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A table of contents for *Irish Biblical Studies* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_ibs-01.php

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

R.Buick Knox.

Newman died in 1891. During his life he had many friends and many enemies and he still draws a wide range of verdicts. The Church of Rome has now accorded him the title of Venerable and many hope that this will prove to be a step on the way to his elevation to a place among the canonized saints.

In the New Testament is understood in the Reformed Tradition, all baptised believers are called saints. This status is not due to their own merits but to their justification by grace and by their dependence on Christ whom they seek to trust and follow in this life they are subject to human failings and remain constant debtors to grace. Living and dying in this faith, they remain in the communion of saints and join the great cloud of witnesses whose example and encouragement is still with the saints on earth. Newman was a pilgrim on this way of faith. Recent massive biographies by Sheridan Gilley and Ian Ker present him as a person with human frailties as well as outstanding gifts of intellect and devotional life.

Newman was born in 1801¹. He was baptized in the Church of England where the evangelical emphasis was then in full vigour. He had an early experience of conversion which gave him an abiding love of Christ. It is important to note that at the end of his long life with all its vicissitudes he said he died 'firm in the great and burning truths which I learned when a boy'.² He was steeped in the writings of the Evangelical notables, particularly Thomas Scott, the commentator, from whom he learned two abiding lessons, that holiness is more important than peace and that growth is the only evidence of life.

He entered Trinity College, Oxford, and pursued the classical course, but, despite high expectations, he more or less broke down at the time of the final examination and was awarded a third-class degree. However, he soon compensated for this by gaining a Fellowship in Oriel College which at that time was in the lead for learning among the Oxford Colleges. He was then ordained in the Church of England. Shortly afterwards, Hawkins, another Fellow of the College, was elected to be the Provost of the College. He was also the Vicar of St Mary's Church in Oxford; he had to resign from this position upon his appointment as Provost. The vacant position of Vicar was in the gift of Oriel College and Newman was appointed to be the Vicar.

The appointment of one so young was a surprise, but he soon showed remarkable gifts as a preacher. He had a mysterious magnetic presence; he

indulged in no dramatic gestures, no histrionic performances, but his quiet delivery in a silvery voice was audible in all parts of the great church without any amplificatory aids. During the years of his ministry in the Church of England his sermons ranged over ecclesiastical, sacramental, liturgical, ethical and pastoral themes, but the sermons which he himself selected for publication were mainly in the ethical and pastoral fields, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*. He deals with human experiences, hopes, doubts, temptations, fears and aspirations; he enables his hearers to see the workings of their own minds and to analyse the causes and the cure of their restless longings. He brings his hearers and readers to see the glory of Jesus and his power to penetrate their defensive pretences, and also his remedies for their needs. There are moments of deep drama; in one sermon, he takes his readers through the sufferings of Jesus on the Cross as the sufferings of one who shared our afflictions; then, after a pause, he demands, 'Now, I bid you recollect that he to whom these things were done was Almighty God'.³

While he was Vicar, he retained his Oriel Fellowship. His main friends were among the other Fellows. He claimed that his daily conversations with Hawkins taught him to think and to weigh his words and be cautious in his speech. Another Fellow, Whately, was a logician, a man of critical liberal mind and later to be Archbishop of Dublin. Principal R. F. G. Holmes has discovered that Whately's grand-daughter was the wife of an Irish Presbyterian missionary.

These two, Hawkins and Whately, helped to dissolve much of Newman's Fvangelicalism and to lead him to hold that Calvinism, for all its power as one of the finest systematic theologies, did not provide a full clue to the conditions of human beings in this world.⁴

The Church of England, as Newman knew it, perplexed him as it has perplexed and still perplexes many people. He held that, according to its formularies, its members by their Baptism had become beneficiaries of the salvation purchased by Christ. These benefits were not forfeited by neglect or even by sins; members were still entitled to claim their inheritance which linked them to the unbroken chain of the faithful across the ages. Yet, too often, the Church of England looked like a secular society which provided 'a form of outdoor relief for aristocratic unemployables'.⁵

Nevertheless, Newman was convinced that the Church of England had within it a succession of the threefold ministry and of worship and worshippers which was the guarantee that it was in line from the Church Christ had founded. Its bishops had a status which gave authority to their words. He was therefore appalled when Parliament passed the Irish Church Temporalities Bill in 1833.

Many regarded this as the suppression of Irish bishoprics, an act of confiscation by an increasingly secular state, and an act of sacrilege contrary to the wishes of the Church and its bishops.

In fact, the Act provided for the merging of certain dioceses when vacancies occurred, thus reducing the bench from four archbishops and twenty bishops to two archbishops and eight bishops. This was a highly justified policy. The Church of Ireland was established by the state which levied taxes upon all citizens, including Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, for its support. The style of life expected of a bishop raised much resentment among the poor people of Ireland. In any case, ten bishops were sufficient to cope with the pastoral needs of a minority Church. It is also to be noted that after disestablishment in 1869 when the Church of Ireland became responsible for its own affairs no attempt was made to restore the old number on the bench. However, in 1833 the decision was regarded by many as an act of National Apostasy. This was the title given to a sermon preached by John Keble in St Mary's Church; this sermon has generally been regarded as the trigger which led to the formation of the Oxford Movement. Newman claimed that it was one of his own sermons which was the seminal factor. However, as Gilley says, great movements rise from a common history, common memories, an intercourse of mind with mind in the past and an increase of that accord in the present⁶.

The next stage was the gathering of a group of men eager to claim for the Church of England and its ministry a distinct and indissoluble authority from Christ. Among the group which came together was Newman; there was also Keble, a Fellow of Oriel, a brilliant scholar with a Triple First, a peak rarely attained and by such as Gladstone and Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher; there was Pusey, the professor of Hebrew and a scholar well-acquainted with German biblical studies; there was Rose, the vicar of Hadleigh in Essex and later to be the first professor of Divinity in Durham, and his curate, Trench, later to be archbishop of Dublin; there was Perceval, a Fellow of All Souls and a cousin of the Prime Minister; and there was Hurrell Froude, a relation of the historian of that name but of very different outlook. The participants met at Rose's rectory and planned to issue a series of Tracts as a manifesto of their position⁷.

Froude was soon to prove an embarrassment to the Movement by his assertions of affinities with the Church of Rome. However, he was close to Newman and Keble, and when illness led to his early death, Newman and Keble published a collection of his writings as a tribute to his memory. These were so heavily loaded towards the Church of Rome that their publication increased the fear that the Movement was a crypto-papist group within the Church of England⁸.

Newman was still a loyal member of the Church of England. He said it never could be that so large a portion of Christendom should have split off from the communion of Rome and kept up the protest for three hundred years for nothing; 'I think I never shall believe that so much piety and earnestness would be found among Protestants if there were not some very grave errors on the side of Rome'⁹.

Newman wrote the first three Tracts in which he stressed the apostolic order of the Church of England with clergy in direct descent from the Apostles; he compared them with dissenting ministers, who, he said, were creatures of their people. He proceeded to write seventeen out of the first fifty Tracts. He held the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles to be the two pillars of the Church of England. This led him to oppose any relaxation of the rule requiring subscription to the Articles as a condition of entry into Oxford University; this would open the way for the entry of Dissenters. Hampden, a Fellow of Oriel led this move; he was a fine scholar, the very model of a Broad Churchman ready to reduce the dogmatic elements of the Faith and to lay stress on the moral aspects. For this reason, Newman tried, but without success, to block Hampden's appointment as Professor of Divinity. Hampden was later appointed by the Prime Minister to be bishop of Hereford; he was consecrated in the teeth of fierce opposition, as was a later bishop, Hensley Henson. He proved to be a tolerant and charitable bishop for twenty years¹⁰.

The differences between him and Newman became a wide gulf, as did his differences with his old liberal friend, Whately. In later years, when Whately was archbishop of Dublin, he visited Oxford and tried to see Newman but he was rebuffed; Newman wrote, 'I cannot conceal from myself that it was generally a relief to me to see so little of Your Grace'; Whately replied with liberal and Christian charity, 'I for my part could not bring myself to find relief in escaping the society of an old friend'¹¹.

Despite Newman's defence of the Articles, he was becoming uneasy about their sharp Protestant outlook and about how they were used as a means of attacking the doctrines of the Church of Rome. This led him to publish his Tract 90 in which he tried to show that the Articles, if properly understood, did not contradict Roman Catholic doctrines; for example, he held that the condemnation of Masses in Article 31 was not a condemnation of the Roman Catholic teaching concerning the Mass but of the abuses which had grown up around the Mass at the time of the Reformation¹². Few people from then till now have been convinced by this interpretation of the Article and when published it aroused a fierce wave of criticism. Francis Close, the notable Evangelical leader

after whom a well-known Cheltenham school is named, said he would not trust the writer of Tract 90 with his purse. Henry Manning, who will soon appear prominently in Newman's story, responded to the Tract in a thundering No-Popery sermon. At Oxford, it was proposed that it should be made clear to all who had to subscribe to the Articles that they did so in the clear Protestant sense understood by the Reformers. This aroused protest from younger figures such as Tait and Maurice who were to become influential leaders in the Church; they said they stood firm on the main points of the Faith set forth in the Articles but they did not bind themselves without question to every ancillary point¹³. The proposal was dropped and thus Newman's Tract assured the survival of the very liberalism he had sought to avoid; thus, the liberal strand has survived in the outlook of Archbishop Michael Ramsey who would have been counted as in the Catholic wing of the Church and in the teaching of Archbishop George Carey who is known as an Evangelical.

When his bishop, Bagot of Oxford, reproved him for issuing the Tract, he began to think that his defence of the Church of England and its bishops had been misplaced and that the Church was not as soundly apostolic as he had thought. He now thought that its teaching on the Person of Christ was close to the old Monophysite heresy which had blurred the truth that Christ was both fully human and divine. So he was now on the way to believing that the only refuge from liberalism, from laxity of doctrine and from Protestant dilution of the Faith was in the Church of Rome. He came to believe that the Faith was a living organism capable of growth and development, so that, while all had to be tested by the basic Scriptures, the early form of the teaching in the Scriptures had to come to maturity; this growth had begun in the decisions of the great Councils of the early centuries and had continued and was continuing in the Church of Rome. Gilley summarises Newman's justification of the claims of the Church of Rome in the statement that 'Truth is the daughter of time and an idea shows itself in what it becomes' and so the teaching of the Church of Rome was the flowering of the good seed sown by Christ and his Apostles.

Nevertheless, Newman never lost the critical stance of the Oxford scholar and he was reluctant to endorse every step in the development which had taken place in the Church of Rome; 'no one has ever surpassed him in tempering the sword of dogma in the fire of doubt.'¹⁴ Hence, even when he made his submission to the Church of Rome he was often uneasy and the Authorities of that Church looked upon him with some uneasiness.

However, the move to Rome was under way and he now held that the Church of Rome, in spite of all its errors and the evils of some of its practices

gave 'scope to feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness and reverence'.¹⁶

He knew the price he would have to pay: the loss of his position as Vicar of St Mary's, the loss of his Fellowship and its privileges, the judgement that his Anglican orders counted for nothing, and the replacing of his Anglican friends and colleagues by a company of Roman Catholics among whom were few people of erudition. Yet, he took the step in 1845 and he was followed by many of his friends, but not by Pusey and Keble. Pusey retained his position in Oxford and the Movement in the Church of England became associated with him; indeed, its followers were now known as Puseyites. Keble gave up his Fellowship to marry and to become the Rector of Hursley in Hampshire. Some felt drawn to follow Newman but in the end decided to remain where they were. One such was a student of Brasenose College who actually left the college and went to Birmingham to make his submission but during the night he pondered his position and then decided to draw back and eventually was ordained in the Church of Ireland. He was William Alexander who became the respected and eloquent Archbishop of Armagh and the husband of Cecil Alexander, the hymn-writer.¹⁷ Another who intended to follow Newman was a young student of Oriel whom Newman had had reason to discipline for not wearing his academic hat but who then became a strong admirer of Newman. He too intended to go to Birmingham to make his submission but he missed the train, then pondered his position and decided to remain where he was. He was Mark Pattison who became the agnostic Broad Churchman and the Rector of Lincoln College.¹⁸

One who did follow Newman was Henry Manning. His move was surprising; he had not associated with the Movement and he had preached strong anti-papal sermons. He was a devoted parish clergyman and was happily married to one of the four Sargent sisters who had all married clergymen. His wife died and with her burial he began to bury all his Anglican past; his journey to Rome was swift and total. He became more Roman than Rome, swept up the ladder of preferment to be the second Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the rigid enforcer of Roman Catholic doctrine and discipline. Newman's teaching that the Church's teaching was the outcome of development across the ages was abhorrent to Manning who held that the Church's teaching today is what it had been in the beginning and would always be.¹⁹

Compared with Manning, Newman was an uneasy convert. He was never given a position of authority in the Church of Rome. He began his life in that Church as a devotee of Philip Neri, a sixteenth-century priest who founded an order for priests dedicated to prayer, study, works of charity, and an apostolate to win young men to the faith. This became a widespread order with

local centres known as oratories; their forms of worship gave rise to the musical form known as oratorios. Newman was allowed to form an oratory at Birmingham where he was supported by the bishop, Ullathorne. There were frequent tensions in the house. Faber, a young convert from Anglicanism, was eager to go to the most exotic forms of Roman Catholic devotion, but Newman felt that this would repel the aristocratic youths he was eager to draw into the Church of Rome. Faber was sent to London to found an oratory and he cultivated a lavish baroque form of worship which eventually found expression in the ornate building of Brompton Oratory.²⁰

There were constant tensions between Birmingham and Brompton as Newman tried to curtail Faber's extravagances which make him a rather repellent figure in Protestant eyes. However, it is salutary to remember that Faber wrote the hymn, 'My God, how wonderful Thou art' which has found a place in many hymnbooks and is sung by all varieties of Christians.

The hierarchy scarcely knew how to cope with Newman. No bishop was willing to give him the scope to use his obvious gifts. He would have liked to go to Oxford to found an oratory or a college where Roman Catholic students could take advantage of the University to which entry was now possible because the requirement to subscribe to the Articles had been removed. However, the bishops were firmly opposed to such a move; they held that such a college, instead of drawing converts into the Church of Rome as Newman hoped, would be a centre where young Roman Catholics would be lured from the faith by the liberal spirit of Oxford. Many of the laity wanted their sons to have the opportunity of an Oxford education but they supported Newman in vain.²¹

Newman's path now opened up in a different direction. In Ireland, Cardinal Cullen, the Archbishop of Armagh, in what would now be regarded as a strange move, was appointed to be the Archbishop of Dublin. In Dublin, he planned to found a new university on a Roman Catholic basis and as a counterbalance to the ancient Trinity College. In 1851 he offered the Presidency of the new foundation to Newman. Newman accepted but it proved to be an unhappy period in his life. The venture of founding the college had not the full support of the laity, many of whom wanted to cooperate with the government's plan for colleges in Cork, Galway and Belfast, but Cullen wanted an institution under Church control. If the venture was to succeed it needed the hearty accord of Cullen and Newman. This broke down for two reasons. Newman wanted to retain his position in the oratory in Birmingham and to be in Dublin only during term time, but Cullen rightly felt that the institution in its infancy needed a full-time president to organise and publicise the venture. More seriously, Newman

insisted that appointments should go to the most qualified applicants but many of these were English laymen. Cullen was very critical when Newman proposed to appoint Thomas Arnold as Professor of English. Cullen felt that this diluted his ideal of a catholic university. After three years, Newman resigned and brought this troubled chapter of his life to an end. His experiences, however, led him to produce what turned out to be one of his most influential writings, The Idea of a University. In this work, he held that the Christian tradition flowing from Jerusalem could not and ought not to ignore the Greek intellectual inheritance from Athens. A university had a duty not only to hand on the accumulated knowledge from the past but also to cultivate the mind to think and to ponder upon that inheritance and to expand the fields of knowledge.

At this time the status of the Papacy was becoming a matter of public interest. The power of the Pope over the papal patrimony or estates was being severely curbed by the rising nation of Italy which in 1850 became a monarchy. With the curbing of the temporal power of the Pope there was a parallel expansion of the moral and ecclesiastical claims; these reached their height in the declaration of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council in 1870. This was not welcome to Newman; he held that the trend to give the Pope the power to define the faith by his own fiat without any consultation with the laity could lead to indifference or superstition. There were rumours that Newman was so uneasy that he was contemplating a return to the Church of England. This he sharply denied: 'Protestantism is the dreariest of possible religions; the thought of the Anglican service makes me shiver, and the thought of the Thirty-nine Articles makes me shudder. Return to the Church of England! No! The net is broken and we are escaped'.²³ Nevertheless, his discomfort remained; in 1862, he told Manning, in a rare moment of confiding in the papal zealot, that he found in his new Church 'very little but desert' and that 'all his human affections were with those he had left'. In 1863 he confided to his diary that as a Protestant he had felt his religion dreary but not his life, but as a Catholic the life was dreary but not the religion. At another time he said that as a Catholic he had been rewarded in ten thousand ways, but God had also marked his course with unintermittent mortification.²⁴

As the issue of papal infallibility came more and more to the fore, Newman became more uneasy. He was ready to accept and obey the commands of the Pope and the bishops but this, in his eyes, did not mean that he was obliged to agree that these commands were always right or that every papal declaration could be equated with the voice of God, especially if they conflicted with the rights of conscience. Newman often appeared elusive; if the voice of conscience was the final authority, then no other authority could be infallible; on the other hand, conscience could be an erroneous guide and often needed to be

corrected by an outside authority. What, then, was his final authority? The accusation of duplicity had driven him to write his *Apologia* which has been rated as one of the outstanding personal confessions. Nevertheless, the suspicion of duplicity remained and Charles Kingsley accused him of not caring for the truth. In reply, Newman wrote his *Grammar of Assent*. In this he held there were two types of propositions; there were propositions which were statements of fact which could be observed and tested and to which there could be ready assent; there were other propositions about matters of faith and morals which could not be measured but which had a compelling power demanding the assent of mind and spirit. Thus, when Paul says 'I know', he is sometimes referring to events or deeds in the past, but at other times to experiences which have changed his whole attitude to life and to God, and which have come from God and are beyond reason and experience. Even here, Newman admits there are difficulties; throughout history, there have been claims that certain experiences have been from God but they may have been the basis of crude superstitions against which the voice of conscience has at last rebelled; the voice of conscience has by times had to reject papal claims that their commands have come from God.²⁵

These thoughts were the ground of his objection to the declaration of papal infallibility by the 1870 Vatican Council. He held that under the lobbying pressure of Manning the Council had been stampeded into the decision. He himself had refused to attend the Council as a 'peritus', a scholarly adviser. By the time the vote was taken, eighty bishops had already left the Council and only two ventured to vote against the decisions. Newman held that the Church should have been left in peace and not be burdened by a decision so hard to justify in the light of the past record of papal evil deeds and misjudged manifestoes. Even the limitation of the decree to matters of faith and morals was a hazy boundary since there are few things in life which somehow or other have no connection with faith or morals.²⁶ However, once the decree had been issued Newman accepted it and took no part in the breakaway movement associated with the German scholar, Dollinger. Manning had no qualms about accepting the full range of infallibility.

Newman was restrained from criticising the decree because of his fear that such criticism would be taken as an approval of the liberal spirit which asked people to come to terms with scientific progress, fresh scholarship and the democratic principle. He held there was still need of a teacher with Apostolic authority, not to declare novelties but to make clear the teaching already deposited in the original Apostolic teaching. He held that this duty was rightly vested in the person of the Pope. Yet, even here, he had to make a qualification. He thought that Pius IX, under whom the decree had been promulgated, was

unlikely to produce such guidance: 'It is not good for a Pope to be Pope for twenty years; he bears no good fruit; he becomes a god with no one to contradict him'.²⁸

The only decrees promulgated under the decree and made matters of faith have been the two on the Immaculate Conception of Mary and her bodily Assumption into heaven. No convincing evidence, in my view, has been produced to show that these doctrines are taught or implicit in the New Testament or in the early teaching of the Church. Their adoption by the Church of Rome has tended to widen the gulf between that Church and the Churches of the Reformation.²⁹

The Vatican was so uneasy about Newman's reservations that it drew up a list of points on which he was worthy of censure. It sent the list to his bishop, Ullathorne, to bring to Newman's notice. Ullathorne replied that if the Vatican wished to censure Newman it could do so itself, but he warned that if it did so it would unite all English Roman Catholics behind Newman. There the matter rested.³⁰

Newman was now a venerated public figure. He was made the first honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; when he attended a celebratory dinner he sat at the President's right hand and on his own right hand was Mark Pattison. He called on Pusey. He had visited Keble and he now visited his memorial College. The Duke of Norfolk began the process leading to Newman's elevation to be a Cardinal. Manning had this at least to his credit that he supported the move, paying tribute to Newman's learning, piety and integrity. Newman pled his eighty years of age for his reluctance to accept, and some, possibly including Manning, took this to mean refusal, but in the end he accepted the offer.³¹

His last years were spent more or less in retirement. He tried to end the rift with his family. He went to Wales to see his sick brother Charles, but he turned him away; he had become an advocate of socialism and atheism. His sister, Harriet, maintained her refusal to receive him into her house, but he met her daughter a few days before he died.

When he offered to visit Mark Pattison on his death-bed, Pattison excused himself from receiving him on the ground of illness, but Newman did visit him and they recalled their days at Oriel College. Newman spoke of the comfort he had found in the catholic faith, but Pattison died in the bitterness of his agnosticism, though in his last diary entries he noted that he had learned

more from Newman than from anyone he had ever known.³²

Newman died one hundred years ago. Manning was moved to speak at his funeral of 'my brother and friend of more than sixty years'; age and death had covered the rivalry and fear with which he had regarded and treated Newman.³³

Newman also evoked respect and awe in unexpected quarters. The great Scottish Free Church figure, Alexander Whyte, wrote a short monograph on Newman and even went to see him in the Birmingham oratory, though it seems Newman was away when he called.³⁴ Lord Reith tells of his father's book-lined study with shelves from floor to ceiling only broken by spaces for the door, the window, the fireplace and a space above the fireplace for a picture, and the picture was one of Newman whom he revered.³⁵ Another Free Church minister and literary figure, Robertson Nicoll, said Newman 'died, as he had lived, with the humility and trust and sweetness of a child'.³⁶ None of these Free Church figures could be suspected of a Romeward trend, yet they respected him for his sharing so much of the common faith and for his ability to express it in memorable language with profundity of thought and penetration into the world of the spirit.

His hymn, 'Lead, kindly Light' has become part of the inheritance of English language and hymnology. His poem, *The Dream of Gerontius*, puts into splendid words his vision of the entry of the Christian into heaven; it has also provided the Church with two fine hymns, 'Praise to the holiest in the height' and 'Firmly I believe and truly'. This second hymn is a metrical version of the Creed; as printed in *Church Hymnary* (3rd. Ed. ,1960) it has the verse -

And I hold in veneration,
for love of him alone,
Holy Church as his creation
and her teaching as his alone.

This may seem to accord to Church decisions a divine authority not readily given in Presbyterian Churches; it is interesting to note that this verse is omitted from the recent edition of an English Roman Catholic hymnbook.

Elgar's setting of the poem has become part of the standard repertoire of oratorios in English. Simon Rattle, a notable conductor and interpreter of the work, has said that the chorus of demons is repulsive, though that is likely what Elgar meant it to be. The overall impact of the work is outstanding.³⁷

Finally, reference must be made to Newman's teaching on the place of Scripture in the Church. He knew his Bible, constantly referred to it and spoke of it as 'God's inspired Word'. He held the Bible to be the indispensable seed-bed from which the Church's teaching had come, but he also held that from the first the Bible had been in the keeping of the Church which had shown the meaning of the Word in the Bible; indeed, the Church had taught that Word even before the Bible was compiled and the Church would have handed on that Word even if the Bible had never been written. The Church, through its Magisterium embodied in the Pope, guarantees that the Bible and the Faith of the Church are in accord. Newman claimed that he had resisted the spirit of liberalism which had tried to make subjective individual judgements the standard of decision as to what is of the Faith. It needs to be noted that in other traditions there is also a recognised need for some standard of interpretation to preserve the Church from sinking in individual subjective sands; this role is attributed to such standards as the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Heidelberg Catechism, the Augsburg Confession and other documents.

Philip Griffin, in a recent issue of the *Irish Theological Quarterly*, claims that Newman's position has been confirmed by the decisions of Vatican II and he gives the impression that this has marked a liberating advance in the Roman Catholic position.³⁸

Euphoric verdicts that the decisions of Vatican II mark a great advance from the decrees of the Council of Trent and of Vatican I are, in my opinion, somewhat overdone. It is indeed splendid to read that the canonical Scriptures are defined as the basic tradition by which the Church and its teaching are nourished and ruled, and there is also the fine declaration that 'access to Sacred Scripture ought to be open wide to the Christian faithful'. This was a fresh beginning, since, as Ker declares, before the Council 'religious liberty was not even explicitly or officially recognised by the Catholic Church as either desirable or permissible'.³⁹ This decree undid many of the edicts condemning the reading of the Bible which marred the record of the Church of Rome. Acting on this freedom, Roman Catholic biblical scholars in Universities have pursued their studies with the same academic rigour and critical study as other scholars.

However, Vatican II also emphasised that all interpretations of Scripture are still subject to the judgement of the Church and, while all preaching should be 'nourished and ruled by Sacred Scripture', all that is preached must also be in accord with 'Sacred Tradition'. The Church's judgement upon interpretations of Scripture and Tradition is expressed through the Magisterium of the Pope who has a divinely-given commission to so judge.⁴⁰ Some Roman Catholic scholars

have found that the Magisterium can attempt to silence them and their teaching.

Those in the Reformed tradition are mindful that in the Medieval Church, when its authority was at its height, there was often little sign of serious obedience to Scripture. The renewal came when people began to study the Bible in defiance of authority and to compare the teaching of the Bible with the teaching and practice of the Church. On the other hand, the rebellion against papal authority did not mean renunciation of all the tradition of teaching hammered out across the centuries. The Reformers never said they were abandoning all that teaching and starting from scratch to find out what the Bible taught. They began with the great doctrines already defined in the early Councils of the Church at Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon. This was particularly true of the great doctrine of the Trinity which was not explicitly defined in the Bible but was gradually defined as Christians worshipped and prayed, as they studied the Bible and as they tried to understand the character of God and his revelation of himself in Jesus Christ. The path to the definition of the doctrine of the Trinity was rough and tortuous, but once it was defined it proved to be the reliable key to the understanding of the Bible. The God of the Bible is most clearly approached when we worship him as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The Reformers never questioned the reliability of this key; they laid it down as the framework of their systems of theology and of worship; they were confident that it enabled them to apprehend the richness of God's glory in so far as human beings may grasp that glory. It still remains the key at the heart of the constitutions of Reformed Churches not simply due to ecclesiastical decisions but also because of its convincing appeal to Scripture, Reason and Conscience.⁴¹

Newman is often hailed as an ecumenical thinker; this is an elastic term but it is debatable whether or not it is elastic enough to cover Newman. Lord Acton, a fellow-Roman Catholic, was probably rather severe when he declared Newman to be an egoist and a sophist who could manipulate the truth to suit his own definition, but, judging from his controversies, and especially his war of words with Charles Kingsley, there is enough truth in the verdict to make it a strand in the total picture of Newman.⁴² Chadwick admits that at times there is in Newman 'a jumble of twisted dialectic about historical evidence' which is repellent and reveals a sceptical streak.⁴³

Gilley judges Newman to have been the greatest of modern English theologians and to have shown that there is no contradiction between new truths and the truth once delivered to the saints, but there is no guarantee that what Gilley calls new truth and the truth once delivered to the saints would be the same in every person's definition⁴⁴. Moreover, even if it be accepted that he

held the two to be compatible, his teaching did not make any lasting contribution to show how this compatibility could be worked out in the current controversies of his day concerning biblical studies, scientific discoveries and theories, and philosophical theories. Chadwick holds that before long many of the ideas of the Oxford Movement became obsolete, but its lasting influence and that of Newman was felt through their pastoral and devotional practice.⁴⁵ The Church of England, in all the strands of its life and worship, came under its influence. That influence is still part of its life.

The fact that major tomes and minor articles continue to be written about Newman by writers from many denominations of the Church and to find readers in an equally wide circle shows the stature of the man. He had a faith in Christ which has surely taken him beyond this life into the Light where he will have seen the strengths and weaknesses of many of his actions and arguments and where he needs no human canonisation to ensure his eternal rest.

Pray we that we with him may come to that Light in which we shall see the fulness of the glory which outshines all our earthly glimpses of the glory which is in Christ Jesus Christ our Lord.

NOTES

1. Many books have been written on the life and work of Newman.
Among these may be noted:
O. Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London,1960);
O.Chadwick, *Newman* (O.U.P., 1983);
Sheridan Gilley, *Newman and his Age* (London,1990);
Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman* (O.U.P., 1988);
Brian Martin, *John Henry Newman* (London, 1990)
In addition to Newman's own works, there is the collection of his *Letters and Diaries*, edited by C.S.Dessain (31 vols., Oxford)
2. Gilley, 421; Chadwick sees a continuity of piety through the Evangelical and Oxford Movements - *Mind of the Oxford Movement* 27.
3. Gilley, 126; Martin, 41. Newman's more doctrinal sermons have now come to light and are being published: *John Henry Newman: Sermons 1824-1843* (Vol.i: Sermons on the Liturgy and Sacraments and on Christ the Mediator: Ed. Placid

- Murray, 1992).
4. Gilley, 24, 50.
 5. Gilley, 80
 6. Ker, 80; Gilley, 112
 7. Many of these Tracts were extensive and learned volumes rather than brief booklets. See also the section on the Movement in O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (London, 2 vols, 1966-70)
 8. Gilley, 121; Chadwick, *Mind of the Oxford Movement*, 53
 9. Ker, 226
 10. H.H.Henson, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life* (O.U.P., 1942), I.,ch. VII.
 11. Gilley, 132
 12. Gilley, 198-200; Chadwick, *Mind*, 24-5
 13. Gilley, 183, 21b, 227; Chadwick, *Mind*, 35
 14. Gilley, 232.
 15. Gilley, 175
 16. Gilley, 202
 17. Gilley, 244
 18. V.H.H.Green, 'Cardinal Newman, Mark Pattison and the Oxford Movement' in *Essays in Honour of Edward B. King*, ed. R.G.Benson and Eric W.Naylor University of the South, Sewanee, 1991), pp.109-124.
 19. Gilley, 241
 20. Gilley, 258-263, 285-6.
 21. Gilley, 336-338, 348-351.
 22. Gilley, 267, 275-291.
 23. Gilley, 314; Ker, 509, also 657.
 24. Gilley, 314; Ker, 520.
 25. Gilley, 355-362; Ker, 690
 26. Gilley, 363-370; Martin, 122-3.
 27. Gilley, 377-8; Ker, 658.
 28. Ker, 659
 29. R.B.Knox, 'Continuity and Controversy' in *Journal*, United Reformed History Society, Oct. 1990, Vol. 4, No. 7.
 30. Gilley, 380.
 31. Gilley, 390-7; Martin, 129-131.
 32. V.H.H.Green, op.cit.; Gilley, 410-1.
 33. Gilley, 422.
 34. G.F.Barbour, *Alexander Whyte*
 35. J.C.W.Reith, *Into the Wind*

36. W. R. Nico11, *Princes of the Church* (1921), 28-33.
37. Gilley, 340.
38. P.Griffin, 'Newman's Thought on Church and Scripture' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 1990, Vol.56, no.4, 287-302.
39. Vatican II: *The conciliar and Post-conciliar Documents*, ed A.Flannery(1975), Section 58 Dogmatic constitution of the Divine Revelation, 756, 762; Ker, 474
40. Vatican Council, op.cit..
41. E.g. United Reformed Church Declaration of Faith; Rule of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland; Articles Declaratory of the Church of Scotland.
42. Gilley,
43. Chadwick, Mind , 42
44. Gilley, 422-3
45. Chadwick, Mind, 48, 59.

R. Buick Knox.