup>12</sup> Ward saw in the Roman Catholic Church with its standard of sanctity and claims of Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity and Apostolicity, the fullest realisation of his ideal church. Indeed, his concept of the ideal church relied heavily upon the Roman Catholic Church as he had encountered it.

His first chapter contained the statement written in answer to Palmer's criticism: 'I never either wrote in the Tracts, or professed to follow their teaching in every particular.'<sup>13</sup> He then went on to name the Articles that he himself had contributed to the British Critic.<sup>14</sup> He would be unable to retract anything 'of a doctrinal nature' which he had written in the Articles. Though he might clarify one or two small items, he could find no instances in which he had overstated his convictions, but a 'considerable number' in which he had understated them. He sought to make two points in his defence of the Articles:

- a) that those opinions quoted by Palmer and others that had caused shock were not written without due deliberation, and were an expression of his deep-felt conviction.
- b) that they were not inconsistent with genuine allegiance to the Church of England 'in the truest sense of the words'.<sup>15</sup>

Ward sought to draw out his theory 'For such a theory, although it most certainly was implied in the various articles I have written, still, I must readily acknowledge, could not have been deduced from them without a far closer attention than I had any right to expect; even if it should have occurred to readers (which is not very likely) to distinguish the contributions of one writer from those of another.'<sup>16</sup> He went on to disclaim any sense of moral superiority on his own part.

## SECTION II: CHAPTER II

### "Of What Kind will be the Ideal of a Church in Circumstances like Ours?"

Ward began the Chapter by quoting from a British Critic article of 1838, which discussed Palmer's 'Treatise on the Church'. If the Church was to be available to all, then

its notes and tokens must be very simple, obvious and intelligible. They must not depend on education, or be brought out by abstrusive reasonings, but must at once affect the imagination and interest the feelings. They must bear with them a sort of internal evidence which supercedes further discussion, and makes them truly self evident.<sup>17</sup>

There was a threefold cord of attachment to the Church, conscience, scripture and sanctity. The voice of this ideal church, nowhere realised to the full, was as the voice of God. Hatred of sin was the great truth that the Church, following such a model, must proclaim. A clergyman should warn his flock against the dangers of sin. Mere attendance at Church was not enough. A conversion of life was called for, and the pulpit was the place for the Priest to try to bring this about. The training of saints was one of the main functions of an ideal church. He hinted at the religious life here, something he had

met in the Roman Church through De Lisle. 'From what has been said, it results that a Church such as we are now contemplating, will possess a profound and accurate system of moral, of ascetic, of mystical theology.'<sup>18</sup> A Christian's duty was to have knowledge of the great Christian doctrines and to be obedient to the Church's teaching. Pure doctrine required a purified heart for its reception and that in turn for progress in holiness required pure doctrine. Without full Catholic doctrine a Church became languid and wavering. The ideal church gave her children the one true faith.

Again: how far, from the vital and fundamental importance of the great office of the Church where of I have just been speaking, taken in connection with the absolute impossibility of its fit performance by any human wisdom, a probability accrues of the opinion being well founded, which has so generally prevailed in the Church, that a special and divine help is continually important to be a supreme authority (whatever that authority might be),<sup>19</sup> enabling it to decide on doctrines with unfailing accuracy.

Every Priest should have an accurate knowledge of the Church's formal statements of doctrine. He wrote that in the English Church ministers disagreed, and the people subsequently attached little importance to what was said. In describing the manner in which we learned what was orthodox, he quoted Newman as saying that Baptism might convey grace through which the mind was prepared for receiving impressions. Ward would have stated it unconditionally. Newman added that the regular reading of Scripture, conversation with those who already held the beliefs, and devotions, all helped the subject to learn orthodox faith. Ward suggested that keeping Christ before us as an object of contemplation would lead to private meditation on His life in all situations. A sense of the sublime and the beautiful was an important means of impressing superhuman realities. He quoted from

both 'The Synagogue and the Church' and Mill's 'Logic' on this. The Church that was prepared for a high calling would have special architecture, music, painting and poetry.

Ward went on to discuss the reality of the ideal church to the poor. He quoted from Seeley on the terrible plight of the poor. The Church should assess the rights of the poor. The Church should assess the rights of the poor in her own country. 'A pure Church could not have co-existed with such tremendous evils.'<sup>20</sup> For those worn down by care and work, religious ceremonial was essential for communicating religious truths. He then turned to the rich and their relations with the ideal church. He referred to scripture because of its denunciation of the rich. He quoted from Mill:

There has swept over the refined classes, over the whole class of gentlemen in England, a moral effeminacy, an inaptitude for every kind of trouble.<sup>21</sup>

The Church should supply the system to combat this. Sermons and addresses should be used for setting out the claims of the poor, and making their plight known. The ideal church ought to educate the upper classes, by giving them a keen sense of the dangers in reading unspiritual literature and philosophy. Every age had its own intellectual development, and theology was deeply concerned with this. New ideas in philosophy and history should offer 'their treasures at the feet of Revelation.'<sup>22</sup> Protestants had pursued biblical criticism with great success; however, because of their Creed, they had pressed it into the <sup>service</sup> of 'rationalism and heresy.'<sup>23</sup> Historical sense was of great value to the Christian '... to witness, as if present at successive periods, the gradual and orderly development of Christian doctrine'.<sup>24</sup> The office of the existing Church was '... but to draw out into consciousness and into form, the principles which, in their

unconscious and unframed condition, have ever animated the Christian community.'<sup>25</sup> This had to be expressed in the terms introduced by modern science. There was a need, 'of digging, as it were, about the foundations of the fabric of the Catholic Truth, that the indestructible composition of their materials, and exquisite suitability of their construction, may be made as clear to the eyes of man, as have long been, to all fitted to discern them, the supernatural harmony, proportion, and majesty of the fabric itself.'<sup>26</sup>

Ward outlined two principles of great importance:

- a) the absolute supremacy of conscience in moral and religious matters. He quoted Newman, 'a truth ... is implied all through scripture as a basis on which its doctrine rests, that there is no necessary connexion between the intellectual and moral principles of our nature.'<sup>27</sup>
- b) the sacredness of hereditary religion.

The English Reformation transgressed these principles. When this was realised, 'one part of the reason will be seen, for the deep and burning hatred with which some members of our Church (including myself) regard that miserable event.'<sup>28</sup> He summarised his view of the Reformation in the following damning terms: 'I know no single movement of the Church, except Arianism in the fourth century, which seems to me so wholly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard, as the English Reformation.'<sup>29</sup>

He went on to discuss the political duties of the ideal church. 'But though an ideal Church will never aim at any political position whatever, but occupy herself wholly in performing the various duties of

her office, it must be expected ... that her ordinary condition will be one of opposition to those high in worldly station.'<sup>30</sup>

### SECTION III: CHAPTER III

#### "Is it Undutiful for the English Church to Aim at such an Ideal?"

Ward asked whether the British Critic had been disloyal to the Church of England in recent times. He regarded the periodical as having succeeded in informing its readers that some were not happy with the Anglican system as it was. Froude was the only voice in recent times to say what Ward himself felt. Ward did not agree with Palmer's views that his articles tended to shake the ideas of ordinary Christians. The 'Church and Synagogue' article had in particular been criticised. He was at pains to show that in this article 'we are defending a class of doctrines, which have the distinct sanction both of our Church's formularies and of our "standard divines."<sup>31</sup> He described the Anglican system as 'corrupt to its very core.'<sup>32</sup> The Thirty-Nine Articles had a uniform spirit, as was generally true of the Book of Common Prayer. 'But then these respective spirits are not different merely, but absolutely contradictory.'<sup>33</sup> He then discussed his own place in the Church of England. 'But I must truly say, that the very idea of leaving our Church has never been before my own mind as an immediately practical question; that my present feeling is (without for one moment judging others) that I should commit a mortal sin by doing so; it has been my uniform endeavour to direct my imagination from dwelling on such a contingency, even as a future possibility.'<sup>34</sup> He continued, 'nor yet do I seek to encourage discontent with our Church herself, but only with the miserable system,

to which for three hundred years, she has been so completely committed.<sup>35</sup>

Ward's one great aim was to study the nature and extent of the corruptions of the English Church. In order to do this it was necessary to examine the Church abroad. The source of the Anglican Church's corruptions was her 'total lack of all system of moral discipline.'<sup>36</sup> He bemoaned the profound distance between man and man: 'no one seems to know how much meaning may be concealed under the simplest sentence, or what ulterior projects may be meditated in the most profound silence.'<sup>37</sup> Even the professed principles of most high Churchmen were in some important respects erroneous or deficient in Ward's view. 'It has been considered by some, that subscription to our XIXth Article requires the formation and expression of an opinion, that the formal doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is erroneous in some particulars: but very little consideration will show, that no one is at all committed by this Article to so painfully presumptuous a sentiment.'<sup>38</sup> 'Let our zeal, accordingly, whether for the more Anglican or more Roman phase of doctrine, lead us not to barren and wasteful invectives; but to a fair trial of the experiment, which will give us the most effectual help in evangelizing our large towns, in promoting holiness of life, in retaining essential orthodoxy of faith.'<sup>39</sup> Ward was a member of the Anglican Church, and he was so 'because through it we were born again, and because through its ordinances we obtain Communion with Christ ... Our Church is a channel of sacramental grace.'<sup>40</sup>

SECTION IV: CHAPTER IV

'Does Our Existing System Resemble that of  
the Early Centuries?'

Ward began with the question whether the existing system resembled that of the Early Church. He quoted at some considerable length from Froude's Remains <sup>41</sup> on the customs of antiquity. Ward asked whether there was anything remotely similar in his own time. 'In the matter of Church Government, then, it is impossible to discover the faintest resemblance between the existing and the ancient system.'<sup>42</sup> On the subject of the sacraments he had consulted a 'friend' in Holy Orders on their ancient observance. Ward's conclusion had to be that 'such ordinances as these imply a habitual feeling, on the subject of the Sacraments and other similar practices, which bear a most striking resemblance to that prevalent among Roman Catholics of the present day.'<sup>43</sup> The differences between the Early Church and the Church of England's position on authoritative formulae and disciplines were very deep and fundamental. Ward allowed himself a little humour when discussing unity, 'visible unity would seem then to be both the main evidence of our religion, and the sign of our spiritual adoption; whereas we English despise the Greeks and hate the Romans, and turn our backs on the Scotch and do but smile distantly upon the Americans.'<sup>44</sup> He concluded the Chapter with a list of areas and doctrines where the Church of England and the Church of the first four centuries differed greatly.<sup>45</sup>

SECTION V: CHAPTER V

'The Lutheran Doctrine of Justification'

This Chapter, together with Chapter IX on Conscience, is the heart of Ward's book and covers one hundred and thirty eight pages.<sup>46</sup> He suggested that his language in the British Critic on the subject had been severe. Indeed the Bishop of Ossory spoke of 'rabid violence of language.'<sup>47</sup> He re-affirmed his hostility to Lutheran Doctrine, when he wrote of Luther's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, 'never was my conscience so shocked and revolted by any work not openly professing immorality.'<sup>48</sup> In the same footnote he described Luther's 'invention of these blasphemies.'<sup>49</sup> Ward took as his doctrine of justification that decreed at Trent. On religious belief he wrote:

I am myself indeed deeply convinced, that the highest and most precious truths which can possess the mind may be received by the religious Christians on the strongest and most certain grounds of proof, with no support whatever from induction, or ratiocination or any other form of external argument. But we have a right to require that nothing shall be proposed for our acceptance on such grounds as these, unless at the same time practical rules are given, to discern truth from falsehood, to place the dictates of conscience in strong and unmistakable contrast over against the capricious suggestions of impulse or imagination.<sup>50</sup>

Ward admitted that there was a distinct principle called faith, which might be recognised by its own evidence, and which warranted assurance of salvation. 'It remains for them (the Evangelicals), to defend the other part of their statement; that this principle leads, without special pains or efforts on their part to as much holiness as the Gospel requires.'<sup>51</sup> Feelings and affections had to be subordinate to the conscience. This 'virtue of watchfulness' had to be cultivated, and had no place in the Lutheran framework. 'To watch at all seasons against the danger of falling away, is a virtue which can be practised by none, except by those who from their heart repudiate the heresy of

personal assurance.<sup>52</sup> He did, however, go on to speak highly of certain Evangelicals - Cecil, Scott and Martyn by name-and then went on to write of the worst. The relations between Church and State in the Anglican Church had, he felt, fostered reverence for rank and social position however, which was a sin. Every parish in the land was afflicted with the relationship between parson and squire.

Ward discussed the idea of godly fear - that surely no man could ever experience Christian love who had not experienced godly fear. Fear of Hell was an important element in keeping the recently converted sinner on the right path and away from his old sins: 'In one sense, indeed, fear becomes continually more intense and absorbing; that there is no surer mark of growth in grace than that the thought of Judgement to come is more constantly and remittingly present to the mind.'<sup>53</sup> Conscience was feeble and needed to be supported by some strong external motive. Ward suggested that Evangelicals might often remain under the bondage of mortal sin without suspecting it:

It is plain then that they will be most free from pride, who have acquired the greatest power in commanding their thoughts, and governing their emotions; in other words those who are the greatest proficient in habitual self-denial. And the small extent to which this self-command reaches among the great body of "Evangelicals", is one concurrent cause of the fact that spiritual pride exists among them, perhaps in a more offensive and hateful form than in any other body of religionists whatever.<sup>54</sup>

He also singled out the absence of duty to repentance as a cause of pride in the Evangelical system. Their system 'tends to pharasaical and complacent self-exultation.'<sup>55</sup>

For his next theme Ward discussed the subject of the Natural Law.

His central point was that:

Men speak as though in some sense at least and in some degree, the Gospels were a reversal of the Natural Law, instead of

being solely and exclusively its complement. And I would beg of my readers to pay particular attention to this statement: because it is the very central point of that view of our present circumstances, which it is the object of this work to submit with deep deference to my brethren. And it is because this truth seems to me so all-important at the present time, and the Lutheran doctrine of Justification is that particular heresy which plainly and in terms denies it, that I have felt bound from time to time in the British Critic to protest so emphatically, and in language of such unbounded and indignant reprobation, against that doctrine.<sup>56</sup>

The truths of Natural Religion were essential, and should be impressed on the mind, even after the work of Christ. They were not removed by the Gospel from their place, but the Gospel elevated and sanctified them in their place. Among the articles of Natural Religion Ward listed, worship, repentance, faith, obedience and penance. He quoted from the article on Mill that every Saint's life was responsible for 'evidencing a complete and singular fulfilment of the Natural Law.'<sup>57</sup> It is in proportion to our moral culture, that we are enabled to apprehend religious truth: 'moral culture being the only path to Christian knowledge, he who best loves the latter will practise the former.'<sup>58</sup> He praised the Roman Catholic Church, for her witness to the pure Gospel in the humble and mortified lives of the Saints. The Anglican Church was criticised, and an attack made upon her practices.<sup>59</sup> Works by the following writers were said to contain dangerous views: Carlyle, Kant, Michelet, Milman and Strauss. 'I believe that the unspeculative, commonsense, Procrustean spirit, which has hitherto governed English thought, is most certainly destined to fall, and is even now fast falling: it may be succeeded by something far better, or by something far worse; but it will certainly be succeeded by something very different from itself.'<sup>60</sup> In his view, Newman - 'the great seer of our time' - had seen the danger and given the remedy. For Ward, any able student seeking the truth by taking a

position external to all existing ones, would put Evangelicalism and Anglicanism aside. However, in Catholicism he would see a 'wonderful harmony of parts, depth of view, and consistency of progress; he would fairly recognise it as the majestic and wonderful development of a real idea.'<sup>61</sup>

On the relationship between conscience and intellect he referred back to his article on 'Mill's Logic.' He wrote in The Ideal that a denial of the supremacy of conscience, was a denial of its evidence. For if conscience really existed, and spoke with an 'articulate voice', then in all moral and religious subjects it had to be absolutely paramount. The intellect had to confine itself to a 'humbler' office, that of clarifying and correcting phenomena. 'If conscience be not on all moral and religious subjects paramount, then it does not really exist; if it does not exist, we have no reason whatever, nay, no power, to believe in God.'<sup>63</sup> Mention was made of Mill and his citation of Comte's Cours de Philosophie Positive.<sup>64</sup> Ward wrote that he had read much of Comte's book and that his atheism was based on the argument that there was no conscience. He stated that moral and religious truth had to be acquired by moral and religious discipline. At first the parents guided the conscience of the child, then the schoolmaster, trusted friend and the religious community. There is a need for an external Church. The intellect developed its power fully when in submission to the conscience. There were only two subjects where the pure intellect was able to exhibit its full potential - in pure mathematics, and in dogmatic theology.

The word of their parents, from the very first, supplies to them the place of the external voice of God, correlative and responsive to His voice within them. In proportion to their confiding trust and ready, eager, obedience, does that inward

faculty give a deeper and fuller meaning to the lessons of truth which they so acquire; while that which is false are in statement or even in principle, as meeting with no kindred atmosphere, like the notes of a musical instrument in a place exhausted of air, convey no definite meaning to the conscience.<sup>64</sup>

After a digression on the lack of external notes of a Church present in the English Church, and the expression of the desire for unity, Ward returned to Lutheranism. 'I am very anxious to urge the certain truth, that Lutheranism is not chiefly a heresy against revealed, but against natural, religion.'<sup>65</sup> This was because the doctrine of justification removed the need for moral effort under conscience. He concluded: 'I have ventured to characterise the hateful and fearful type of Antichrist in terms not wholly inadequate to its prodigious demerits.'<sup>66</sup>

#### SECTION VI: CHAPTER VI

##### 'On our Existing Practical Corruption'

Ward began by writing of the education of the poor: 'Other duties are very holy and important, but none so holy and important as this.'<sup>67</sup> A Church's treatment of the poor was a fair test as to its own 'purity or corruption.'<sup>68</sup> He then went on to suggest that Christians should not be removed from the immediate guidance of the Church and launched into the world, until there was reason to think that they would be able to cope with the temptations that would surround them. He advised daily self-examination, regular prayer and a duty to be honest, faithful and courteous. The English Church had 'most shamefully neglected this duty'<sup>69</sup> of education. He compared a Roman Catholic school in Lancashire with the Anglican equivalent. The children were taught the basic truths of religion before they knew their alphabet. Discussing Sacramental Confession he wrote: 'Let us only in some poor

measure learn to realise the immediate corruption of our own system, and the excellent lessons we may learn from the Roman Catholic Church, towards supplying our deficiencies on such points as these.'<sup>70</sup> Those who regard education of conscience as their primary duty, had not learnt this from the Church of England. Ward felt that Her system tended in the 'opposite direction.'<sup>71</sup> In order for the needs and problems of the poor to be understood, there had to be a recognised body of moral and ascetic theology. For Roman Catholic priests this formed a prominent part of their training. The 'labouring poor' in England were in a terrible moral state. Quoting Froude he wrote: 'The religion of Jesus Christ is in an especial manner the religion of the poor; and it was to these that the Gospel was first preached; it was these that heard it gladly.'<sup>72</sup>

Ward was also critical of the Church's care of the 'educated classes.' He felt that there was precious little. Reference was made to a number of spiritual books on the subject of the examination of conscience. The works of Challoner and Alphonsus Liguori were both mentioned. He was strongly critical of Public School religion (Ward was himself a Wykehamist)

The chief object of a school is not to prepare man for active life in this world, but for active life in the next; and the most bigoted of conservatives cannot gravely maintain, that, to this object any happy accident has adapted our school system; no one can say, that the habits of boys at our public schools are eminently fitted to discipline them for an Eternity of praise and divine contemplation.<sup>73</sup>

There was a flow of grammars and books on the classics, but nothing for the boys on prayer.<sup>74</sup> He felt that there should be a large number of masters, and that Confession would have a positive effect. The Church of England had failed to show how important the poor were, but

promulgated (not deliberately) the view that they were of a 'different' nature to the rich. Further examples were quoted of the Roman model in comparison with the English situation.

Ward stated his aim as being 'to show the miserable failure of that system, which has oppressed our Church and nation a long three hundred years, in performing one or two fundamental and essential duties incumbent on every Church; and that duty too, which is the necessary basis and condition for the other: I mean, the duty of moral and religious discipline.'<sup>75</sup> The National Church had a duty to protest against a 'national sin',<sup>76</sup> as, for example, the principles upon which the Indian Empire was acquired. This 'duty' had neither found its way into the mind of the Church or the State. 'While all the frightful and accumulated mass of misery which now oppresses our land, was gradually during the last sixty years growing to a head, where was the voice of the National Church heard in drawing attention to its growth?'<sup>77</sup>

The other essential duty was that of preserving orthodox doctrine. How true had the English Church been to the essential doctrine of Christ's divine nature? Whately and Milman were both mentioned as holding unorthodox views. Ward asked how an American Unitarian could be presented with an honorary Doctorate in Civil Law by the University of Oxford: 'this is a circumstance, which itself might lead one seriously to ask, how soon open apostacy from the faith is likely to take the place, among us, of the huge mass of secret and unconscious belief.'<sup>78</sup> The English Church because of her threefold nature - 'High Church', Latitudinarian, Evangelical - did not teach uniform doctrine. It was the lives of the saints that made one think about the world and its values:

The very presence of a class of Christians, who show in their whole lives and demeanour that they are dead to secular cares and pleasures, and that their hearts and affections are absorbed in heavenly realities; men who live a mortified life, a life above the world; who choose poverty and vow celibacy, and refuse wealth and distinction even when offered; this it is, which is an evidence of the unseen world that can gainsay or resist, and which exercises an influence over the most carefree and the most obdurate, against their will, almost without their knowledge.<sup>79</sup>

Self-discipline and obedience were the 'only keys which will unlock the treasure of religious truth.'<sup>80</sup> In the final section, erroneously described as Number Six, Ward discussed the prevalence of Rationalism in the English Church. 'What is His judgement of our Church's practical system? A system, under which she tolerates almost every variety of condemned and landed heresy; and under which her authorities seem really offended and disgusted at one only class of opinions, those which speak of her present condition as corrupt and almost apostate. The closest approximation to the denial of Our Lord is permitted, as I have shewn, without a protest, much more without condemnation; but an imputation on herself she cannot forgive.'<sup>81</sup>

#### SECTION VII : CHAPTER VII

##### 'Additional Suggestions in the Way of Remedy'

Ward referred again to the review in the Foreign and Colonial Quarterly for October 1843. The reviewer reprimanded him for being highly critical in his British Critic articles of the existing system in the Church of England, without supplying any remedies. In this chapter, Ward put forward some 'Additional Suggestions in the way of Remedy.' It was the duty of a pure Church always to protect her "children" from heresy and immorality.

He laid down his guidelines for the pastoral ministry of a priest in a country parish. If the priest should hold generally to the ideas put forward by Ward then,

He will endeavour to lay his foundation within the heart of his flock; he will not consider any attendance of theirs on Divine Service, even the most regular, even (if so be) daily as well as on Sunday, to be any real security for so much as the beginning of a truly Christian life. It is the feeling of accountableness throughout the day, the habitual thought of judgement to come, the grateful regulation of thoughts, words and actions, which he will impress on his flock as the one thing needful. Their presence in Church may be useful as giving him the power to address them, but he will use that power for the very purpose of impressing on their mind, that true religion must have its spring from within.<sup>82</sup>

With the more 'promising' of the parish, he should have given private and confidential conversations, and instruct them in this way. Their minds at certain times could be fixed on God, evil conversation should be avoided. The habit of daily self-examination 'that habit which alone can succeed, and which by itself is almost certain to succeed, in impressing on the conscience and imagination of Christians an increasing sense of their accountableness and respectability.'<sup>83</sup>

Discussing the approach to the young, he wrote that their Priest should make it known that he was, 'infinitely more anxious that they should pray well, than that they should spell well.'<sup>84</sup> Ward made practical suggestions about the Daily Service. It should be at such a time to suit those at work. A short lecture might open the proceedings. He showed particular sensitivity in these recommendations. The Book of Common Prayer could be difficult to follow. Perhaps short sentences might be given to the poor, which could be used when their attention wandered. 'Now I believe, both from probability, and from my knowledge of individual cases, that there is no effect which the earnestness now reviving within our Church will more certainly be found to produce,

than the craving for spiritual direction and for habits of confidential communication with a religious guide.'<sup>85</sup> Sacramental Confession was put forward as a 'holy practice.' He discussed meditation and its value for those leading a full and busy life in the world of commerce. 'It may be confidentially hoped, that by a continued course of such devotional exercises, those three elements of the Catholic character which I mentioned in the last chapter, - strict conscientiousness of daily work, - strict orthodoxy on the principal Gospel Truths, - and full consciousness of the Communion of Saints - may be realised with daily increasing depth and comprehensiveness.'<sup>86</sup>

Ward now turned his attention to the discussion of six points. Firstly, those who were to be ordained should have available to them manuals of instruction on the primary elements of moral, ascetic and dogmatic theology. Then, concentrating on moral theology, he felt that 'a full and systematic moral theology must be still more exclusively our own work. A study of the treatises on the subject in repute abroad, would no doubt be of the utmost value ... It is very important, moreover, that much more ground should be covered, than is, I believe, covered by Roman works on moral theology.'<sup>87</sup> Thirdly, there was a need for a Christian thinker to study political economy. 'It is merely idle to suppose, that we can really and permanently benefit the poor in their temporal relations, unless we bring all the lights of science and of system to bear on the subject.'<sup>88</sup> Then there was a need to 'Christianize' the study of the classics. The effect of classical studies had been largely anti-Catholic and anti-Christian. Fifthly, there was the new importance of historical studies. It was anti-Catholic writers who had been at the forefront of bringing to light the

tremendous influence of the Church on European civilization. Ward felt it would be a help if Catholic and Christian men gave the other side of the argument, and so 'unheathenizing our literature, and thus unprotestantising our Church.'<sup>89</sup> Finally, he drew attention to the need for deeper and more enlightened principles of exegesis.

These considerations led Ward to a reflection. Firstly he wrote, 'In looking for guidance in that quarter, where my own eyes are always first directed when in search of spiritual wisdom, I mean the Church of Rome, we cannot but painfully feel, that on such subjects that have been just discussed, we find there at present no sufficient model to follow.'<sup>90</sup> Then he wrote in a footnote, 'I mean to which, as an organised society, my eyes are so directed; many, I suppose, will understand and echo my feeling when I say, that the first quarter, to which I always look for spiritual wisdom, is nearer home.'<sup>91</sup> Ward then went on to enumerate areas of 'intellectual' and 'political' duties in which the Roman Church had been defective. However, in the fundamental areas of orthodox faith and maintenance of moral and religious discipline, the Roman Church had not stood higher since the Reformation than it did at that time. He concluded with a refutation, that he, or any of like mind, were trying to 'Romanize' the Church of England, but that to follow the principles he had annunciated would lead to Rome.

If it be granted, that the aiming at such objects as I have ventured to put forward as desirable, implies of itself no set purpose of 'Romanizing' our Church, I must beg leave to doubt whether any single one of her members entertains any such purpose. For as to secret negotiations and undertakings with members of that Church, these and similar rumours, to the best of my own knowledge, are without the very slightest foundation in fact. (Ward's own behaviour with regard to meeting with Phillips de Lisle and the 'Univers' article seem to put the lie to this statement.) And surely, if high-churchmen are slow to co-operate in the preservation of the objects, which on their own principles are desirable, from a fear of the direction in which such a course might tend - they are taking the most effectual way

to confirm us in what they consider our most serious error; our belief, namely, that high-church principles, honestly carried out on their positive side, must lead to Rome. If 'high-church' principles be really substantive and distinct, what possible danger can there be in heartily and ungrudgingly carrying them forward to their results? And if they are not substantive, who could grieve that this fact should be established by means of a fair trial? For my own part, I think it would not be right to conceal, indeed I am openly anxious to express, my own most firm and undoubting conviction, - that were we, as a Church, to pursue such a line of conduct as has here been sketched, in proportion as we did so, we should be taught from above to discern and appreciate the plain marks of divine wisdom and authority in the Roman Church, to repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart our great sin in deserting her Communion, and to sue humbly at her feet for pardon and protection.<sup>92</sup>

One need hardly add that this statement caused great consternation and was one of the seven passages singled out for special consideration by the University authorities.<sup>93</sup>

#### SECTION VIII: CHAPTER VIII

##### 'A Few Words on our Authoritative Formularies'

This, the shortest of the nine chapters, concerns the Authoritative Formularies of the Church of England. Ward wrote of the complaints made against those who maintained Roman doctrine in the English Church, that they evaded the spirit of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and ought not to subscribe to them. He accepted that many admitted to evading the spirit, but accepted the statements. The original sanctioners intended those who held Roman doctrine to subscribe, but that through the disingenuousness of the Reforming party, the general spirit of them was Protestant. Tract Ninety, Oakeley, and Ward himself, had all agreed this three years previously. Ward, in his second pamphlet on Tract Ninety, had repudiated the view that subscribers professed to be justified through the witness of

conscience. He had said that it was a matter for external argument alone and he considered it accordingly.

He referred to Article Twelve and wrote: ... 'Of course I think its natural meaning may be explained away, for I subscribe it myself in a non-natural sense.'<sup>94</sup> This statement was noted by the Vice-Chancellor. A comparison of Articles six, twenty, and twenty-one would show them to be irreconcilable in spirit, with the idea of an authorized interpreter of Scripture in times past, be it Council or consent of the Fathers. Yet a Canon was issued at the same time ordering authority to be given to the Fathers and the Homilies showed this. Ward concluded the chapter:

In a word, I am further convinced that no one clergyman of our church, who will look honestly in the face the formularies which he is called on to subscribe, will be able to subscribe them all in a natural and straightforward sense. I attribute this fact to the utter want of fixed religious principles displayed by the leading Reformers; and I attribute to it much of the disingenuous and unmanly spirit, which has so often been the shame of religious controversy in our Reformed Church.<sup>95</sup>

#### SECTION IX: CHAPTER IX

##### 'The Supremacy of Conscience in the Pursuit of Moral and Religious Truth'

This is perhaps the most important section of The Ideal. Ward stated the principle of free enquiry, quoting Archbishop Whately on the subject. We might summarize this as: our belief in matters of religion should, as nearly as possible, be proportionate to the evidence. He considered the value of this approach and set out to refute it. To accept such a theory would mean that all moral and religious action ceased. 'Probable Conviction' was Ward's name for it. 'Let us try to conceive a person meditating on the events in Our Blessed Lord's life, while he endeavours, as a duty, to preserve in his mind an abiding

impression, that the probability of His Divine Nature is three to two.'<sup>96</sup> There was a danger, Ward suggested, of appearing irreverent oneself in expounding the irreverent theory of others. For him, persons were totally unable to form an unbiased judgement on questions in which their feelings were deeply rooted. If the principle of private judgement was true, 'not the good but the clever, not the spiritual but the intellectual, not the heavenly-minded but the well-educated, would be the real originators of moral and religious truth.'<sup>97</sup> 'It is very plain then that the principle of private judgement, - of proportioning belief as far as possible to evidence, - cannot be accepted as a full account of the process which leads to moral and religious truth. That it has a place, and that an important one, I am far from denying; but it has not the chief place.'<sup>98</sup>

He referred back to the British Critic articles where he had spoken of acting throughout the day with a sense of responsibility, of doing what we thought right because we thought so. The cumulative effect of this was to purify and illuminate the conscience.<sup>99</sup> Conscience might be wrong, but in so far as he saw the conscientious person must act, and in so far as he acted conscientiously he came to discern how truthful or untruthful were the propositions offered. He wrote in The Ideal that 'knowledge of phenomena is obtained by the intellect, knowledge of realities by the conscience; knowledge of phenomena by inquiry, knowledge of realities by obedience; knowledge of phenomena is obtained by us as masters and judges, knowledge of realities is obtained by us as disciples and slaves; the one pursuit tends to pride, the other indispensably requires and infallibly increases humility.'<sup>100</sup> 'Real truth' was acquired by individual acts

of duty and sense of responsibility, not by an enlarged view of phenomena.

From all this it will follow as a primary axiom, that a system of whose real nature, as having practically obeyed it, he can know something considerable, must not be left for another, of which he can really know nothing, without some singularly plain and indubitable reason; in a word, that should his parents have brought him into connection with some body professing to teach with authority, so long as he is able to repose unchanged confidence in that body, it is that very oracle for the conveyance to him of eternal truths, before which duty requires him to bow ... and those marks, in any society, would especially attract his view, which appear to be most kindred in their natures and origin to Eternal Truth itself.<sup>101</sup>

He went on to discuss the role and nature of conscience and faith in an extremely important section, where conscience and faith were described as being one and the same faculty.

Conscience, viewed in the abstract, has no power of discovering more than the immutable principles of morality. But in proportion as it is pure and well-disciplined, it discriminates and appropriates moral and religious truth of whatever kind, and disposes the mind to listen to this external message rather than to that: while each new truth thus brought before it from without, in proportion as it is deeply received and made the subject of religious action and contemplation elicits a deep and hitherto unknown harmony from within, which is the full warrant and sufficient evidence of that truth. Viewed then in the concrete, as found in the devout believer, we may regard conscience and faith to be one and the same faculty: considered as submissively bending before external authority and ever deriving more of doctrinal truth, we call it faith: considered as carefully obeying the precepts of which it has knowledge, and as laboriously realizing and assimilating the truth of which it has possession, we call it conscience.<sup>102</sup>

Ward quoted a long passage from Newman's 'Plain Sermons'<sup>103</sup> to show in what way these theories might develop. He then put forward eighteen 'Canons' that followed from what had proceeded. It is necessary to quote a few extracts.

1. Holy men are the great fountains, from which moral and religious truth flows to the world.<sup>104</sup> If a revelation was given then they were the authorized interpreters.

2. In order to apply the principles, intellectual gifts of the highest type were necessary.
3. Their moral judgement were themselves authoritative, in proportion as the whole circumstances bearing on the case were fairly presented to them. Hence it is the highest, and it may be truly said infallible, on subjects simply divine, contemplative, devotional; the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Eucharistic Presence, Grace, the immutable obligation of the Moral Law, the glory of celibacy, and many others.<sup>105</sup> (Ward's espousal of celibacy is interesting, particularly in view of his own imminent marriage.)
8. 'From the circumstances that some doctrine wholly foreign to our own moral experience, appears to us to have literally no foundation whatever in reason or in scripture, not even the faintest probability arises that it may not be true.'<sup>106</sup> Chadwick wrote: 'with this formidable thesis Ward inevitably, threw historical investigation overboard.'<sup>107</sup>
10. 'Religious truths are their own evidence.'<sup>108</sup>
13. On the use of the intellect, 'The Catholic exercises his intellect philosophically; he endeavours to convey, as best he may through so inadequate a medium, certain wonderful ideas which fully possess him, on which he is energetically acting at the very time when he is scientifically analyzing them. The heretic, on the contrary, exercises his intellect unphilosophically; in trying to expose what appear to him unmeaning subtleties and distractions, in a matter on which he has no spiritual experience.'<sup>109</sup>
16. In no conceivable case then can it be otherwise than most unreasonable, and most injurious to the progress of truth, that we should give up, from intellectual difficulties, any constituent part of our spiritual belief.<sup>110</sup>
17. The grounds of Christian belief: 'From all that has been said, it at once follows, that religious persons will invariably present to the world the appearance, of acting and of believing on absurdly insufficient grounds. To prevent this appearance is ever a characteristic note of the Church.'<sup>111</sup>
18. 'The object of moral and religious truth is religious action, and not curious speculation; no temper of mind will have God's blessing with it in its search after such truth, or has any chance of prospering in the search, except that which displays itself in the prayer: "Lord I am sinful, blind, ignorant; what is that outward messenger of Thy Truth before which Thou wouldst have me bow?" This is the sentiment, which it has been my very principal object all through to enforce.'<sup>112</sup> He bemoaned the Englishman's use of his own 'personal judgement.' The 'Reformation has brought us, I willingly acknowledge, into a state, in many respects analogous to that of the heathen; in

which we may know enough for our immediate guidance, but have no vantage ground, as it were, no lofty eminence, from whence to pass judgement on that great expanse of fluctuating opinions, which is beyond the reach of our own spiritual ken.'<sup>113</sup>

The first application Ward made of the principles advocated was to reverence the Scriptures. It was unfortunate that the 'Protestant World' had taken as its first 'principle' a book rather than a doctrine.<sup>114</sup> He then applied the Canons to the defence of the maxims, on which the Catholic Church had always acted. Ward also answered Palmer's objection to the Roman doctrine of development,

'but when it appears, that there is no one tenet of the Roman Church, which could not quite conceivably have arisen from the development and combination of doctrines declared by the Apostles, then this principle of development does establish, that to speak positively against these tenets as false and corrupt, is as weak and shallow intellectually, as I have already argued it to be arrogant and irreverent morally.'<sup>115</sup>

For Ward, development of doctrine was a subsidiary argument. If the Church had declared that doctrine had never changed, Ward's position would not have been weakened. For he had removed it from any sphere where argument could weaken it. It is interesting to contrast Ward with Newman here. Newman claimed that the existence of development in doctrine, proved by history, formed an antecedent probability for the existence of an infallible authority. Ward, on the other hand, claimed that the existence of an infallible authority, proved by conscience, formed an antecedent probability for the existence of development in doctrine. Without the Theory of Development, Newman would not have become a Roman Catholic. This was not so in the case of W.G. Ward.

He then applied the Canons to the vindication of the course adopted by the Church in gaining converts.

Kings have submitted to the Gospel, and their people have at once followed their natural guides; not led surely by enquiry and examination of evidence (who so insane as to suppose it), or by pondering on the notes of the Church, or by a priori presumptions that an infallible authority is required for weak and ignorant men: no, they have but followed those whom they have learnt to revere; and the Church has received them, that she may take on herself the sacred and responsible office of imparting to them a purer moral discipline, and indoctrinating them with a higher and truer range of religious ideas, and moulding them under Divine grace on a more heavenly model; and that she may afford them the proof of her authority in so governing them.<sup>116</sup>

When discussing the work of missionaries, he gave three marks, or signs, that people would find attractive:

1. The degree of intrinsic superiority in the system offered.
2. The clarity with which this is exhibited.
3. The austerity and conscientiousness of the preacher's life.<sup>117</sup>

A number of factors could contribute to a person's conversion - spiritual addresses (these have little effect); the external notes of the Church; threat of eternal condemnation; and argument, for those with philosophical and intellectual gifts. In Ward's view the 'gift of miracles' is the 'most efficacious.'<sup>118</sup> The reasons leading to a person's conversion were many, but in every case the 'idea' of conversion is one and the same.<sup>119</sup> He added that not all attempts to gain converts were lawful. An example of this would be enticing a child away from his father and so privately teaching him the Faith.

The next section dealt with the application of the Canons to the vindication of the Anglican position, and contained much controversial material. It was 'authority' that had been lacking in the English Church, and the Movement had appreciated this. Newman's Prophetic Office was 'the first attempt, I suppose, to state Anglican principles in a definite and consistent shape.'<sup>120</sup> As to Protestantism, 'the emptiness, hollowness, folly, laxity, unreality, of English

Protestantism has been held up to the light, as it never has been before.'<sup>121</sup> Ward then produced, in a state of some euphoria, one of his most outrageous statements, destined to be one of the seven passages singled out by the University authorities for specific condemnation. The principles advocated by the Tractarians had so 'fruitfully expanded and germinated in the mind of many who had embraced them, that we find, oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! We find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen.'<sup>122</sup> He added that he could not tell whether 'high church' doctrines were increasing or not in 'numerical strength': but Roman sympathies and doctrines 'are making the most rapid strides among high-Churchmen.'<sup>123</sup> Just to ram this point home, in case anyone was still in doubt as to his beliefs, he stated: 'Three years have now passed, since I said plainly that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no one Roman doctrine; yet I retain my Fellowship which I hold on the tenure of Subscription, and have received no Ecclesiastical censure in any shape.'<sup>124</sup>

He went on to discuss a person leaving the Anglican Church, for the Roman. It would require 'some very direct and unmistakeable personal call from God,'<sup>125</sup> before taking such a step. Considerable preparation would need to be made and time allowed to pass. It was the holiness of certain people in the Church of England that kept Ward in her fold, and the humility of certain members showed that they did not belong to a schismatic Church.<sup>126</sup> We know that he looked particularly to Newman in this respect. 'When Roman Catholics press me with arguments from Church History, I answer that the whole surface of Church History teaches me a very different lesson from that which they inculcate; and puts in the second place those external notes, which

they desire to put first. As far as her children are concerned, the Church, in forbidding them to doubt her authority, has even forbidden them from fairly examining these notes at all.<sup>127</sup> He also criticized Roman Catholics, for speaking as though there was no 'intrinsic' difference between true and false doctrine. As though it were all a matter of external evidence. Ward went on to discuss the doctrine of reserve, and referred to Newman's Arians.<sup>128</sup> In ancient Christianity the truths were gradually expounded to potential converts. There was no parallel to this in the contemporary Roman Church. Ward ridiculed the idea that intelligent men forsake their beliefs purely on the authority of an external body. He also commented on the Roman attitude to those who were not in communion with her:

And surely the Roman Catholic Church would far more suitably fulfil the character she claims, by showing herself full of love and sympathy for holiness of life and orthodoxy of creed whenever found, and exhorting those, in whom she finds the essential characteristics, to persevere in their noble course, than by appearing deficient in all regard for them, until they have developed into their very last stage, into a craving for union with herself, and into what have frequently been considered her distinct doctrines.<sup>129</sup>

A true Catholic character would attract that which was similar. The Roman Church had it, and the Church of England should have been drawn by it. Deep and infallible conviction of Divine Truth was gained by members of a pure Church through 'habitual submission to external authority, and by the thousand associations of their past life which are connected with reference to that authority.'<sup>130</sup>

This final Chapter had sought to systematize the truth that Ward had derived from Newman - 'solely and exclusively from him.'<sup>131</sup> He described the whole book as an 'anxious and laborious enquiry.'<sup>132</sup> Only a 'sustained and vigorous attack on the principles of the

Reformation<sup>133</sup> could restore things to their correct balance. For  
Ward the work of the Movement had the character of a crusade.

Footnotes to Chapter VSECTION I

1. The full title of the work being: The Ideal of a Christian Church considered in Comparison with Existing Practice; Containing a Defence of Certain Articles in the 'British Critic' in Reply to Remarks on them in Mr. Palmer's 'Narrative.' (London, 1844).

In the Dedication he wrote: 'To all members of the English Church who have her welfare deeply at heart, these pages which have been prompted by an earnest desire to bear part, if it might be allowed, in the great work of restoring unity of doctrine and action within her pale, are respectfully and affectionately inscribed.'

See Ward, Oxford Movement, Chapter XI, pp. 248-292. Church, The Oxford Movement, Chapter XVIII, pp. 312-332.

2. Anonymous, Review of The Ideal, The Tablet, Volume 5 (July, 1844), pp. 468-469.
3. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 36.
4. Ward, The Ideal, Preface, p. vi. Preface dated 6 June, 1844, Balliol College.
5. V.F. Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century 1800-1860 (London, 1913), p. 277.
6. Ward, The Ideal, Preface, p. vi.
7. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 251.
8. Chadwick, Bossuet to Newman (Cambridge, 1957), p. 130.
9. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 253
10. Ibid., p. 254.
11. Ibid., p. 255.
12. Ibid., p. 257.
13. Ward, The Ideal, p. 2.
14. Ibid., p. 3.
15. Ibid., p. 4. See Palmer, Narrative, p. 50.
16. Ibid., p. 4.

SECTION II

17. Ibid., p.10. Quoted from British Critic (October, 1838), pp. 354-355.
18. Ibid., p. 17.
19. Ibid., p. 21.
20. Ibid., p. 31.
21. Ibid., p. 33. J.S. Mill, London and Westminster Review (April, 1836), p. 13.
22. Ibid., p. 35.
23. Ibid., p. 37.
24. Ibid., p. 40.
25. Ibid., p. 42.
26. Ibid., p. 43.
27. J.H. Newman, University Sermons (London, 1831), p. 40.
28. Ward, The Ideal, p. 44.
29. Ibid., p. 45. Footnote e.
30. Ibid., p. 50. Quotes from Newman's Sermons on Subjects of the Day, pp. 293, 294.

SECTION III

31. Ibid., p. 61.
32. Ibid., p. 61.
33. Ibid., p. 69.
34. Ibid., pp. 71-72.
35. Ibid., p. 72.
36. Ibid., p. 78.
37. Ibid., p. 94.
38. Ibid., p. 100. Footnote D.
39. Ibid., p. 102.
40. Ibid., p. 102.

SECTION IV

41. R.H. Froude, Remains, Four Volumes (London, 1838), Part Two, Volume One, pp. 215-221.
42. Ward, The Ideal, p. 111.
43. Ibid., pp. 113-114.
44. Ibid., p. 123.
45. See the final pages of Chapter IV. For example, pp. 157-162 on purgatory and the belief of the Fathers on the subject.

SECTION V

46. For an example of Ward's literary indulgence see the Footnote that begins on p. 168 and extends to p. 176.
47. Ibid., p. 167, footnote.
48. Ibid., p. 169, footnote C.
49. Ibid., p. 169, footnote C.
50. Ibid., p. 200.
51. Ibid., p. 201.
52. Ibid., p. 205.
53. Ibid., p. 219.
54. Ibid., p. 223.
55. Ibid., p. 237.
56. Ibid., p. 248.
57. Ibid., p. 257. British Critic article, 'On Mill's Logic,' p. 417.
58. Ibid., p. 258.
59. Ibid., p. 261 ff.
60. Ibid., p. 267.
61. Ibid., p. 268.
62. Ibid., p. 277.

- 63. Ibid., p. 277.
- 64. Ibid., pp. 283-284.
- 65. Ibid., p. 300.
- 66. Ibid., p. 305.

#### SECTION VI

- 67. Ibid., p. 306.
- 68. Ibid., p. 312
- 69. Ibid., p. 312.
- 70. Ibid., p. 315. He referred on this page to Oakeley's article on 'Sacramental Confession.' See F. Oakeley, 'Sacramental Confession.' British Critic, Volume XXXIII. (April, 1843), pp. 295-347.
- 71. Ibid., p. 322.
- 72. Ibid., p. 333. Froude, Remains, Part Two, Volume One, p. 308.
- 73. Ibid., p. 361.
- 74. Ibid., p. 362. He noted some exceptions to this, see footnote.
- 75. Ibid., p. 387.
- 76. Ibid., p. 388.
- 77. Ibid., p. 420.
- 78. Ibid., p. 404.
- 79. Ibid., p. 413.
- 80. Ibid., p. 418.
- 81. Ibid., p. 429.

#### SECTION VII

- 82. Ibid., p. 438.
- 83. Ibid., pp. 438-439.
- 84. Ibid., p. 439.

85. Ibid., p. 450.
86. Ibid., p. 458.
87. Ibid., p. 467.
88. Ibid., p. 468.
89. Ibid., p. 469.
90. Ibid., p. 470.
91. Ibid., p. 470. Footnote h.
92. Ibid., p. 473.
93. Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 306-307, where the passages are quoted in full.

#### SECTION VIII

94. Ward, The Ideal, p. 479.
95. Ibid., p. 481.
96. Ibid., p. 488.
97. Ibid., p. 492.
98. Ibid., p. 508.
99. Ibid., pp. 508-509. In a footnote he referred to the last of the British Critic articles on 'Mill's Logic,' pp. 397-406. Also, Newman, 'University Sermons,' p. 22.
100. Ibid., p. 510.
101. Ibid., pp. 510-511.
102. Ibid., p. 512.
103. Ibid., pp. 513-516.
104. Ibid., p. 517.
105. Ibid., p. 518.
106. Ibid., p. 521.
107. Chadwick, From Bossuet to Newman, p. 135. Ward had stated that he had no aptitude for history.

108. Ibid., p. 523.
109. Ibid., p. 527.
110. Ibid., p. 532.
111. Ibid., p. 532.
112. Ibid., pp. 532-533.
113. Ibid., p. 533.
114. Ibid., p. 534.
115. Ibid., p. 533. For a discussion of Ward's ideas on the development of doctrine, and a useful comparison with Newman, see Chadwick, from Bossuet to Newman, Chapter Six.
116. Ibid., p. 558.
117. Ibid., p. 559. Quoted from 'Whately's Essays,' reference not given.
118. Ibid., p. 560.
119. Ibid., p. 560.
120. Ibid., p. 565.
121. Ibid., p. 565.
122. Ibid., p. 565.
123. Ibid., p. 566.
124. Ibid., p. 567. Part of this was also quoted for censure by the Vice-Chancellor.
125. Ibid., p. 570.
126. Ibid., p. 572.
127. Ibid., pp. 572-573.
128. Ibid., p. 579. Ward refers to Newman, Arians, pp. 72-94.
129. Ibid., p. 585.
130. Ibid., p. 587.
131. Ibid., p. 582.
132. Ibid., p. 587.
133. Ibid., p. 588.

## CHAPTER VI

### Condemnation and Secession

The Ideal made its appearance in June 1844, while the University was down for the long vacation. So it took some time for the full impact to be felt. It was during the summer vacation that a significant event took place within the University hierarchy. Wynter's term as Vice-Chancellor came to an end, and in accordance with the current custom of succession, the Evangelical Warden of Wadham, B.P. Symons - 'Big Ben' - was to succeed him. Symons was a bitter opponent of the Movement, as previously noted, and had been one of Dr. Pusey's judges. For the first time in living memory the nomination for Vice-Chancellor was challenged. The subsequent vote, 882 - 183 in favour of the nominee, was a severe blow to the Tractarians. This attempt to stop Symon's appointment made it certain that in the proceedings against The Ideal Ward would receive no mercy.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first reactions in print to Ward's book was that in the Roman Catholic weekly newspaper, The Tablet, and it was not flattering. 'Of all its distinguishing features we confess we can find nothing more eminent than this - the extraordinary capacity of the author for standing upright and balancing himself on an invisible point - for walking in perfect security upon a line compared with which the edge of the keenest razor is breadth unlimited.' 'He looks up with reverence and loyalty to the Church whose allegiance and communion he (in practice) rejects; and he looks down with contempt upon the Establishment which he affects to style our Church.'<sup>2</sup> Newman had been eagerly waiting for the development of the ideas expressed in the British Critic articles. In answer to Dalgairns' question about the book, Newman replied, 'It won't do.' He could not accept the statement

in the final chapter which implied that members of the Church of England were free to look to the existing Roman Church as their authorised teacher. Apart from Oakeley and a number of the younger members of the Movement, little support could be found for the book. A pamphlet by a Prebendary of Lichfield, Mr. Gresley, summed up the opinions of the majority of High Churchmen and Tractarians.

With good and upright intentions, Mr. Ward's writings have been singularly infelicitous. The Church was going on very well when Mr. Ward unhappily became connected with the 'British Critic,' since which time all has gone wrong. The peculiar mischief in Mr. Ward's writing is that he puts forth the most important and valuable truths which, if discreetly stated, might be of the greatest value to the Church; but coupling them with such extravagant statements, such apparent arrogance and scorn of those who differ from him, such mis-statements of other persons' views, and such an obvious leaning, or rather identification of himself with the Church of Rome, that an insuperable prejudice is raised against the very improvements he advocates. Never was there such a mixture of opposites.<sup>3</sup>

Wilfrid Ward suggested that his father was perfectly aware of the type of reaction that would result, indeed, he wanted to precipitate a crisis. What precisely could a member of the Church of England believe or not believe? Ward wanted to clarify this, and was prepared to rock many boats in the process, and if necessary to sink his own. J.S. Mill and Comte at opposite ideological poles were both interested in the work. Mill wrote to Professor Bain, 'It is a remarkable book in every way, and not least so because it quotes and puffs me up in every chapter - and Comte occasionally, though with deep lamentations over our irreligion.'<sup>4</sup>

Henry Rogers, writing in The Edinburgh Review<sup>5</sup> referred to Oxford 'Catholicism': 'the fabric already leans from the perpendicular, and schismatical rents and fissures appear in it from top to bottom.'<sup>6</sup> Ward's British Critic articles were described as 'obnoxious' and the

journal itself, 'Now defunct, having expired last Christmas; but not until it had purged itself from the very last dregs and feculence of Protestantism, and prepared itself to depart in an overpowering "odour" of Catholic sanctity.'<sup>7</sup> As to The Ideal, 'Mr. Ward ... has recently published a volume, which may be considered the latest "development" of all. His conduct offers a practical exemplification of the principles of the "Tracts," of the most odious kind, and justifies the worst fears that were ever expressed or entertained of their tendency.'<sup>8</sup> Ward's mind, he feared, was full of 'inconsistencies.' As to Mr. Newman, he was 'a Church of himself.'<sup>9</sup> For Rogers the Catholic position within the Church of England was a mass of contradictory positions. Each person was to decide for himself what Catholicism was, and yet professedly rejecting the principle of individual judgement. He made the charge of dishonesty. 'Not a few have now conceded the supremacy of the Apostolic See, and seem to want no one thing which should make them return to the bosom of Rome, except the troublesome virtues - honesty and courage.'<sup>10</sup> He summarized the Movement's position as follows:

Can we wonder, that, oppressed by the portentous figment of one visible Church - made up of mutually excommunicated communities, and constituted by principles which no inconsiderable minority deny to be true, which, however true, the immense majority deny to be the essence of Catholicism, and which are determined by a small knot of divines on that private judgement which they abjure, and who themselves are now splitting into opposite parties - can we wonder that many of the disciples of this school feel compelled to go a little further in search of that one visible Church which they are persuaded exists, and sigh for that unity which they have as yet found only in name?<sup>11</sup>

The Movement's promise of 'absolute unity' had ended in 'universal confusion.'<sup>12</sup> Rogers wondered how Newman, Pusey and others could, in conscience, remain in the Church of England. As far as he was concerned the 'prevailing' spirit of the English Church was

'essentially Protestant.'<sup>13</sup> The present conflict would end in one of two ways. Either in a vigorous reaction, which Rogers said he could see the beginning of, which would give Reformation principles a renewed strength in the Church of England; or, all would be led back 'to the darkness and superstition of the Middle Ages.'<sup>14</sup> The critique was a highly spirited one, and made its points well by means of exaggeration.

The most influential review of Ward's book to appear was that of W.E. Gladstone.<sup>15</sup> Although published anonymously in October 1844, the authorship soon became known. A long review, it examined the book under four headings:

1. Ward's treatment of the English Reformation and Reformers.
2. State of the English Church and Roman Church.
3. Ward's ideas about the supremacy of conscience in the pursuit of religious and moral truth.
4. Topics relating to questions of ecclesiastical allegiance.

Gladstone noted Ward's lack of any personal criticism or imputing of motives in the book. He began with the statement that 'the author of the volume before us is justly chargeable, as we think with the most serious errors.'<sup>16</sup> Indeed, he considered the account to be marked by 'extraordinary degrees of prejudice and exaggeration.'<sup>17</sup> Ward expressed his strong objections to the English Reformation without providing evidence. (We are again reminded of Ward's statement in earlier days that he had no historical sense or knowledge.) Gladstone argued against Ward's claim that the main motives behind the English Reformation were political rather than theological.

In the second section, Ward was again taken to task for not providing evidence of his assertions, 'He has proved himself most unhappily ignorant of what mere delicacy and decency require from

persons in the position which he occupies as a clergyman and as a member of the University of Oxford.'<sup>18</sup> His attempt to examine and expose in detail the shortcomings of the Anglican Church, might have provided a service had it been offered in a calm and balanced way. However, the presentation takes the form of 'a railing accusation.'<sup>19</sup> The Anglican Church's neglect of the poor was mentioned by Ward in unfavourable comparison with that of the Roman Church. Gladstone replied with reference to the horrors of Naples. Ward had attacked the English State and Church for its behaviour in India. Gladstone reminded him of the Spanish and their actions in South America. He added that under the influence of religion the English abolished the slave trade in 1807. Gladstone did concede that in spite of all the inconsistency advantage could be gained from the book by separating 'the honey of sound admonition from amid the alien ingredients from which it is surrounded.'<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, there could be 'no satisfactory discussion of these or any other like subjects with a writer whose whole mode of operating is so vitally unsound.'<sup>21</sup>

Considering Ward's views on the role of conscience, Gladstone agreed that conscience was supreme in all matters of moral conduct. However, this did not 'Exclude argument and the legitimate use of the understanding upon questions of conduct.'<sup>22</sup> He continued:

But to say, the individual conscience is the criterion for truth, is not only to set up a principle of private judgement, but to surround it with new and impregnable defences, and to establish it in such an absolutism as it has probably never before entered into the heart of a Christian writer to devise, because this theory not only permits and authorizes, but certainly encourages, and perhaps compels, each person to disclaim all reference to the judgement of others, to refuse the helps which an erring creature derives from the scrutiny of others for the correction of his errors, to shroud from examination his inward persuasions, and to find in the facts of their existence the charter of their

legitimacy. Indeed Mr. Ward in one place calls his principle that of "doing what we think right because we think so"...<sup>23</sup>

The theory for Gladstone was a 'more subtle' and dangerous form of the principle of private judgement. He wrote that he had never seen the idea that truth was what a man decided it to be more ardently put forward. If Ward had realized what he had written, he would surely said Gladstone have been the first to attack it! How were persons to be assured that they had so fulfilled the moral law as to be certain of the right guidance of their consciences?

Finally, there was the question of ecclesiastical allegiance.

'Mr. Ward has spent 600 closely printed pages in the elucidation of his position, we are not able clearly to comprehend it; and we even doubt whether he has defined it to himself.'<sup>24</sup> Every convert from the Church of England to the Church of Rome was, for Gladstone, 'a fresh obstruction to the harmonious acceptance in our Communion, of those doctrines which show the natural relationship of all branches of the Catholic Church.'<sup>25</sup> Gladstone was perplexed, for Ward was opposed to Roman Catholics attempting to win converts, and yet he acknowledged their supremacy in faith and sanctity, and declared that they were the only source of knowledge in matters of religion. Gladstone asked whether people holding Roman Catholic opinions should be expelled from the Church of England. He believed that Subscription should be upheld at the University for all. He ended his review with a eulogy about the Church of England, '(She) has nevertheless maintained throughout all vicissitudes her hold upon the allegiance of the most stirring and most energetic nation in the world.'<sup>26</sup>

SECTION II: Disciplinary Measures

There was a strong rumour at Oxford that the Heads of Houses were prepared for some decisive action. Indeed, the documents containing the proposed measures were to be sent to London for legal opinion. They were diverted at the Oxford Post Office, quite by accident, and ended up in the possession of J.R. Bloxam of Magdalen, a vigorous Tractarian. The principle contents were not disclosed, but one or two details were. Ward was perplexed when he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and the Hebdomadal Board at the end of November. He was confronted with six passages from The Ideal and asked if he would disavow authorship and disown the opinions expressed. Ward asked for three days to consider and discuss the matter. On the 3 December he came before them again and refused, under legal advice, to say anything until the Heads' proposed course of action had been made clear. A letter to the Vice-Chancellor dated 3 December 1844 bore testimony to this.<sup>27</sup> Ten days later the Vice-Chancellor published a notice with the details.<sup>28</sup> The offending passages from The Ideal were quoted in full and declared to be inconsistent with the Thirty-Nine Articles, and with Ward's good faith in subscribing them. A Convocation was proposed for 13 February 1845, in which a resolution was to be put to this effect. If it was passed, then a second resolution was to deprive Ward of the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. A third measure consisted of a test, 'by which it was asserted that the Articles for the future must be accepted, not according to the subtle explanations of the nineteenth century, but according to the rigid definitions of the sixteenth. It laid down that whenever subscribed at the University of Oxford they must be accepted in that

sense in which they had been originally uttered, and in which the University imposed them.'<sup>29</sup>

On 14 December, Ward published a letter to the Vice-Chancellor in which he declared himself to be the author of the book, and accepted full responsibility for the opinions expressed in the censured extracts.<sup>30</sup> He explained why he had not answered the questions put to him, and cited the proceedings against Dr. Pusey's sermon as one of the reasons. Something similar might have happened to himself; 'I had, however, one security against it, which was this - that no such proceeding could possibly be taken without a preliminary establishment of the fact of authorship, which in Dr. Pusey's case was admitted: and, without my voluntary admission, this obstacle to such a course of proceeding could not be removed, since evidence taken in my absence would be equivalent to no evidence at all.'<sup>31</sup> He concluded the letter, 'I avow myself, then, the author of the work entitled The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered, and I must fully take on myself the responsibility of the passages selected from the work for the judgement of Convocation, as expressing sentiments which had by no means been taken up hastily and at random, but which had long been entertained by me, and of which my conviction grows more firm and undoubting every day I live.'<sup>32</sup> Pusey wrote to Newman two days later, 'I never thought of asking you what one must do about 1 and 2 for we cannot throw Ward overboard.'<sup>33</sup>

Considerable interest was aroused by the intended proceedings. Had the censure merely been of Ward and his ideas, there would have been little trouble. However, the proposed measures went far further than Ward, and if passed would have affected the vast majority of the

High Church party, and the whole Liberal party. For their interpretations were now open to the censure of the new test. What would happen if the Ecclesiastical Courts were to take up the matter and impose an interpretation of the Articles on candidates for Holy Orders, in a Low Church sense opposed to the doctrines of the High Church party? The tension was felt in London just as much as in Oxford. Liberals vigorously protested, but the Tractarians were quiet. Newman kept entirely aloof from the struggle, though later on an attempt was made ... on the part of the authorities to drag him into the arena. Pusey made no sign.<sup>34</sup>

Ward was censured nearer home and forbidden by the Master of Balliol to act as deputy chaplain for Oakeley. This was enacted before the Feast of Saints Simon and Jude 1844. Actually on the day Ward should have read the Epistle, and when he came forward to do so the Master

Shot forth from his place and rushed to the Gospel side, and just as Mr. Ward was beginning, commenced in his loudest tones: - "The Epistle is taken from the first chapter of St. Jude." Mr. Ward made no further attempt to continue, and the Master, now thoroughly aroused, read at him across the Communion table. The words of the Epistle were singularly inappropriate to the situation, and the Master, with ominous pauses and looks at the irreverent Puseyite, who had sown sedition in the Church and blasphemed the Heads of Houses read as follows slowly and emphatically: "for there are certain men crept in unawares" (pause, and a look at Mr. Ward) "who were before of old ordained unto this condemnation" (pause and look), "ungodly men" (pause and look)); - and a little later still more slowly and bitterly he read, "they speak evil of dignities!"<sup>35</sup>

The humour of the situation could hardly have been lost on the 'Falstaff of Oxford.' Jenkyns himself was mortified.

Keble produced a pamphlet against Ward's condemnation though he did not accept the substance of The Ideal, and this won Ward considerable support. Keble was not personally acquainted with Ward,

but he was able to see beyond the exaggeration that was one of Ward's principal literary weaknesses, to the honest seeker of truth that lay beneath. He asked why Ward's interpretation of the Articles should be singled out, when others held non-natural interpretations that were tolerated. 'There has notoriously been for some time a school of Oxford Divines, maintaining, to speak plainly, Sabellian opinions. Why has no censure upon them been proposed?'<sup>36</sup> He defended Ward against the charge of bad faith with a perfect summary of Ward's disposition.

No person who knows Mr. Ward believes him at all likely to be guilty of conscious and deliberate dishonesty: the mistake which his friends and acquaintances of all parties seem rather to dread on his part is what may be called excess of frankness: as though he thought it necessary to state his opinions at every possible disadvantage, and to shock as many people as he can, lest he should seem hereafter to have beguiled them.<sup>37</sup>

He also questioned the legality of the proceedings.<sup>38</sup>

The liberal Dr. Tait, then Headmaster of Rugby, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, agreeing, in part, to the proposed measures against Ward personally, but condemning the Test and defending Ward's good faith. Of Ward's excesses he wrote: 'He has raised the standard of rebellion against the Church whose Minister he is. I believe there is scarcely any fair man, whatever be the degree of liberty which he wishes to see tolerated in the Church of England, who can think it right to invest a man with authority as one of its recognised teachers whose open avowals prove that he will use all his influence within its pale in destroying its whole character as a Reformed Church.'<sup>39</sup> He continued, 'Holding Mr. Ward to be a Roman Catholic in everything but the name, however much I may esteem him as an individual, I cannot disapprove of the punishment with which it is now proposed to visit him.'<sup>40</sup> Dr. Moberly wrote to Jenkyns the Master of Ward's college, to protest against all the measures. He strongly objected to Ward's

honesty being questioned. 'I know him to be a man of the most thorough and upright integrity.'<sup>41</sup> He requested Jenkyns to openly testify to Ward's character.

Many opinions were to be expressed both for and most against Ward's views in The Ideal. The Savilian Professor, W.F. Donkin, contributed his own pamphlet on the matter. He found the proposed measures, 'mischievous, and dangerous to the University, the Church, and the Country.'<sup>42</sup> He admitted to having read little of Ward's book, and he was not defending Ward or the book. An attempt was being made, he felt, not to enforce the discipline of the Church but of the University. 'What Convocation actually will determine, or attempt to determine, is not what belief is true, but simply, what belief may, or rather what may not, be openly professed by members of the University, without incurring certain penalties.'<sup>43</sup>

Let it then be observed, that should the two propositions respecting Mr. Ward be affirmed, Convocation will have asserted that the University, in demanding Subscription of its members, does not leave it to their own consciences to decide whether they could subscribe honestly; and also that it will have assumed and exercised the power of deciding by a mere vote that certain published opinions render their author liable to academical penalties.<sup>44</sup>

He and others who disagreed with Ward's opinions, would nevertheless vote against the proposed censure.

### SECTION III: January and February 1845

Pusey wrote to Newman on 9 January, that 'the grounds 1) that Ward did not as a fact subscribe the Articles in his present sense; 2) that he does sign them honestly, seem to tell with some plain people. In fact, convocation is called upon to affirm what is untrue. Ward of

course could not urge this, but I or another could for him. And I think it is a valid ground because the Heads have apparently chosen this form, in order to veil the fact that it is a retrospective condemnation and punishment.' Pusey mentioned that Whately's Sabellianism was equally contrary to signing the Articles for the degrees of B.A. and M.A. Of Manning he wrote, 'he does not like the ethos of Ward's book. I mean, the way he pronounces peremptorily upon everybody, and even on the secret thoughts of persons.' However, 'Manning feels tenderly for Ward.'<sup>45</sup>

On the 11 January, W.W.Hull of Lincoln's Inn, a late fellow of Brasenose, described his intention of voting against all three measures. He saw the first measure as, 'a cruel mockery of an obnoxious individual.'<sup>46</sup> Ward published his Address to Convocation three days later.<sup>47</sup> He sought to show members of Convocation precisely what the issue was to be determined. It was not whether he was justified in his 'unmeasured invective' against the system introduced by the Reformation, nor in his theory of conscience. He appealed to other parties to prove that their subscription is more 'natural' than his own. One section was addressed to Evangelicals; the second to Low Church members; and a third to High Church members who opposed distinctly Roman doctrine. In his charge against the Low Church party, he mentioned two instances where the Articles had been openly disapproved. Firstly, he mentioned, though not by name, Dr. Hampden, who published and never retracted the opinion that '(the) Articles are fatally adverse to all theological improvement,' and that 'adherence to them is no less incongruous and injurious to religion than in a society of physicians to make the maxims of Hippocrates and Galen the unalterable basis of their profession.'<sup>48</sup> He then quoted Hull's work

on the Creed which denied Article Eight.<sup>49</sup> As to the High Church party, he confronted them with Article Twenty-One on general councils. He concluded,

Accept the following as the sum of what I have been saying. If, after the most laborious endeavours to separate off the opinions of my work from the wholly distinct question you have to consider, and after an anxious, calm, judicial study of our formularies in their whole extent, you come to the opinion that my mode of subscription to them is so different from your mode in its degree of laxity that it amounts to a difference in kind, then (so far as my present argument is concerned) come up and vote against me; if you arrive at the opposite conclusion come up and vote for me; but if you are unwilling, or if you doubt your ability to enter in this complex and difficult investigation, then I pray you, for your own sake, not mine ... let not zeal for your particular views of religion blind you to the maxims of common justice and morality which must be at the bottom of all true religion, but pursue the honest and straightforward course of refusing to vote on a question which by virtue of your own acknowledgement you have not the power, or else have not taken the pains, rightly to understand.<sup>50</sup>

Immediately after the appearance of Ward's Address, the test was withdrawn, and all attempts at meeting Ward's challenge as to the principle of his condemnation were abandoned. Ward's son commented that 'the withdrawal of the test seemed in some sense a ruse to escape the logical difficulty Mr. Ward had raised, and to secure his punishment by the appeal to passion rather than reason.'<sup>51</sup>

Newman wrote to Oakeley on 20 January that 'as far as I hear, things are slowly working in Ward's favour, but decidedly - and the best thing for residents in Oxford is to leave them alone.'<sup>52</sup> F.D. Maurice wrote against the measures in two letters<sup>53</sup> dated 21 January and 9 February 1845. He objected to the suggestion of limiting the interpretation of the Articles to the one supposed sense in which their compilers understood them. He felt that the extracts from the book singled out for condemnation gave a false impression of The Ideal as a whole and would unfairly prejudice opinion against Ward. Maurice was

perhaps the only person to meet Ward's challenge to show that his sense of subscription was more honest than Ward's.

Mr. Ward had insisted on the wording of individual articles and had logically shown that violence must be done to the natural interpretation in many cases, not only by the Romanisers, but by others. Maurice, on the other hand, putting aside the exact logical meaning of individual articles as a matter of secondary importance, considered that the Articles as a whole did represent, not logically or systematically, but still really, a living principle and a distinct line of opinion; that they represented an energising idea above the men who expressed it, inadequately put forth by them, not in detail recognised by them, making itself known to the world through them, and appreciated by them in the solemn act of compiling the Articles, really though indistinctly; - the whole process being somewhat parallel to inspiration, which conveys mysteriously and inadequately through human instruments divine truths.<sup>54</sup>

On 25 January the opponents of the Tractarians, headed by Dr. Fausett (Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity), and Dr. Ellerton of Magdalene, issued a circular asking for signatures. They wanted to present the Board with a petition proposing a censure on the principles of Tract Ninety at the Convocation of 13 February. They wrote in the following terms, 'We cannot but recognize in Mr. Ward's Ideal of the Christian Church a legitimate development of the principles of Tract 90, and a practical exhibition of the pernicious effects which must necessarily result from their adoption.'<sup>55</sup> 474 backed the measure, only 450 were necessary for recognition. At a meeting on 4 February, the Heads of Houses agreed to the proposal. Gladstone wrote from Howarden to Archdeacon Wilberforce on 29 January, 'But I confess that I could travel but very little way indeed with the Heads; perhaps no further than this, that Ward's opinions are each and all of them deserving censure.'<sup>56</sup>

Ward had written at the end of January that he had dined with Church at Oriel. Church felt that the tide was turning in Ward's

favour. Oakeley issued a pamphlet in defence of Ward dated 31 January 1845,<sup>from</sup> Margaret Street, and entitled, 'A Few Words to the Churchmen being Members of Convocation, who propose taking no part in Mr. Ward's Case.' In it Oakeley wrote that there were 'at least' fifteen or twenty who held Ward's view and did not renounce any Roman doctrine. Newman was not included in this.

The attack that had taken place upon Tract Ninety had had the effect of bringing some of Newman's and Pusey's followers into opposition to the entire proceedings, by making them lay aside their objections to The Ideal. Those who proposed voting against the measures issued a declaration denying their support for Ward's book, but condemning the suggested disciplinary action. Ward's friends sought professional advice as to the legality of the possible degradation. Stanley and Jowett acted here, partly out of friendship for Ward, but also as a liberal protest against the limitations being imposed upon the interpretation of the Articles. Sir J. Dodson, Queen's Advocate, and R. Bethell (later Lord Westbury), published a pamphlet as to the illegality of the measures. On the other side, the University authorities received backing from the Solicitor-General (Mr. Thesiger), Sir Charles Wetherell, Dr. Adams and Mr. Cowling, hence no charges were made.

Ward began preparing his defence in early February, and on 10 February the two Proctors Guillemard of Trinity, and Church of Oriel announced that they would veto the proposed censure of Tract Ninety. In spite of everything, Ward did not lose his sense of humour. Writing to a friend, he asked, 'will you give the cook my kindest regards, and deprecate her putting poison in the soup while I am with you.'<sup>57</sup> Stanley compiled a list of similarities between the case of Hampden in

1836, and that of Ward and Newman in 1845, and they are quite striking.<sup>58</sup> He also wrote a rather florid account of the mounting tensions in Oxford and in the Church elsewhere, as 13 February dawned.

#### SECTION IV: Ward's Degradation

At last came the memorable day, which must be regarded as the closing scene of the conflict of the first Oxford Movement.... It was a day in itself sufficiently marked by the violent passions seething within Oxford itself, and aggravated to the highest pitch by clergy and laity of all shades and classes who crowded the colleges and inns of Oxford, for the great battle of Armageddon, which was to take place in the Convocation of Oxford that day assembled in the Sheldonian theatre. The agitation penetrated to the very servants and scouts. They stood ranged round the doors of their colleges, waiting for the issue of the writ, filled with the gaudia certaminis. "Theirs not to reason why." The excitement of the day was yet more fiercely accentuated by one of the most tremendous snowstorms which had down to that time taken place within the memory of man. Fast and thick fell the flakes amidst the whirlwinds which snatched them up and hurried them to and fro.... The undergraduates, who ardently participated in the excitement of their seniors, watched the procession, as it passed under their windows, with mingled howls and cheers; and one of them, of more impetuosity than the rest, climbed to the top of the Radcliffe Library, and from that secure position pelted the Vice-Chancellor with a shower of snowballs to testify his detestation of the obnoxious measures.<sup>59</sup>

The Sheldonian theatre was crammed with Masters of Arts - some 1,500 from all over England - and included many distinguished names.<sup>60</sup> Gladstone, Lord Shaftesbury, the Earl of Romney, Lord Faversham, Lord Kenyon, the Earl of Eldon, Archdeacon Manning, Dr. Moberly, the Bishops of Llandaff and Chichester, Dr. Tait, Dr. Pusey, Dr. Hampden and Dr. Fausset were all present. Oakeley stood with Ward on the rostrum, so identifying his views with Ward's. Stanley described the Registrar of the University reading out the offending passages of The Ideal in English. All else, except Ward's speech, was to be in Latin. The Chancellor had himself given Ward permission to speak in the

vernacular. Ward began his speech, which lasted for about an hour, by denying the legality of the House's right in deciding whether his views were, or were not, consistent with the Thirty-Nine Articles. He also questioned whether it could take away his Degrees.<sup>61</sup> He attempted to clarify the issue before the House.

The issue before you has no more to do with the question whether the doctrine in my book be true or false than with the question whether my style of writing be good or bad, or whether my exposition be dull or interesting. You have heard the proposition submitted to you. It is a declaratory proposition, intended to serve as the foundation for an enactment. The declaration is that I have violated the engagement on which my Degrees were conferred, and the enactment that I be deprived of those degrees. You see at once that no theological determination is so much as hinted at. My opinions are complained of not as being false, or dangerous, or undutiful, or rash, but as being inconsistent with my good faith. One issue in regard to them, and only one, is placed before you, - their consistency with certain formularies which I subscribed when I received my degrees, and my good faith in respect of these subscriptions.<sup>62</sup>

Ward was reported to have spoken rapidly, but with great conviction.

He did not attempt to be conciliatory; it was not in his nature.

Indeed, he kept on reminding his hearers that he held the 'whole cycle of Roman doctrine.'

'His whole defence implied and expressed as its sole ground the unwholesome assumption of the hopelessly illogical character of the English Church.'<sup>63</sup> He did not woo his audience, he incensed it. The prohibition of the use of English by all others, meant that only one speech was attempted in Latin and it was largely inaudible. The Vice-Chancellor put the proposition, and the opposing sides shouted their 'placets' and 'non placets.' A scrutiny revealed that the passages from The Ideal were censured by 777 to 391 votes. The second motion, Ward's degradation was only just carried, 567 to 511. When the third matter about Tract Ninety was reached, the Vice-Chancellor read the

resolution, and the two Proctors got to their feet, amid the roars of the opposing sides. Guillemard proclaimed 'Nobis Procuratoribus non placet,' and was cheered. Manning, the Archdeacon of Chichester, leaped forward to shake both Proctors by the hand. In recent times these words had only been used in the Hampden case. The Convocation dissolved after this veto, and the theatre was clear within five minutes. Once again the Vice-Chancellor was booed and pelted with snowballs, Ward was cheered. The Vice-Chancellor, who had come to know Ward through these events, told a friend that his whole view of Ward's character had changed since he had come to know him, and afterwards he always held him in high esteem. One account recorded that Ward slipped and fell as he left the Sheldonian, throwing his papers up into the air, and guffawed as he picked himself up. Tait walked with him, although he had voted against Ward on the first measure. Gladstone voted in Ward's favour on both propositions. All the Fellows of Balliol did likewise.

That afternoon, Ward went to see Pusey and discussed his position as a Fellow of Balliol with no degrees.<sup>64</sup> He jokingly exclaimed: 'They can't expect me to wear an undergraduate's cap and gown, I suppose I must wear my beaver.'<sup>65</sup> Ward continued his remarks, and a voice from the end of the room remarked gravely, 'The situation seems to me, Mr. Ward, to be one of the utmost gravity. It is indeed a serious crisis. Let us not at such a time give way to a spirit of levity or hilarity.'<sup>66</sup> This was Ward's introduction to Henry Edward Manning, who, as the future Archbishop of Westminster would be a close friend of Ward's, and fellow champion of the Ultramontane position. They went on to discuss the doctrines of Lutheranism, and Ward repeated his assertion that they were worse than atheism. Manning, in view of the

intensity of expression in The Ideal retorted: 'The most Lutheran book I have ever read was called The Ideal of a Christian Church.'<sup>67</sup> Ward composed some verses on the day's proceedings and set them to a tune of a popular ballad. The refrain consisted of the word 'degraded' repeated in the voice of the Vice-Chancellor, then that of Jenkyns and so on.

Ward's friends now attempted to obtain a reversal of the degradation through legal means. Roundell Palmer took the matter in hand - it will be remembered that he was a contemporary of Ward's at Winchester. It was felt that Convocation had exceeded its jurisdiction. Ward allowed his friends to continue with the matter. He felt it was 'out of his line.' He re-wrote his speech for publication, and wrote to the Vice-Chancellor. He concluded his letter to Symons, 'Under these circumstances, great and sincere as is my respect for the House of Convocation, I cannot feel that any obligation whatever is laid upon me, in consequence of the events of this day, to act for the future upon any different view of subscription to the Articles from that on which I have hitherto acted, and which is expressed in my work and pamphlets.'<sup>68</sup> Ward resolved to resign his Fellowship, and ultimately his friends decided not to pursue the matter of his degradation.

On 14 February, Oakeley wrote to the Vice-Chancellor committing himself to Ward's view of subscription. Newman wrote <sup>to Ward</sup> from Littlemore on the following day, 'That your part has been an important one in the course of events which are happening, though we are as yet too near to understand it, is beyond all doubt; and there is every reason to think it will not be less important in time to come.'<sup>69</sup> He wrote in a letter

to Pusey of 25 February, 'Please do not disguise from yourself, that, as far as outward matters go, I am as much gone over as if I were already gone. It is a matter of time only.'<sup>70</sup>

A further event which discredited Ward in the eyes of many - what Prestige calls, 'his original but effective method of expressing contempt for the bites of academic mosquitoes'<sup>71</sup> - was the announcement of his engagement to be married. He had in fact been engaged since the Winter of 1844. Ward had espoused the cause of clerical celibacy, however, and as he had not believed in the validity of his own orders, there was no impediment. Wilfrid Ward wrote that his father hesitated over the decision, as he knew it would shock his supporters. Newman, and others, advised him to marry. Stanley suggested that Ward's marriage brought about the collapse of the Movement. Ward's intended bride was Frances Mary Wingfield,<sup>72</sup> daughter of Canon John Wingfield. Through the influence of her brother, the Reverend W.F. Wingfield who was a disciple of Newman, while an undergraduate at Christ Church, she had become a Tractarian. She was an habitu e of Margaret Street Church, where Oakeley was incumbent. Both sister and brother were to become Roman Catholics at a later date. In a letter written to his fianc ee on Palm Sunday 1845, Ward wrote, 'I find that the more common objection has not been to the marriage, but to the time of its announcement, though many write with the opinion that I ought not ... to have published my book.'<sup>73</sup> He went on to mention that Keble was 'much pained,' Manning 'extremely so' and that Church at a recent meeting was 'decidedly cool.' On Good Friday he wrote about temptations against faith and how it was not good for him to be alone. He was married on 31 March 1845 and he and his wife had a small cottage at Rose Hill near Oxford.<sup>74</sup>

SECTION V: The Written Response to Ward

The Times of 14 February described the events at the Sheldonian as follows: 'The great contest is over ... sincerely and heartily do we congratulate the public that this scandalous and offensive work should have been condemned by a majority of more than 2 to 1. This is gratifying in the extreme, and shows in what light the extravagant effusions of this unnatural son of our Church are generally regarded.' It goes on to speak of 'Mr. Ward's absurd production.'<sup>75</sup> The Tablet of 22 February in an article entitled 'The Oxford Farce' stated, 'Assuredly the recent doings at Oxford are sad enough to make Democritus weep and farcical enough to make Heraclitus split with laughter.'<sup>76</sup>

A number of articles appeared in the early months of 1845 bearing on the Ward case. One in the Prospective Review<sup>77</sup> discussed the relationship between Church and State in the Works of Ward, Whately, Coleridge and Arnold. The reviewer wrote that for Arnold the two spheres of Church and State are absolutely coincident. Ward admired the medieval sacerdotal system, which particularly leavened the European population with Christian ideas, 'and devised to subordinate the human sovereignty of government to the divine supremacy of the Church.'<sup>78</sup> Only Coleridge and Arnold sought directly to define the relation between Church and State. Whately and Ward 'are wholly occupied with the internal constitution and proper office of the Christian Church considered by itself.'<sup>79</sup> Ward laid the greatest stress on the truths of Natural Religion and the obligations of the Natural Law. For him Christianity assumed these throughout, and furnished their supernatural complement. The reviewer outlined the

nature of Ward's concept of the Church. The sacerdotal order provided a mediatorial position between a Holy God and a sinful world, entrusted with certain 'mystic' media, through which alone reconciling grace could pass. 'Perhaps the hardest task imposed by Mr. Ward on his Church, is to maintain supremacy over the thought of society. For this end he requires her to create a new literature and philosophy, antagonistic to that which, he complains, the spread and advancement of knowledge has put into the hands of unbelievers.'<sup>80</sup> He summarised Ward's view of the Church as being 'constituted wherever the Clergy exist: that its origin is higher than that of society, and its rights beyond the reach of the consensual will of men; that the sphere of its power is coextensive with human life, and embraces therefore, the whole range of the State's activity: that it may not, unless through the law, enforce its claims by the temporal sword, but may cut off offenders from communion with divine mercy.'<sup>81</sup> 'As the Temple, with its Metropolitan Priesthood, is the type of Mr. Ward's Church; so is the municipal synagogue, with its lay officers, of Dr. Whately's.'<sup>82</sup>

In its first issue the Tory Protestant British Quarterly Review contained an article on The Ideal.<sup>83</sup> It is both witty and devastating in its comment. The reviewer began with some general criticisms, 'The nation stands confounded, as well it may, at the feats that have been performed, and the freaks that have been exhibited from Froude to Ward.'<sup>84</sup> 'Their "Ideal of a Christian Church" just amounts to simply consummate Popery. It is under no disguise in the present volume and in many others that might be named.'<sup>85</sup> The reviewer was concerned with Ward's attack upon the Protestant doctrine of Justification, for Ward hinged his argument upon this being theologically untrue. The reviewer

criticised Ward for attacking some of Luther's early unguarded and crude opinions which were later corrected, and which modern Protestants condemned. 'The very foundations of Mr. Ward's gospel are anti-Christian, and he accordingly contradicts himself in almost every page.'<sup>86</sup> 'He denies that man is justified by faith in direct terms, and consequently teaches him to procure his own justification by his own works. This is the cardinal doctrine of his book, and its cardinal sin.'<sup>87</sup> One text of scripture repudiating justification by faith would have been more value than all the 'misty medley' with which Ward filled his book - 'a space surely long enough, in all conscience, for a commentary upon the Romans and the Galatians too.'<sup>88</sup> Ward has consistently distorted Protestant doctrine. As a Protestant clergyman he should have been bound to support Protestantism and had been paid to do so by the Nation. 'Had Mr. Ward first renounced his profession as a protestant clergyman, and then published his book, no man would have had a right to impeach his inconsistency; but, as it is, he has branded his own name with reproach, and never can efface it.'<sup>89</sup> The idea of Ward as a 'protestant clergyman' does seem a trifle incongruous!

Fraser's Magazine, a progressive and Tory literary miscellany, contained a further attack upon the Romanism of the Movement, and on Ward in particular.<sup>90</sup> 'Now we have long ago been accustomed to regard a large section of Tractarians as only a milder form of Popery - the Council of Trent in watercolours.'<sup>91</sup> Tractarianism was for the author most fully revealed in its true form in Tract Ninety and The Ideal. Ward he described as 'The Hector of the band, since most of his bretheren have a bright equipment or a more variegated plume. He is truly κoryθαῖος.'<sup>92</sup> Continuing with the mythological images, 'No bolder champion ever swept out of its gate (Rome) thus armed with the

Medusa - head of superstition- dashed forward with impetuous hand to freeze into ghostly insensibility the glowing features and the muscular frame of godliness and true faith.<sup>93</sup> Willmott then discussed the whole question of subscription, giving Ward's view on it and quoting Waterland. He concluded that if the Church of England were not careful 'It would not be beyond the bounds of possibility to find them (young supporters of Ward's) proposing Tract XC as a New Test!'<sup>94</sup>

In the April edition of the Edinburgh Review, an article appeared entitled 'Oxford and Mr. Ward.'<sup>95</sup> It began with a discussion of the modes of interpretation of the Articles.

1. Obvious sense
2. Sense in which originally framed
3. Sense the Subscriber, by a mental reservation thinks fit tacitly to accept them. Ward's "non-natural interpretation." A view revived by the Tractarians, first propounded over two hundred years before.

The writer felt that Ward's degradation was illegal, as Convocation had no penal power. That power was vested in the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor. Punishment for deviation from the Church of England ought to be banishment and not degradation. He believed that Ward should be restored, and his 'non-natural' interpretation censured. He also made the valuable point that the Thirty-Nine Articles had been subscribed previous to matriculation, and that the Thirty-Sixth Canon was added for subscription by all degree candidates. By this Canon the subscriber asserts

1. The King's supremacy
2. The Book of Common Prayer and ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons as not contrary to the Word of God
3. That all Thirty-Nine Articles of 1562 are agreeable to the Word of God

The Thirty-Sixth Canon was not found in the University Statutes, nor in ordinary editions of the Articles.

SECTION VI: Ward 'Crosses the Rubicon'

Ward was advised to claim his right as a Master of Arts and to sit in the Convocation of April 1845. He consented, but wished to cause as little trouble as possible. Meanwhile further measures were taken against the Romeward members of the Movement. The Ecclesiastical Courts condemned the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice in the case concerning the erection of a stone altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge. In the summer, action was finally taken against Oakeley - not in Oxford, as might have been expected after his avowal of holding all the opinions of Ward, but in London. Oakeley drew attention to his own published statements, and issued a defence within the Diocese of London. The Bishop instituted a suit in the Court of Arches. Oakeley tendered the resignation of his licence, but it was refused. As he refused to enter a plea, judgement was by default. The Judge pronounced a condemnation of Catholic doctrine 'Seriatim.' Sentence was given to the effect that the minister should be perpetually suspended, except he retract his errors in terms acceptable to the Bishop.<sup>96</sup> Oakeley resigned in the summer.

Pusey was perturbed by the activities of the Romeward group. Oakeley had asked Ward to write to Pusey, to explain his (Oakeley's) own situation.<sup>97</sup> Ward wrote of Oakeley's two letters to the Bishop of London and of how Pusey's own letter upset Oakeley. He described the anguish to two people in particular at Oakeley's departure from Margaret Chapel. Ward's wife (then fiancée) was one of these. He

wrote in March 1845,

As to the reasons which have induced (Oakeley) and myself to make plain statements on the subject, I would suggest 1) that, believing as we do, that parts of our formularies must be most violently distorted in order to admit our views (as they must, we contend, in order to admit any definite views), we could not be easy in our conscience if we subscribed them without publicly proclaiming the sense in which we subscribe them, and challenging those who dissent to try the question in the Ecclesiastical Courts if they so please; and 2) that, believing nothing short of full Roman doctrine will meet the wants of many as they advance in holiness, we think it a positive duty that such persons should know of others who may be like-minded to themselves, and not be kept back from what we fully believe to be the truth by an idea of undutifulness to our Church, or to their instructors in our Church.<sup>98</sup>

Ward's links with the Church of England were becoming increasingly brittle. He had been writing an article on J.H. Thomas' The Life of the Revd. J.B. White in three volumes. His wife had been copying the article for the press. In the article, the Church of Rome was recognised by Ward, as it had been for some time, as the true Church. For Mrs. Ward this was a new idea. She broke down after she had copied half the article and said, 'I cannot stand it, I shall go and be received into the Catholic Church.'<sup>99</sup> Ward reflected on his own situation, and they resolved to take the step together. He had retained external membership of the Church of England because he believed that he was bringing many to the Church of Rome. His own happiness was put in second place to a concern for others. Now, a change had come. Newman himself, Ward's main-stay as an Anglican, intended to leave the Church of England. Before taking the step himself, Ward circulated a letter to a friend among his acquaintances, setting out his intellectual reasons for the move. It is dated 13 August 1845.<sup>100</sup> He wrote that his two reasons given in The Ideal for remaining an Anglican have 'ceased to exist'. They were firstly, that a member of the Church of England may hold all Roman doctrine;

secondly, that all those with doubts about the English Church's claims who have resolved to live a stricter life in her communion, have found increasing support. 'My defence was grounded on two main supports: both these supports have given way.'<sup>101</sup>

Ward and his wife were received into the Roman Catholic Church in September 1845 by Father Brownhill S.J., in the Jesuit Chapel, Bolton Street, London. News of the impending event had reached Oxford, and the new converts returned from their reception to find the breakfast table 'literally covered' with opinions of one shade and another. There was certainly disapproval from some Fellows and undergraduates. One reaction was a parody of a well-known poem -

'O Wardie, I believed thee true,  
And I was blessed in so believing,  
But now I own I never knew  
A youth so base or so deceiving.'<sup>102</sup>

Ward apparently enjoyed the fun, and the more serious reactions did not disturb him. He had addressed a letter to the Editor of the Oxford Herald and this was reprinted in The Times.<sup>103</sup> A preface had been added to the letter in The Times and it contained the words, 'He has at last crossed the Rubicon, on the banks of which he has for some time been shivering, and joined openly the communion of which he had so long been a secret member. We fear - might we rather say, we hope? - that his example will shortly be followed by others of his party.'<sup>104</sup>

Footnotes to Chapter VI

SECTION I

1. 'Tractarian voters refrained from the Symons controversy because they feared that a vote against Symons would be taken as an approval of Ward; and as they finished reading his 600 pages during the long vacation they disapproved Ward quite as much as they disapproved Symons.' Chadwick, The Victorian Church Part I (London, 1970), p. 207.
2. The Tablet, Volume 5 (July, 1844), pp. 468-469.
3. Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 296-297. See also the letter to The Times by W.B. Barter, where he wrote: 'I happen to have read Mr Ward's Book, and differ from him entirely on the main principle he labours to establish - that of development in matters of faith'. The Times, 12 October, 1844, p.3.
4. Ibid., p. 295. See also Mills' letter to Comte of 26 April, 1845, quoted in part on pp. 303-304 of Ward.
5. H. Rogers, 'Recent Developments of Puseyism', Edinburgh Review and Critical Journal, Volume 80 (October, 1844), pp. 310-375.
6. Ibid., p. 310.
7. Ibid., p. 312.
8. Ibid., p. 312.
9. Ibid., p. 314.
10. Ibid., p. 321.
11. Ibid., p. 326.
12. Ibid., p. 327.
13. Ibid., p. 373.
14. Ibid., p. 374.
15. W.E. Gladstone, 'The Ideal of a Christian Church considered in comparison with Existing Practice', Quarterly Review, Volume LXXV (December, 1844), pp. 149-200.
16. Ibid., p. 149.
17. Ibid., p. 149.
18. Ibid., p. 164.

19. Ibid., p. 164.
20. Ibid., p. 170.
21. Ibid., p. 180.
22. Ibid., p. 181.
23. Ibid., p. 508, The Ideal, p. 184 of Review.
24. Ibid., p. 189.
25. Ibid., p. 193. Henry Rogers writes of Gladstone's defence of the 'Branch Theory.' He "endeavours ... to hide the cracks and crevices of the surface, by a glutinous varnish of plausible words." See 'Recent Developments' Article, p. 323.
26. Ibid., p. 199.

## SECTION II

27. Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 306-307. Letter of 3 December 1844.
28. Ibid., pp. 307-308. The Latin text of the proposed test will be found as Appendix H, pp. 469-487. The passages cited are from pages 45 (Note), 473, 68, 100 (Note), 479, 565 and 567. It was on p. 567 that he made the celebrated claim, 'Three years have passed since I said plainly that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no one Roman doctrine.'
29. Ibid., p. 305. Ward was quoting Stanley in the Edinburgh Review (April, 1881), p. 320. See Revd. W. Simcox Bricknell (Worcester College), Oxford Tract Ninety and Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church. A Practical Suggestion Respectfully Submitted to Members of Convocation etc. (Oxford, 1844), Second Edition. He calls for a repudiation by convocation of Tract Ninety and formal censure of The Ideal. See p. 16.
30. Ibid., pp. 309-311.
31. Ibid., p. 309.
32. Ibid., p. 311.
33. Pusey to Newman, 16 December, 1844, Volume Three, Pusey House Library (pages not numbered).
34. Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 312-313.
35. Ibid., p. 326.

36. Ibid., p. 318.
37. Ibid., p. 318.
38. Ibid., pp. 318-319.
39. Ibid., pp. 313-314. Tait's letter is dated 31 December 1844.
40. Ibid., p. 314.
41. Ibid., p. 316.
42. W.F. Donkin, A Defence of Voting Against the Propositions to be Submitted to Convocation on February 13th, 1845 (Oxford, 1844), p. 3. Bound in Tracts, Pusey etc. 1843-1846, British Library.
43. Ibid., p. 3.
44. Ibid., p. 4.

### SECTION III

45. Pusey to Newman, 9 January 1845, Volume Three, Pusey House Library (pages not numbered).
46. W.W. Hull, The Month of January Oxford 1845, p. 16, bound in Tracts, Churton etc. 1836-1845 British Library.
47. For extracts of the Address, see Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 328-333.
48. Ibid., p. 330.
49. Ibid., pp. 330-331.
50. Ibid., p. 333.
51. Ibid., p. 333.
52. Newman to Oakeley, 20 January 1845, East Farleigh, Correspondence of Newman to Pusey 1841-1846, Volume Three, Pusey House Library (pages not numbered).
53. Ward, Oxford Movement, pp. 319-324.
54. Ibid., pp. 323-324.
55. Ibid., p. 334.
56. Ibid., p. 324.

57. Ibid., p. 335.
58. Ibid., pp. 335-336.

#### SECTION IV

59. Ibid., pp. 337-338.
60. Ward's source suggested there were 1,500 present, of whom about 1,200 voted. Ibid., p. 339. The Tablet puts the figure at 1,200-1,300 of whom 1,100 voted. See The Tablet for 15 February, 1845, pp. 107-108.
61. The fullest account of the speech can be found in The Times for 14 February 1845, p. 6. Ward's peroration, which he read, was written by Stanley; the text was delivered without notes. See also, The Tablet, 15 February, 1845, pp. 107-108.
62. Ward, Ibid., pp. 340-341.
63. Ibid., pp. 341-342.
64. This situation continued until 1854, when Mgr. Talbot obtained for Ward a Papal Doctorate of Philosophy.
65. Ibid., p. 344.
66. Ibid., p. 344.
67. Ibid., footnote to p. 344.
68. Ward's letter to the Vice-Chancellor of 13 February 1845, see Ibid., p. 348.
69. Ibid., p. 346.
70. Newman to Pusey; 25 February, 1845, Littlemore, Volume Two, Pusey House Library (pages not numbered).
71. G.T. Prestige, Pusey (Oxford, 1982), p. 75. Reprint of 1933 edition.
72. For details see Mrs. Ward's Obituary in The Tablet (Volume LX, New Series), July-December 1898, pp. 265-266, Frances Mary Wingfield 1816-1898.
73. Ward, Ibid., p. 351.
74. Ward did not inherit the Northwood Park Estate on the Isle of Wight until the death of his uncle in 1845. He also inherited property in Hampshire. Ward and his wife lived on the Isle in later years.

## SECTION V

75. The Times, 14 February, 1845, p. 5.
76. The Tablet, 22 February, 1845, p. 113.
77. Anonymous, 'Church and State,' The Prospective Review: A Quarterly Journal of Theology and Literature, Volume One, Number Two (1845), pp. 283-321. Review of:
- (1) The Ideal W.G. Ward, 2nd Edition, 1844.
  - (2) The Kingdom of Christ Delineated ... R. Whately, 1841.
  - (3) On the Constitution of the Church and State, According to the Ideal of Each, S.T. Coleridge, 1839.
  - (4) Fragment on the Church, T. Arnold, 1844.
- At its foundation all the editors of the Review were Unitarian. It grew as a periodical in the industrial North, and was the first of a tradition of liberal Unitarian journals.
78. 'Church and State,' p. 285.
79. Ibid., p. 287.
80. Ibid., p. 290.
81. Ibid., p. 291.
82. Ibid., p. 291.
83. Anonymous, 'The Ideal of a Christian Church, etc.,' The British Quarterly Review, Volume One (February/May, 1845), pp. 37-77. The Review was a Nonconformist periodical.
84. British Quarterly, p. 38.
85. Ibid., p. 39.
86. Ibid., p 46.
87. Ibid., pp. 53-54.
88. Ibid., p. 56.
89. Ibid., p. 78.
90. R.A. Willmott (?), 'The Great Ward Business,' Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, Volume XXXI (March, 1845), pp. 343-353. Review of:
- (1) 'The University, the Church and the New Test.,' a letter to the Lord Bishop of Chichester, by Revd. J. Garbett, Professor of Poetry, Oxford.
  - (2) 'The Proposed Degradation and Declamation Considered in a Letter addressed to the Master of Balliol College,' by Revd. George Moberly, D.D. Headmaster Winchester College.

(3) 'The New Statue and Mr. Ward, a Letter to a Non-Resident Member of Convocation,' by Revd. F.D. Maurice, Chaplain Guy's Hospital.

91. Ward Business, p. 343.
92. Ibid., p. 344.
93. Ibid., p. 346.
94. Ibid., p. 353.
95. Anonymous, 'Oxford and Mr. Ward,' The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal, Volume 81 (April, 1845), pp. 385-398.

#### SECTION VI

96. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 354.
97. Ibid., pp. 354-357.
98. Ibid., p. 356.
99. Ibid., p. 357.
100. Ibid., pp. 361-366.
101. Ibid., p. 364.
102. Ibid., p. 366.
103. The Times, 1 September, 1845, p. 5.
104. Ibid., p. 5.

## CONCLUSION

"Why must you leave Christminster?" he said regretfully. 'How can you do otherwise than cling to a city in whose history such men as Newman, Pusey, Ward, Keble, loom so large!'"<sup>1</sup>

The names of Newman, Pusey, and Keble still loom large in the City of Oxford - the real Christminster - but not that of Ward. Ward, as a member of the Church of England is remembered, if at all, for certain passages of The Ideal and his subsequent degradation. Perhaps as a rather eccentric figure who badgered Newman and subsequently split the Oxford Movement irretrievably. Yet there was a positive side to Ward's extremism.

From the first his likes and dislikes had been intense, he had a keen intellect that could grapple with difficult problems, and also a strong religious sense. We have seen how the teaching of Thomas Arnold appealed to him. Arnold's intellectual influence waned, but not the ethical. The duty of doing all to the Glory of God was Arnold's watchword, and it was something that Ward held throughout his life. It was personal holiness that attracted Ward to a particular religious figure. He had written: 'Holy men are the great fountains from which moral and religious truth flows to the world.'<sup>2</sup> Ward found a vivid appreciation of the idea of sanctity in Froude's Remains. Both Froude and Ward were unafraid to take matters to their conclusion. Then there was the profound influence of Newman. He had provided Ward in the 'University Sermons' with a starting point for his view of the role of conscience. It was largely through Newman that religion became for Ward directly connected with the acquisition of personal holiness. Ward had a passion for self-sacrificial holiness, and he considered

that that quality was lacking from the worldly standard silently tolerated in the Church of England.

As a corollary to this, Ward had a conviction that holiness was the answer to the social crisis posed by the condition of the poor in England. Ward believed that a celibate clergy and the Religious Orders were required to minister to their needs. The discipline of the celibate life, and the taking of the Evangelical Counsels provided a living example of dedication and desire for holiness. Ward had written in his Seventh Article in the British Critic, 'The Synagogue and The Church,' on the notion of priesthood, the high standard required and the sign value of celibacy. He suggested that if we look at the Church in Roman Catholic countries, it is 'the Church of the poor.'<sup>3</sup> It was the lack of a celibate clergy and Religious Orders witnessing to a life of holiness and poverty in the Church of England, that had led, in Ward's view, to the apostasy of the poor and the confinement of the Church to the middle class. We have noticed that from 1838 Ward contributed a part of his income to the poor. In his British Critic articles one of the pervading themes was that 'all really holy spirits are witnesses to the fundamental truths of religion'.<sup>4</sup> In Chapter Six of The Ideal Ward discussed the education of the poor. He wrote: 'Other duties are very holy and important, but none so holy and important as this.'<sup>5</sup> He also quoted from Froude that the religion of Christ was in a special way the religion of the poor. Ward felt that too often the Church of England had failed to show the importance of the poor, and indeliberately given the impression that they were of a different nature to the rich.

It can be argued that Ward's logical extremism was a part of the directness of his social and religious vision. He had a strong sense

of a crisis of irreligion, and one aspect of this was the apostasy of the English poor. Another aspect of this crisis was the challenge of new kinds of unbelief even among the English middle class, in whom religion was strong. This unbelief was also rooted in a failure to listen to the voice of conscience, from which came the vision of the holy. However, holiness also required the nurture not merely of the inward witness of conscience, but the outward authority of an infallible guide to religious truth in the Holy Catholic Church. It followed that both on the social level of the failure of religious practice among the poor and on the level of intellectual doubt among the rich, there was no half way point between unbelief and Rome. Rome provided the infallible guide to religious and moral truth which alone could save by holiness the neglected pauper and the genteel doubter. In this Ward anticipated the Ultramontane Catholicism of Manning: a Catholicism committed to an utterly holy and wholly self-sacrificial authoritarian Church, which could answer the religious and social crisis of the age. He believed that the Church of England had failed in this. Ward's logical extremism can be called prophetic, as it foresaw both an authoritarian Church and widespread apostasy.

There is another side to this as Theodore Hoppen commented on Ward in later life,

Ward's language and tone seem often to have implied more than the ideas they actually articulated, and the temptation to pursue a theory to its ultimate conclusion, and sometimes beyond, is his greatest intellectual defect. Moderation and sensibility are at times sacrificed at the altar of logical expertise, and the pressures of continued controversy allowed little time for reflection, for toning-down, or for reconsideration.<sup>6</sup>

This is a serious criticism and a valid one. Had Ward moderated his tone, he might perhaps have achieved a more lasting memorial.

A comparison with Newman might be helpful. Newman grounded in the Early Fathers, was familiar with the tradition of the Catholic Church. He had a strong historical sense. Newman's subtlety of mind was something foreign to Ward. As recorded earlier, Ward proceeded to conclusions strictly logically and sometimes without adequate intellectual preparation in deciding the premises of his argument. He also, of course, had little historical sense. As personalities the two men could not have been more dissimilar. We could hardly imagine Ward retiring to Littlemore to consider his position! For Newman the path to Rome was long and painful. For Ward it was a joyful syllogistic romp. Newman's sensitivity to the needs of others protracted his move to Rome. Ward often appeared to be oblivious to the feelings of his friends. We remember that in the Apologia Ward is deliberately never mentioned by name, only by inference, and then as a thorn in Newman's side. Even when both men became Catholics they each went their separate ways.

Canon Barry's remarks in his article written for the Centenary of the birth of W.G. Ward in 1912, remain true. 'Neither in the Oxford Movement nor the Catholic Revival did this undeniably keen intellect with its driving force, win the acknowledgement it deserved.'<sup>7</sup> Ward's contribution to the Movement stemmed from his uncompromising quest for theological truth and intellectual certainty. He also brought a sense of humour to the Movement. Ward was always the man of extremes - as a follower of Arnold, of Newman, and as the lay Ultramontane theologian of the Roman Catholic Church.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas Hardy, Jude The Obscure, (London, 1924), p. 124.
2. Ward, Oxford Movement, p. 73.
3. Ibid., p. 222.
4. Ward, 'The Synagogue and the Church,' p. 60 .
5. Ward, The Ideal, p. 306.
6. Theodore H. Hoppen 'Church, State, and Ultramontaniam in Mid-Victorian England: The Case of William George Ward,' Journal of Church and State, Volume 18, Number 2 (1976), p. 300.
7. William Barry , 'The Centenary of W.G. Ward,' Dublin Review, Volume 151, July 1912, p. 1.

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